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TRAVELLERS IN TIME

IMAGINING MOVEMENT IN THE ANCIENT AEGEAN WORLD

Saro Wallace



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Travellers in Time

Travellers in Time re-evaluates the extent to which the earliest Mediterranean civilisations were affected by population movement. It critiques both traditional culture-history-grounded notions of movement in the region as straightforwardly transformative, and the processual, systemic models that have more recently replaced this view, arguing that newer scholarship too often pays limited attention to the specific encounters, experiences and agents involved in travel.

By assessing a broad range of recent archaeological and ancient textual data from the Aegean and central and east Mediterranean via five comprehensive studies, this book makes a compelling case for rethinking issues such as identity, agency, materiality and experience through an understanding of movement as transformative.

This innovative and timely study will be of interest to advanced undergraduates, postgraduate students and scholars in the fields of Aegean/Mediterranean prehistory and Classical archaeology, as well as anyone interested in ancient Aegean and Mediterranean culture.

Saro Wallace held full-time lectureships at the Universities of Bristol, Cardiff, Reading and Warsaw (2004–10). Her career has also included a number of research fellowships, including those of the Leverhulme Trust, the Alexander S. Humboldt Foundation, the W.F. Albright Institute, and the Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University. She has been the recipient of numerous primary research grants including those of the British Academy, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and the Society of Antiquaries. Since 2008 she has directed field research (survey and excavation) in the landscape around the Bronze to Iron Age site of Karfi, Crete. Since 2017 she has been Senior Research Fellow in the School of Arts, Languages and Cultures, University of Manchester.

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the Ancient Aegean World

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For Eddie Peltenburg and David Ridgway, questing travellers
who taught me about data, context and imagination.



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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>Chronology used in this book</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxviii
1 Imagining movement	1
<i>Timing, context and aims of this book</i>	1
<i>The conceptual toolkit: existing approaches to Mediterranean movement</i>	5
<i>The Aegean focus: European/Mediterranean, disciplinary and data context</i>	9
A European and Mediterranean location	9
Disciplinary and cultural perspectives on the ancient Aegean	10
Aegean data quality: special features	11
<i>Analysing ancient culture change: earlier approaches and the ways they are built on in this book</i>	13
<i>Movement and culture change in the ancient Aegean: recent region-specific perspectives</i>	16
<i>Summary: context, methods and parameters of the present study</i>	19
2 Movement as explanation: the heritage	33
<i>Introduction</i>	33
<i>The Classical archaeology tradition</i>	34
<i>Nation, race, ethnicity and movement</i>	37
<i>Imperial legacies</i>	43
<i>Sociocultural change and movement: frameworks of past scholarship</i>	49
<i>Conclusions</i>	54

3	Movement, ‘Anatolianising’ culture and Aegean social change c. 3500–2300 BC	67
	<i>Introduction</i>	67
	<i>The long view on Neolithic-EB movement: questions of origins and identity</i>	71
	<i>The timing and nature of late FN sociocultural changes: evidence and interpretation</i>	74
	<i>Envisioning movement’s roots and pressures</i>	85
	<i>Approach, experience and response in movement</i>	91
	<i>Longer-term impacts of movement</i>	103
	Movement models and the late EB II crisis – a regional-scale view	106
	Movement, culture change and the Aegean: EB II–III	113
	<i>Conclusions</i>	120
4	Crete and Cretans in the Mediterranean, eighteenth to sixteenth centuries BC	138
	<i>Introduction</i>	138
	<i>Angles of approach in this study</i>	141
	<i>Origin points: multi-centredness on palatial Crete, MM II–LM IA</i>	143
	<i>Connective relationships among groups on Aegean islands/peninsulas</i>	148
	<i>Case studies</i>	152
	<i>Crete-linked movement and the Aegean mainland</i>	169
	<i>Envisaging encounters</i>	176
	<i>Language, script, ethnicity, movement</i>	188
	<i>Mainland state trajectories and movement: LH II/LM IB</i>	193
	<i>Conclusions: movement and transformation in the MB–early LB Aegean</i>	195
	<i>Crete-linked movement and the east Mediterranean: regional case studies</i>	196
	Introduction	196
	Coastal Anatolia	197
	Cyprus	204
	Egypt and the southern Levant	209
	<i>Conclusions: Crete-linked movement in the Aegean and east Mediterranean, MB–LB I</i>	219
	<i>The farthest shore: the central Mediterranean</i>	221

5	'Aegean' expansion: new dynamics, new boundaries in the later LBA	243
	<i>Introduction</i>	243
	<i>'Aegeanisation': a bloc forms</i>	248
	<i>Movement and cultural realignment</i>	249
	<i>LM IB destructions and their context</i>	254
	<i>Conclusions on the Aegean 'bloc' and movement</i>	261
	<i>Culture as currency: Aegean painted pottery and movement in the later LBA</i>	263
	<i>Aegean movement and Cyprus</i>	266
	<i>Making space: the Aegean bloc in wider eastern interactions</i>	273
	<i>Looking west (and north): movement and inequality from a different perspective</i>	280
	<i>General conclusions</i>	292
6	Myth and movement from c. 1200 BC	307
	<i>Introduction</i>	307
	<i>Legacies of tradition: texts in Greek</i>	310
	<i>Non-Greek texts: the 'Sea Peoples'</i>	315
	<i>'Crisis' and new kinds of movement: archaeological evidence from the twelfth-century Aegean</i>	322
	<i>Aegean 'elites' and movement</i>	336
	<i>East Mediterranean consumption patterns from c. 1200 BC – the 'Aegeanising' pottery boom and its significance</i>	340
	<i>Pottery and other cultural items as 'diagnostics' for Aegean movement to the east from c. 1200 BC – a review</i>	344
	<i>New settlement sites</i>	345
	<i>Fortifications</i>	346
	<i>Fineware innovations</i>	348
	<i>Cookware/cooking practice</i>	350
	<i>Handmade ware</i>	357
	<i>Pork consumption</i>	359
	<i>Weaving technology</i>	361
	<i>Figurative art</i>	363
	<i>Tomb and other architecture</i>	365
	<i>Summary on 'ethnofossil' evidence</i>	369
	<i>'Philistines': review of a classic migration model in the present data context</i>	370
	<i>Conclusions: Aegean movement east, 1200–1000 BC</i>	373

7	Later Iron Age Mediterranean movement and 'Greek colonisation'	391
	<i>Introduction: changes in Aegean-based travel c. 1200–1000 BC</i>	391
	<i>Ethnic actors and Mediterranean growth from the tenth century on</i>	402
	<i>'Colonisation' in the eighth- to sixth-century central Mediterranean: introduction</i>	411
	<i>Aegeans and others in central Mediterranean encounters</i>	413
	<i>Movement and changing local dynamics in Sicily/south Italy c. 800–600 BC</i>	429
	<i>Non-Aegean movement from the east: travellers' outlooks and reception environments in the later Iron Age west</i>	441
	<i>'Greek'-framed polities in wider local context; regional landscapes beyond the polis in the seventh–sixth centuries BC</i>	449
	<i>Living 'Greekness': social relationships in and outside 'Greek' polities in the central Mediterranean from c. 700 BC</i>	454
	<i>Creative traditions and movement</i>	458
	<i>Conclusions on Aegean-linked travel in the Iron Age–Archaic Mediterranean</i>	460
8	Conclusions: movement disassembled	482
	<i>Movement and history: finding patterns</i>	482
	<i>Movement's scale and impact: concepts and terminology</i>	487
	<i>Transformative movement in Mediterranean context</i>	488
	<i>Imagining encounters</i>	489
	<i>Travelling into the future: ongoing approaches to ancient movement</i>	494
	<i>Index</i>	497

Figures

2.1	Photograph of Cretan children used to support early twentieth-century arguments about the significance of cranial form in the archaeological record	42
2.2	Louis-François Cassas, <i>The Olympeion at Athens with the Acropolis in the distance</i>	45
3.1	Site distribution in the FN Aegean, including known west Anatolian sites dating in Late Chalcolithic IV/FN IV	69
3.2	Innovative types of pottery in Late Chalcolithic 4 Anatolia	76
3.3	(a) ‘Cheese-pots’ and other new forms from late FN Crete: Gaidouronisi island off Crete; (b) Photo: ‘cheese-pots’ from the surface of a late FN site, SE Crete	77
3.4	New pottery forms at FN IV Knossos (Stratum IC group)	78
3.5	Locations of Final Neolithic–EB I sites in northern Kea mentioned in the text	80
3.6	Crete: map of late FN sites	83
3.7	SE Crete: new concentration of sites in the latest FN	84
3.8	Bakla Tepe – excavation photograph of part of the Late Chalcolithic settlement	87
3.9	Burial finds at Bakla Tepe	88
3.10	Part of the West Anatolian/east Aegean development zone in Late Chalcolithic 4: ancient sites in the Izmir area and adjacent islands	89
3.11	Reconstruction of a recent experimental paddled longboat made from reeds, which took two weeks to travel from Athens to Melos	90
3.12	EB metal objects of distinctive Aegean type; daggers; scale 1:3	93
3.13	Photograph, FN site of Plakias Paligremnos, SW Crete	95
3.14	Photograph, FN site of Ayia Fotia Mertoriza	95
3.15	Photograph, FN site of Ziros Rizoviglo, SE Crete	96
3.16	Reconstruction drawing of the defensible FN site of Livari Katharades, SE Crete	96
3.17	Lebena: levels in <i>tholos</i> tomb I, with burial assemblages dating back to EB I and including small amounts of FN IV material	98

3.18	Finds from the Ayios Haralambos collective cave burial, Lasithi, Crete: accumulation of skulls against N wall of room 5. From S	100
3.19	Phaistos: deposits suggesting FN III–IV ceremonial activity: E-W section through Room XIX showing cooking installation 71; hearth 68; pits 69e and 69w	100
3.20	Pottery from the Phaistos FN IV deposits	101
3.21	FN–EB furnaces at Chrysokamino: reconstruction of use	102
3.22	Evidence for early Aegean metalworking: slagged crucibles from EB I Poros, Katsambas	105
3.23	Plans of fortified sites in the EB II–III Cyclades: Kastri (Syros), Mt. Kynthos (Delos), Panormos (Naxos)	106
3.24	Daskaleio-Kavos: (a) location map with trenches and (b) site plan	107
3.25	Ship imagery engraved on bedrock at FN–EB Strofilas, Andros, near fortification wall	109
3.26	Changed cultural forms in EC I Cyprus: ceramic/cooking artefacts; architecture; bronzeworking tools and bronze artefacts	111
3.27	‘Lefkandi I’-type ceramic forms, Ayia Irini	114
3.28	Giant serving vessel from EB III Lerna	116
3.29	Outsize obsidian blades, FN IV Petras Kefala	117
3.30	Egyptian-type animal amulets, EM–MM Crete	119
4.1	Map of central and east Mediterranean with sites/areas mentioned in the text, also showing palatial centres on Crete	144
4.2	Cretan ‘villa’: Chondros Viannou in south central Crete. LM IIIA–B town settlement above it	147
4.3	Akrotiri: site plan	153
4.4	Akrotiri: plan showing inscribed finds and examples of inscribed objects	154
4.5	Crete-linked ‘replica rings’ from Akrotiri	155
4.6	Akrotiri: (a) fresco with shipping scenes from west house Room 5, south wall; (b) Drawings of fresco fragments from west house Room 5, south wall, showing shipping scenes	155
4.7	Location map: Kastri site, Kythera, and its surroundings	157
4.8	Kastri, Kythera: plan of multichambered MM III/LM I tomb (Tomb E)	158
4.9	Location map: Ayios Giorgios hill near Kastri, Kythera	159
4.10	Phylakopi, Melos: site plan	161
4.11	Phylakopi: plan of the ‘Mansion’ and superimposed (LH III) megaron: find-spots of Linear A tablet (MI 2) and other Linear A-inscribed finds	162
4.12	Plan of Ayia Irini, Kea	164
4.13	Ayia Irini: plan of House A	165
4.14	Ayia Irini: goddess figurine from the ‘temple’: room 1; period IV	166

4.15	Ayia Irini: Cretan pottery imports among finds from Room 16	167
4.16	Ayios Stephanos summit: site plan showing excavation trenches 1959–77	171
4.17	Fine pottery assemblages, showing the advent of Cretan imports and styles, from (a) MH I late and (b) MH II–III Ayios Stephanos, Area Nu	172
4.18	Ano Englianios: map of palace site and surrounding area	173
4.19	Early mainland grave circles and tholoi: plans of Tholos III and grave circle at Ano Englianios, site of the LBA palace of Pylos	174
4.20	Aerial views of Tumulus A at Voidokoilia and Ayios Ioannis tumulus at Papoulia	175
4.21	Aegina Kolonna: plan of large Middle Bronze Age building	178
4.22	MB/LB I mainland pottery of distinctive regional types, moving in complex mainland-centred networks: Grey Minyan ware	180
4.23	Niello daggers from Mycenae and Pylos, part of the National Archaeological Museum collection in Athens	183
4.24	Silver ‘Siege Rhyton’ from the Mycenae shaft graves, showing an attack on a walled town: photograph and detail drawing	183
4.25	Gold signet rings from Mycenae	184
4.26	Fine cup types of Cretan, Kytheran and mainland manufacture, showing development of the ‘Vaphcio’ form: example (a) is from MM IIIB Knossos	186
4.27	Metal goods, including new cup types, from male graves in Mycenae Grave Circle B	187
4.28	Early kylikes in Crete (LM II tombs at Katsambas)	187
4.29	Galatas Megali Magoula: site plan	189
4.30	Cypro-Minoan signs inscribed on different objects, LC IIA–IIIA, c. 1450–1200 BC: (a) gold ring from a tomb, LC IIA Kalavassos Ayios Dimitrios; (b) bronze votive object (‘kidney’) from temple 2, LC IIC Kition; (c) bronze object from ritual/specialised context, LC IIC–IIIA Enkomi; (d) jar handle from LC IIIA Maa Palaeokastro	192
4.31	Iasos: fine cups of Cretan type, some of Milesian manufacture	198
4.32	Miletus: imported fine Cretan vessels from period III; Miletus catalogue numbers AT.99.264.1; AT.99.633.1; AT.98.347.3; AT.99.913.1; AT.99.84.12; AT.98.137.1; AT.98.160.1; AT.99.597.1	198
4.33	Miletus, period III: Cretan-type cooking pot, catalogue number AT.98.80.2, Scale 1:3	199
4.34	Iasos: (a) Anatolian-type jug (Iasos inventory no. 2041/Milas Museum 638); (b) Cretan fineware import, probably from north central Crete (Iasos AG/NM/20) (MM IIB–IIIB)	200

4.35	Česme: excavation photograph	201
4.36	Cemetery of Skarkos, Ios: Cretan-type cooking pot in grave	202
4.37	Non-pot Cretan-type artefacts in western Anatolia: (a) Miletus: horned stand, Miletus catalogue number AT97.404.12; (b) Limantepe: loomweights	203
4.38	Map showing sites in the east Mediterranean mentioned on the text but not indicated in Figure 4.1	205
4.39	Toumba tou Skourou: plan and section of Tomb 1	208
4.40	Cretan-type pottery in Egypt: imported MM IIA sherds from Lahun in the Middle Nile area	210
4.41	(a)–(c) ‘Keftiu’ paintings, tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes (reign of Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II). Held in the Metropolitan Museum, New York	212
4.42	Tell el-Dab’a: (a) plan of fresco find locations; (b) frescoes with bull scenes, made in Cretan style and technique	214
4.43	Frescoes of Cretan type and technology in the Levant: Alalakh: fragments from Level VII palace	215
4.44	Frescoes of Cretan type and technology in the Levant: Kabri: (a) fragments with representation of sea and boats; (b) architecture	216
5.1	Map of sites referred to in this chapter	244
5.2	LM III representations of oared galleys: (a) LM IIIB larnax from Skaphidara near Knossos (Heraklion Archaeological Museum 18985); (b) rim fragment of LM III cup from Phaistos palace area; (c) pithos/jar base from Room 4 of LM III house b, west of the ‘piazzale del Teatro’ at Phaistos	245
5.3	(a) Frescoes of warriors at Pylos palace, LH IIIB; (b) Larnax from LM III Episkopi, Crete, with war scenes	246
5.4	(a) Palace-style jars, one with boar’s tusk helmet motif, from LH II tombs at Katsambas, Crete; (b) Bronze swords, Zapher Papoura cemetery, Knossos: graves 44 and 36	253
5.5	Palaikastro ‘kouros’: acc ritual figurine smashed in the LM IB destruction of Building 5	255
5.6	Central building with ‘megaron’ plan at LM IIIA Ayia Triada	259
5.7	LM III <i>tholos</i> tombs: plan and section of the <i>tholos</i> in the LM III cemetery of Armenoi, west Crete	260
5.8	Pictorial pottery in the east Mediterranean: (a) chariot kraters: (1) from Cyprus, provenance unknown, Pierides Collection 33; (2) from Enkomi tomb, British Museum; (b) Krater with Cypro-Minoan sign from twelfth-century Pyla <i>Kokkinokremos</i>	262
5.9	Canaanite jar imports in Crete, from LM IB and LM IIIA:1 deposits in House X, Kommos	267
5.10	LBA tomb form diversity at Enkomi: plans and sections	270

5.11	Female figurine from LC II Cyprus with features similar to those of contemporary Aegean figurines; Cyprus Museum Inventory Number A 53	271
5.12	(a) 'Horned God' figurine in bronze, LC IIIA Enkomi; (b) 'Ingot God' figurine in bronze, LC IIIA Enkomi	272
5.13	Ulu Burun wreck: plan	274
5.14	Imported Aegean fine wares, and ivory and bronze items in typical Aegean styles, from sites on the Adriatic coast of Italy	282
5.15	Aegean-related pottery from thirteenth-century south Italy: grey wheelmade local imitations of typical Aegean drinking wares from Broglio di Trebisacce, 2, 7, 9–11	283
5.16	Tokens from LBA central Mediterranean sites: (a) Vivara; (b) Pantelleria; (c) Monte Grande	284
5.17	Italian and Italian-type bronze objects in the Aegean: (a) knife found at LH IIIC Ialysos, Moschou Vounara cemetery, T15/26; Archaeological Museum of Rhodes inv. no M1600 (3579); traces of bone or ivory at the handle and the ring; (b) knife found at LM IIIB/C Knossos; Archaeological Museum of Iraklion inv. no. 4495; (c) Razors found at the settlement of Kastrokefala in Crete and the Achaia Klaus cemetery in the Peloponnese	287
5.18	New connections between Italy and the Aegean in the latest Bronze Age: Tiryns-type amber beads from Frattesina, Po valley	288
5.19	Glykys Limin site: detail of the lower Acheron region, showing the reconstructed shoreline and Bronze Age bay	290
5.20	Aegean-type objects in the Adriatic: sherd from Debelo Brdo	291
6.1	Map of all sites mentioned in the text	308
6.2	Thebes: Medinet Habu mortuary temple reliefs: (a) Rameses III's land battle; (b) detail of invaders' ship	316
6.3	Anthropoid coffin lid from twelfth-century Beth She'an in the southern Levant, from the collection of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem	317
6.4	Depictions of seaborne warfare on early twelfth-century pictorial pottery	323
6.5	Map of new sites in the Aegean from c. 1200 BC: Crete	326
6.6	Map of new and continuing sites in the Aegean from c. 1200 BC: mainland	327
6.7	Photograph: fortification wall at Kranidi Profitis Elias, from SW	328
6.8	Photograph: site of Zakro Ellinika, Crete, from SE	329
6.9	Photograph: site of Elliniki Korifi, Crete, from SW	329
6.10	Plan: Karfi settlement	330
6.11	Photograph: Grotta on Naxos, from E	331
6.12	Photograph: defensible acropolis near the Knidos promontory, western Anatolia. From S	332

6.13	Map: Iron Age I sites in the coastal Levant	333
6.14	Tel Migne: site plan	334
6.15	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i> : site plan	339
6.16	Locally-made Aegeanising fine wares (11A–D); contemporary Cypriot imports (11E–F); and jug-type cooking pot (11G) from Tell Kazel, Syria	341
6.17	Pottery of Aegeanising type from Bademgediği Tepe and other east Mediterranean sites, early twelfth century BC	342
6.18	Fortification wall at Kritsa Castello, Crete, from W	347
6.19	‘Cooking jug’ type gaining popularity in coastal east Mediterranean sites from c. 1200 BC: one- and two-handled cooking jugs from Crete, mainland Greece and Ashdod in the southern Levant	351
6.20	Local and other types of cooking pots from Tell Kazel	352
6.21	Hearths in the Levant post-1200 BC: (a) tanour ovens, Tel Jemmeh; (b) pebbled hearth, Tel-es-Sa’fi; (c) Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	354
6.22	Hearths in LM IIIA/B and LM IIIC Aegean rural households: (a) Kefali Chondros Viannou, Crete; (b) Monastiraki Chalasmeno, Crete	356
6.23	Handmade burnished ware vessels from Sinda, Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i> and Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus	358
6.24	Twelfth-century spool-shaped loomweights: (a) Tel Afis; (b) Karphi	362
6.25	Aegeanising figurines in the southern Levant – example from Ashdod Stratum XII	364
6.26	Reconstruction of a chamber tomb from thirteenth-century Tell el-Far’ah	366
6.27	Altar D with horns of consecration, Kition <i>Kathari</i> . From SE	367
6.28	Enkomi: town plan showing locations of LC IIIA temples (post-1200 BC), redrawn by L. Sollars	368
6.29	Plan of ‘Ashlar Building’ housing the Horned God figurine, in LC IIIA	369
6.30	Enkomi: plan of ‘Temple of the Ingot God’. The bronze figurine was found in room 4	370
7.1	Map of sites mentioned in the text (detail of Italian sites mentioned is given in Figure 7.22)	392
7.2	Cypriot-type bronze and iron items in the twelfth-century Aegean: (a) bronze stand from chamber tomb I at Vrokastro, Crete; (b) iron knife from Gypsades grave VII, Knossos	394
7.3	Juglet of Cypriot Base-Ring type from a tomb near the settlement of Veni, west Crete	395
7.4	Finds of Cypriot-originating or Cypriot-type metal objects in Sardinia: (a) ingot distribution map; (b) Miniature tripod stand from ritual cave site of Pirosu-Su Benatsu, near Cagliari	396

7.5	Individual cist grave burials of the post-collapse period, Perati: plan of tomb 123	398
7.6	Early cremation at Perati: tomb 1, pit 1	399
7.7	Twelfth/eleventh-century cremations at Atsipades, Crete	399
7.8	Aegean pottery imports of types dating as early as the tenth century BC: (a) Tel Hadar: PG <i>lebes</i> basin; (b) Amathus: pendent semicircle skyphos, Limassol Museum inv. LM 834/182	401
7.9	Export traditions from coastal Anatolian polities: late seventh-century Ionian kylix found at Carthage	405
7.10	Levantine-type goods in the Aegean, previously seen as signifying large-scale/exploitative settlement of easterners there: (a) Lekythos: Cretan or Dodecanesian manufacture, Cypriot Black-on-Red style (Eleutherna cemetery); (b) imported Black-on-Red juglet (Ialysos cemetery, Rhodes, tomb 82); (c) imitation of Black-on-Red oinochoe (Camiros cemetery, Rhodes); (d) imitation of Black-on-Red juglets (Ialysos cemeteries, Rhodes)	408
7.11	Tripillar shrine at Kommos: reconstruction	409
7.12	Phoenician-type grave monuments (cippi): Knossos Atsalenio cippus, front, rear and side views	410
7.13	Early Aegean pottery imports in the central and west Mediterranean likely to have travelled on Cyprus- or Levant-based voyages: SOS amphora, Malaga, eighth–seventh century BC	414
7.14	Evidence of eastern-based routes west through the Aegean: Sardinian askos, eighth century BC, from the Knossos Tekke cemetery	415
7.15	Pithekoussai: topography, ancient sites (dots) and modern settlements (hatched lines/capitals)	416
7.16	Pithekoussai: (a) view of the Acropolis and Valle di San Montano cemetery locations, from W; (b) view of Valle di San Montano cemetery location, from E	417
7.17	Pithekoussai: cist and jar burial types in the Valle di San Montano cemetery	419
7.18	Pithekoussai: (a) Euboean-made imitation of standard Corinthian kotyle type; (b) Euboean-type krater used as grave marker. Manufacture location unknown	420
7.19	Locally made Euboean-type krater, Pithekoussai	421
7.20	Imported transport amphora used for burial 575 at Pithekoussai. Secondary inscription in Aramaic	421
7.21	(a) Drinking vessel (kotyle) with ‘Nestor’s cup’ inscription, Pithekoussai, Museo Archeologico di Pitecusa 21. Rhodian-made with Euboic Greek inscription; (b) reconstruction of the metric inscription	422

7.22	Seal of Cilician 'Lyre-player' type from Pithekoussai grave 223	423
7.23	Example of pottery grave goods in prestigious south Italian bucchero tradition deposited in Pithekoussai graves (vessel 3)	424
7.24	Examples of bow fibulae from tombs at Pithekoussai	425
7.25	Iron tools from Tomb 678, Pithekoussai	427
7.26	Metal-rich tomb 180 at Pontecagnano	428
7.27	Map of sites mentioned in the text: Sicily and south Italy	430
7.28	L'Amastuola: (a) local-tradition cooking pots and (b; c) Aegean-type fineware found at the site	432
7.29	L'Amastuola: burial stela	433
7.30	Photograph: Morgantina settlement, from west	434
7.31	Polizzello: (a) site plan; (b) plan of buildings on the summit; (c) plans of chamber tombs in east necropolis	435
7.32a	Morgantina: (a) traditional type of multiple burial and associated assemblage in tomb 6, of late eighth–early seventh century date	437
7.32b	Morgantina: (b) single rock-cut 'fossa' burial of the same period	437
7.33	Plans of eighth-century chamber tombs from Villasmundo and Licodia	438
7.34	Variety of Iron Age burial types in Sicily: (A–D) Mulino della Badia-Madonna del Piano; (E–F) Cassibile	439
7.35	Traditional types of burial, Sicily: Iron Age chamber tomb with multiple burial at Sant'Angelo Muxaro, Sicily	440
7.36	'Nora Stone'	443
7.37	Features of change related to Levant-originating travel at south Iberian sites: Astarte statue, Seville, seventh century BC (Archaeological Museum of Seville inv number RE 11136). Inscribed in Phoenician script with a dedication to Astarte	444
7.38	Figures from Monte Prama cemetery, Sardinia	445
7.39	Location map of Mozia island, in its protected lagoon, and site distribution map on Mozia	447
7.40	Photograph: Mozia tophet	448
7.41	Area of Metaponto: reconstruction of city house plots and land divisions recalling those of Archaic Aegean states, based on field evidence	450
7.42	(a) Temples of the eighth and seventh centuries BC at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta); (b) fine pottery of Greek type found at the Timpone della Motta site	452
7.43	House plots at Megara Hyblaea: plan and axonometric view of the area of the agora at the mid-sixth century BC. Grey shading shows eighth-century houses	456

Chronology used in this book

Sources: Bietak 2003; Boardman et al. 1982; Cline 2014: Table 2.2; Düring 2011a: 176; Hassan 1985; Steiner and Killebrew 2014; Knapp 2013: 521; Leighton 2012; Lemos 2003; Malone 2003; Manning 2010; 2008; Manning and Bronk Ramsey 2010; Manning et al. 2006; Regev et al. 2012; Tomkins 2007: 32–44; 2008; Twiss 2007; Soles 2004; Yakar 2011). Details of and debates around chronology are explained further in the relevant chapters. I have given a late seventeenth-century BC absolute date (following Manning and Bronk Ramsey 2010, who gives c. 1620 BC) for the Thera eruption and end of Late Minoan IA, noting the dates of 1680–1550 BC given for LM IA in the Wiener's 'Modified Aegean Short Chronology' (Wiener 2003: 389). Revised ranges for Egyptian traditional regnal dates given by Bronk Ramsey et al. (2010) in line with C14 data help indicate the extent of the possible discrepancies when traditional dates for Egyptian contexts are used to date imported Aegean and other pottery. Many simplifications of chronology have been made for the purposes of this book, with most detailed attention given to Aegean chronology: Aegean terms or general ones are used throughout the book in preference to local chronologies when discussing Aegean contacts with other areas.

Abbreviations used:

EN/MN/LN/FN: Early/Middle/Late/Final Neolithic
(Cypro-)PPNA/B/C: (Cypriot) Pre-Pottery Neolithic A/B/C
EChal/MChal/LChal: Early/Middle/Late Chalcolithic
EB/MB/LB(A): Early/Middle/Late Bronze (Age)
EM/MM/LM: Early/Middle/Late Minoan
EH/MH/LH: Early/Middle/Late Helladic
EC/MC/LC: Early/Middle/Late Cypriot
EIA: Early Iron Age
PG/EG/MG/LG: Protogeometric/Early Geometric/Middle Geometric/Late Geometric
CG: Cypro-Geometric
A: Archaic

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
7000	Aceramic Neolithic	Mesolithic/Aceramic Neo	Mesolithic	Pre-pottery Neolithic B	Late PPNB	Late Cyprio – PPNB	Aceramic Neolithic	Mesolithic
6500				Early Pottery Neolithic	ppNC/Pottery Neolithic			
6200	Early Neolithic	Early Neolithic	Early Neolithic	Late Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic			
6000	Middle Neolithic	Middle Neolithic	Middle Neolithic	Early Chalcolithic	Early Chalcolithic			Neolithic
5500						Pottery Neolithic		
5300	Late Neolithic	Late Neolithic	Late Neolithic	Middle Chalcolithic	Middle Chalcolithic (Ubaid)		Early Fayum Neolithic (c. 5200)	
5000								
4500	Final Neolithic	Final Neolithic	Final Neolithic	Late Chalcolithic	Late Chalcolithic			
4000							Late Fayum Neolithic	
3700						Early Chalcolithic	Early Predynastic (Naqada) from c. 3750	
3600	Final Neo III	Final Neo III	Final Neo III					
3500	Final Neo IV	Final Neo IV	Final Neo IV	Late Chalcolithic 4	Late Chalcolithic 4		Late Predynastic (Naqada)	Late Neo

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
3400					Early Bronze I	Middle Chalcolithic		
3300								
3200								
3000	Early Minoan I	Early Helladic I	Early Cycladic I	Early Bronze I	Early Bronze II		Old Kingdom: Dynasty I	
2900					Early Bronze III			
2700				Early Bronze II		Late Chalcolithic		
2600	Early Minoan II	Early Helladic II	Early Cycladic II					
2500					EB IV/Int Bronze Age			
2400						Prehistoric Bronze Age 1		
2300				Early Bronze III			First Intermediate Period	
2200	Early Minoan III	Early Helladic III	Early Cycladic III					Early Bronze Age
2100	Middle Minoan IA	Middle Helladic I	Middle Cycladic I					
2000				Middle Bronze I	Middle Bronze I	Prehistoric Bronze Age 2	Start of Middle Kingdom – Mentuhotep II: 2064/2055	
1900	Middle Minoan IB	Middle Helladic II	Middle Cycladic II				12th Dynasty	Middle Bronze Age
1800	Middle Minoan II/IIIA	Middle Helladic III	Middle Cycladic III	Middle Bronze II	Middle Bronze II		Second Intermediate Period	

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
1750	Middle Minoan III				Middle Bronze III	Middle Cypriot III		
1700	Late Minoan IA	Late Helladic I	Late Cycladic I	Middle Bronze III				
1680								
1650					Late Bronze I	Protohistoric Bronze Age: Late Cypriot IA		
1640								
1620	Thera eruption c. 1620?: LM IB begins	Late Helladic IIA	Late Cycladic II					
1600				Middle Bronze IV: Hittite Old Kingdom				
1570							New Kingdom: Dynasty 18 'A'; Ahmose 1570/1550	
1550								
1520		Late Helladic IIB/IIIA:1						
1500	LM II/IIIA		Late Cycladic III	Late Bronze I			Dynasty 18 'B': Hatshepsut: 1498/1473	

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
							Thutmose III: 1492/1479	
1470								
1450								
1430	LM IIIA Knossos destruction: LM IIIA:2 begins	Late Helladic IIIA:2			Late Bronze IIA	Protohistoric Bronze Age 2: LC IIA		
1410								
1400							Dynasty 18 'C'/D' transition; Amenhotep III: 1408/1390 Akhnaten: 1370/1352	Late BA
1370								
1350								
1330	Late Minoan IIIB	Late Helladic IIIB		Suppiliummas: 1344		LC IIC		
1320				Mursilis II: 1321				
1300				Late Bronze II		Protohistoric Bronze Age 3	Dynasty 19: Rameses II 1297/1279 to c. 1273	Recent BA
1290				Muwatalilis: 1295				

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
1270				Hattusilis III: 1267				
1250								
1230				Tudhaliyas IV: 1237				
1210							Merneptah: 1213/1195; Seti II: 1204/1186; Rameses III: 1202/1184	
1200	LM III C/ Subminoan	Late Helladic IIIC		Early Iron Age	Iron IA	LC IIIA		Final BA
1150					Iron IB	LC IIIB		
1100						Cypro-Geometric IA	Third Intermediate Period	
1080								
1050		Proto-geometric	Proto-geometric	Proto-geometric		Cypro-Geometric 1B/II		EIA 1
1000	Proto-geometric				Iron IIA			
950								
925					Iron IIB			
900	PG B	Early Geometric	Early Geometric	Early Geometric				EIA 2

<i>Absolute date BC</i>	<i>Crete</i>	<i>Mainland</i>	<i>Cyclades</i>	<i>W. Anatolia</i>	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>S. Italy</i>
850	Early Geometric							
800								Orientalising
750	Late Geometric	Late Geometric	Late Geometric	Late Geometric		Archaic	Dynasty 25	
730					Iron IIC			
720							Reunification under Shabaka: 716 BC	
700	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic			Assyrian attacks begin	Proto-Archaic
674							Dynasty 26: Psammetichos I: 664	
660							Nechos II	
650								Archaic
610					Babylonian			
600								
550					Iron III/Persian		Persian period: Dynasty 27: Cambyses 525	
530								
500								Punic
480	Classical	Classical	Classical	Classical				

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number of fellow scholars and their publishers who have recognised this in giving permission to reproduce or adapt their original illustrations here without charge. The objects and sites we study are not our property: public funds mostly pay for our time and skill in making images of them in the public interest. Once these images been placed in the public domain with appropriate credit, most producing scholars and institutions do not attempt to benefit financially from their credited reproduction in other published settings, provided the latter can be freely accessed through public educational/research institutions, and are not mainly aimed at generating commercial profit. Were they to do so, the effect would inevitably be to diminish public access to and understanding of the objects and sites illustrated, by tending to discourage image reproduction. I am hugely grateful to see that so many of my colleagues recognise this.

'From the third millennium BC onward the magical civilizations of ancient western Asia increasingly came into contact with coastal and island centres in Greece, Crete, the Cyclades and Cyprus. What was the nature of that contact and can we ascertain its directionality? Who controlled trade between various regions? Were western Asiatic symbols of authority emulated in Mediterranean centres? What social classes or cultural groups were involved? . . . the data at hand cry out for evaluation in a globalising, holistic context, particularly given the current interest in ancient world systems, prestige goods economies and the role of distance and the exotic.'

(Knapp, A. B., 2000. Mediterranean Bronze Age trade: distance, power and place. In E. Cline and D. Harris-Cline, eds., *The Aegean and the Orient in the 2nd millennium BC: proceedings of the 50th anniversary symposium, Cincinnati*. Liège/Austin: Aegaeum: 193–205 at 196)

'How are we to interpret or explain [this] 'pulsing' of connectivity across the millennia . . . this cycling of influence clockwise around the Aegean, from Anatolia, to Crete to the mainland. . . . Is this . . . somehow characteristic of archipelagos, more than other kinds of geographical regions? Is it perhaps attributable in some way to the role of hubs and gateways in such environments? And how is it that for each of these pulses, the scale and direction of connectivity shifts?'

(Horden, P., and N. Purcell, 2000. *The corrupting sea: a study of Mediterranean history*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Horden and Purcell 2006: 735)

'the connectivity was always there to some degree . . . but . . . how far the *potential* was realised from one age to another: this is the essence of an historical account of Mediterranean connections.'

(Harris, W. V., 2005. The Mediterranean and ancient history.
In W. V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean*.
New York: Oxford University Press: 24.
Harris 2005: 24)

1 Imagining movement

Timing, context and aims of this book

The idea of population movement as a repeated major driver of sociopolitical and economic change has a long history in scholarship on the ancient Aegean. The volume and quality of evidence available for this region has increased exponentially in the last twenty years – due among other factors to generous funding from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the increased physical mobility and intellectual connection of scholars within frameworks including the European Union, and the development of scientific and systematic archaeology in the Aegean region. The change means that older interpretative schemes need refreshing and re-evaluating to keep pace, and this is happening in a variety of ways. Established general ideas about movement as a factor in social and cultural transformation seem notably important to re-evaluate and test in this context. That is the main aim of this book, which draws together and analyses data at secondary level in a strongly historical and contextual framework covering a long timespan. It aims to help work out new specific and general models for understanding movement's role in the region, drawing on a variety of archaeological and anthropological approaches to the study of cultural and social connection and change.

The long-timespan coverage essential to a historical understanding of movement in this region is achieved through a series of case studies, all chosen for their rich and accessible data and the high-profile history of interpretation of that data in terms of movement. In all these cases, the secondary data drawn on have recently been significantly updated and (as a result) have formed the subject of interesting new interpretative approaches – the latter varying significantly in relation to the periods and data types concerned. Brand-new work on the Final Neolithic period has produced large amounts of evidence pertaining directly to questions of long-distance movement at the very start of the Bronze Age (c. 3500–3000 BC). Detailed new scientific data and restudies of old excavation assemblages from new perspectives, along with rich new theoretical approaches including network-based

2 *Imagining movement*

approaches, encourage the questioning/refinement of models of movement couched in terms of political expansion/colonisation from Crete in the Middle Bronze to early Late Bronze Age (c. 2000–1600 BC). Updating of the record (including improved studies of ceramic technology/exchange and newly nuanced approaches to linguistics and ancient texts) encourages rethinking of the society and economy of mainland Greece during the emergence of ‘Mycenaean’ states in the Late Bronze Age (1700–1200 BC) and of later LBA/Early Iron Age (1450–700 BC) long-distance interaction in and outside state frameworks. The Early Iron Age has seen a recent major extension of research into areas such as landscape, subsistence and settlement, shifting the basis and context of evidence on which scholars can discuss movement as a force for change. Looking at Aegean-based travels in the Archaic–Classical period (c. 700–333 BC), the recent growth of sophisticated, post-culture-historical and postcolonial approaches to the encounters involved (e.g. in the ‘Greek colonisation’ phenomenon in Italy), as well as new fieldwork researching the cultural interfaces of this period, provide an exciting starting point.

How wide are this book’s interests and its likely readership? The geographical range and long time-depth make it necessary to present some backup/introductory information for each case study period, but it would be impossible (and obscure the focus of the book) to provide textbook-style data summaries for each case. The presentation and discussion of information is on a selective basis, but the approach to material I use in each discussion is contextual. By this I mean that data from single or few sites/parts of sites, and/or specific types of data (e.g. from burials only, or from texts only) are never relied on as the main props for argument, and that all available data is proportionately assessed in a linked-up fashion and historical perspective (this is what is meant whenever I refer to a ‘contextual’ or ‘contextualised’ approach: see Hodder 2009). By the nature of the theme, areas outside the Aegean will be extensively discussed, though at a necessarily more limited level than those within it: the same balanced and contextual approach will be maintained in approaching this data.

The study argues its relevance in the context of world archaeology and in particular European archaeology: population movement as a driver in social and cultural change has recently re-entered the archaeological and sociopolitical spotlight across the continent (e.g. Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000; Champion 1990; Chapman and Hamerow 1989; Chapman and Dolukhanov 1992; Dziegielewski et al. 2010; Härke 1998; 2004; Hakenbeck 2005; Lightfoot 2005: 1–2; ed. 2005; Prien 2005; Reynolds 2011: 343; van Dommelen 2014; ed. 2014). For ancient Mediterranean studies as a whole there is especially strong relevance in addressing movement. Intensive attention was given to the theme of movement during the early development of systematic scholarship on the region’s prehistory in the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. At that time, understandings of ancient movement were often embedded in notions of culture as racially/ethnically inherent (and thus of cultural

change/ 'progression' as a natural consequence of population mobility). These notions were sited in contemporary nationalist, imperialist and early modernist discourses which the study evaluates and tries to position itself outside (see e.g. Hobsbawm 1989: 56–84; 142–65; 243–62; Kristiansen and Rowlands 2005: 22; Said 1978; 2003). In the 1960s–80s, the popularity of quantitative methods and ecological/processual perspectives in archaeology (applied relatively late and in a limited way in the Mediterranean) tended to marginalise the question of movement's relationship to large-scale sociocultural change – promoting instead a focus on internally generated patterns of change. This was in overt reaction to older diffusionist perspectives (see Anthony 1990; Hakenbeck 2005; Trigger 1998 for reviews) and has in turn during the last two decades into 'Mediterraneanist' perspectives on prehistoric movement and its effects in this region. The latter stress long-term, regular, and environmentally driven factors and patterns in the way people moved (see e.g. Knapp and Blake 2005; Harris 2005; ed. 2005).

Factors contributing to general recent renewal of interest in ancient movement include the postmodern humanities' focus on the construction of social and cultural identity, especially in the material dimension (e.g. Buchli 2002; Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Shennan 1994) and their turn to a reflexive mode (e.g. Hodder 2000). The field of postcolonial studies (encompassing both the history of interaction and text-focused structural analysis) has stimulated new thinking around movement forms and their relationship to power, culture and society in the past – and has particular resonance in the Mediterranean context. Materiality and cultural practice are increasingly highlighted as active agents *in* movement, rather than passively determined by it (e.g. Desai and Nair 2005: 3–5; Gosden 2004: 25; Gosden and Marshall 1999; 169–78; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Moro-Abadia 2006; Prakash 1995; Rogers 2005: 332; Stein 2005; ed. 2005; Thomas 1994; van Dommelen 1997; 2012; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012: 20; van Pelt 2013). For the archaeology of the Mediterranean in particular, there is a recognition that the region's particular geography and distinctive early history limits the value of analysing subregional cultural change 'stories' in isolation from each other (e.g. Blake and Knapp 2005; van de Mierop 2005: 123; see most recently Broodbank 2014a). Postcolonial perspectives have highlighted the compartmentalising effects of European imperial and colonial discourse on scholarly narratives of ancient movement and change in the region, including the use of reductive ethnic and cultural categories (such as 'Greekness') in this context. Many older accounts of movement in the region now appear to need 'decolonizing' (Broodbank 2014a: 28; Hamilakis 2005: 177; 2008): a process which is still incomplete and to which this book tries to contribute. It is also increasingly apparent that processual-type/systemic approaches in anthropology and archaeology, seeking predictable/repeated patterns in human behaviour at local or regional level, have simply 'stepped over' the legacies of imperial/

4 *Imagining movement*

colonial discourse in ancient movement studies, rather than engaging with them. Arguing long-distance movement to be generically and systemically characteristic of certain regional areas (as Mediterraneanism does) can itself tend toward quasi-imperialist reductionism (Diamond 1997; 2005; with McAnany and Yoffee 2010 for critiques; Given 1998; Harris 2005: 38–42; Herzfeld 2005: 48; de Pina-Cabral 1989; Pluciennik 2006: 473; Shavit 1988; van Dommelen 2005: 115).

Another recent stimulus to interest in the impact and experience of ancient movement is the high political resonance of movement, sociocultural change and ethnicity in contemporary Europe following the collapse of the Soviet empire, the expansion of the European Union, economic globalisation and its crisis, and the effects of post-imperial cultural/ethnic conflicts in the Middle East, including refugee movements (e.g. Abulafia 2005; Arnold 1998; Dzino 2012; Goddard et al. 1994; Gori 2012; Härke 2004: 453; Oras 2012; Wicker 1997). New kinds of cross-border population shift and newly emergent identities, self-consciously articulated through consumption practice (Dietler 2010: 214) are leading European societies to revisit questions of nationalism, ancestral links to territory, and the origins/inherence of cultural and religious traditions. Study of the past, including past movement, is acknowledged as important in elucidating and developing discussion of these political hot topics (e.g. Atkinson et al. 1996; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Diaz-Andreu and Smith 2001; Eriksen 2002; Finney 1999: 71–2; Giddens 1990: 182).

If the Mediterranean is a recurrent locus of interest in all the above debates, the Aegean has a special role within both European and Mediterranean frameworks of discussion. As a result of a surge in development-led archaeological rescue projects in Greece and Turkey during the last two decades, and of especially well-funded academic research on Aegean prehistory in the same period,¹ a rich regional data set is ripe for new discussion. The volatile nationalisms characteristic of the colonial and postcolonial Mediterranean, and their relationship to archaeological interpretation, have been the subject of especially prolific historiographic review and dissection within Greek cultural studies. The discipline of Aegean prehistory entered a phase of intense self-reflection unparalleled in many other Mediterranean archaeologies as it passed its hundred-year mark (e.g. Cherry et al. 2005; Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; Hamilakis 2002; 2005; 2007; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006). Due to the long history of international interest in Aegean prehistory/Classical archaeology, echoes of multiple *different* national/nationalist archaeologies have clearly affected, and continue to affect, work on ancient movement and culture change in the region, producing cross-currents of great interest when reassessing approaches to the transformative role of ancient movement.

In archaeology, as in the wider humanities, a postmodern ‘loss of innocence’ (i.e. the expectation that notionally ‘raw’ sources of data will be already mediated in various ways by the time we access them) means that most scholars no longer straightforwardly equate cultural change patterns

to the movement of groups with innate, bounded or permanent characteristics. This book has no need to re-fight this ground. Rather, it seeks to recognise and address continuing hunger among both professional students of archaeology and the interested public for coherent, evidence-based and up-to-date explanations of the origins and transformations of the world's first civilisations, with their rich, accessible, culturally connected and politically high-profile sites, landscapes and artefacts (Galaty et al. 2010; see e.g. Aruz et al. 2013; Feldman 2006 as recent responses). The massive cultural, social and political transformations seen in the east Mediterranean region between the Neolithic and Iron Ages, alongside evidence for intense and varied contacts/movements across the region in the same periods, continue to require exploration and explanation. If we fail to adequately address/envision ancient movement and its potentially transformative effects in this context, the subject and the data remain highly liable to misunderstanding and misappropriation (Bernal 1991; Lefkowitz and Rogers 1996; Morris 2003: 41; Snodgrass 2005: 57). This book's tackling of the subject head-on, and in a reflexive light, aims to develop positive, detailed, well-grounded and stimulating movement models. While the general relevance of movement to ancient Mediterranean social and economic developments is widely accepted, fragmented and often contradictory accounts of/debates on movement as a *specific* driver in complexly-patterned change still abound in the literature and need re-evaluation and linkage, without overgeneralisation (see Broodbank 2012: 27; Knapp and van Dommelen 2010: 1–3; see most recently Molloy 2016).

The conceptual toolkit: existing approaches to Mediterranean movement

In any new long-timeframe work discussing Mediterranean movement, the concept of Mediterraneanism must be engaged with (Morris 2003; Renfrew 2003: 316). Increasingly well-defined in the historical and archaeological literature over the last twenty years, this approach now affects most readings of early movement in the region (though some recent general works while clearly informed by its outlooks, make little overt reference to it; see e.g. Demand 2011). The term subsumes understandings of the Mediterranean lands as an intrinsically connected and 'connective' cultural and historical region over the very long term. Inherent parallels have often been suggested with other regions facing and using a small-scale connective zone, including the Sahara margins, Micronesia and Japan (e.g. Abulafia 2005: 92). Both human agency *and* environment are seen in this perspective as constructing 'connectivity' (the latter defined as embedded, active and ongoing contact through movement at various scales; see e.g. Broodbank 2014a: 20; Calvo et al. 2011; Knapp 2013: 383–4). However, following the establishment of the earliest visible connections between human populations within the region (now dated around the eleventh millennium BC: see

Broodbank 2006) connectivity is usually viewed in these models as having become a *permanent* feature of the Mediterranean. Though shifts in the perception and exploitation of the environment over time are acknowledged, connectivity often seems viewed as timeless – transcending and directing history (Knapp suggests ‘Connectivity involves mobility, modes of travel and communication, and social exchanges – all mechanisms that motivated or modified island identities, and in turn *drove* the migrants, mariners and merchants that brought together people and things’ [my emphasis]; see also Hodos [2012: 251], who suggests that connectivity subsumes shared ‘social values’; Broodbank [2014a: 50–2] suggests an intrinsically ‘connected’ early Mediterranean before a fragmenting ‘gridiron’ of national identities and monotheistic religions was imposed; Foxhall, more cautiously, notes the evident loss of patches of connectivity at different Mediterranean times and places within this picture, stressing dynamic ‘themes and variations’ on ‘deep structures’ of connection [Foxhall 2014: 108]). Connectivity and related Mediterraneanist concepts are rooted in the broad-spectrum approach to the region’s cultural and economic history developed by Fernand Braudel (1976) which has proved of natural interest to archaeological scholarship, given the latter’s long timescales, wide geographical scope, concerns with basic human-environment interactions, and ability to map past contact at multiple levels (see e.g. Blake and Knapp 2005: 12–13; 15–16; Cherry et al. 2005; Harris 2005; Horden and Purcell 2000; 2005; Manning 1994: 226; Papaconstantinou 2007; Toumazis 2007).

I argue here that the focus of Mediterraneanism on constant, patterned and repeated factors in movement, and in the latter’s relationship to society and culture, can be problematic, despite extensive re-examination and nuancing of the approach in some quarters (see e.g. Mantzourani and Catapoti 2007). Emphasis on inherent and determining pattern is still central to the approach, which would otherwise be mainly descriptive – though recent works, like Broodbank’s, have focused less on repeated/predictable sociocultural patterns/systems and more on the Mediterranean as effectively unified by historical exceptionality, alongside certain very general environmental ‘common denominators’ – risk; fragmentation; inter-accessibility of subregions (Broodbank 2014a: 19). Mediterraneanism is, in many applications, a *normalising* discourse on movement. My study is informed by many aspects of this perspective and by studies under its aegis – but I also aim to explore Mediterraneanism’s limitations by highlighting and exploring contingent and agent-led episodes of movement with socially transformative effects. Mediterraneanism remains, nonetheless, a less biased and more open perspective in which to explore movement than many other approaches considered in this study, including Europeanist and Orientalist ones (Broodbank 2014a: 20–5).

An older, more emotively and politically laden set of movement models (to which many Mediterraneanist perspectives/models react) is rooted in the region’s especially dense cultural evidence for ancient movement, including a rich web of early text accounts referring to it. Many of these older

models, characterised by the strong ‘personification’ of sociocultural/ethnic groups, were predicated on limited archaeological data and grounded in concepts of culture history. The belated takeup in Mediterranean archaeology of processual-type approaches, drawing on anthropological thought and favouring cross-cultural generalisation as a tool of inference from the data (Tartaron 2008: 84), produced strong reaction to such models (seen as rooted in ‘unscientific’ positivist discourse) from the 1970s onwards (Adams 1978; Levy 2007). In the same period, increases in the quality and quantity of data, and the advent of science-based studies in archaeology, produced a boom in research on provenance and various forms of exchange in connection to movement (among many others see e.g. Duistermaat and Regulski 2011; Gale 1991; Jones et al. 2011; van Wijngaarden 2003; Zerner 1993). Attempts to encapsulate the evidence for early Mediterranean movement and related socioeconomic change within systemic models emerged in this context, perhaps most notably in the area of world-systems theory. Such models have often tended to see inherently rational aggrandisement in ancient societies as both pushing movement *and* determining its effects (e.g. Algaze 1993; Rowlands et al. 1987; A. Sherratt 1994; S. Sherratt 2012; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; 1993). Mediterraneanism, while retaining special emphases on environment and the very long term, has partly tied into and drawn on systemic perspectives – both approaches highly conscious of (and reactive to) older culture-historical/diffusion-based models of movement as event and takeover (Cherry 2005; Sherratt 2005). World-systems and Mediterraneanist approaches have been exceptionally and admirably ambitious in looking to join the early history of the Mediterranean with that of Europe and Asia, thus challenging the localist and/or evolutionary perspectives of some processual-type models (Broodbank 2012: 28). By their systemic nature, however, they have tended to depersonalise and dematerialise contact processes, largely failing to produce narratives of sociocultural change with much depth or diversity, or to provide insight into the uncertainty and open-endedness of interaction experiences² (for critiques see Dietler 2005: 29–30; Gilboa 2005: 66; Kardulias 1999; Kohl 2012; Kotsakis 2007: 114; 2008: 63–4; Lightfoot 2005: 3; Maran 2011: 282–3; Peltenburg 2007; Rahmstorf 2012: 101; Renfrew 2004: 257; Sherratt 2012; Stein 2005: 8 for critiques). They have offered usefully broad, but essentially superficial, structures of thinking about ancient movement, rather than attempts at investigating its deep social and cultural ramifications.

Perspectives emphasising materiality have been a feature of archaeology, including Mediterranean archaeology, in the past decade. They are rooted partly in phenomenological approaches to the archaeological record, as well as in concerns with the construction of identity through consumption. Engagement with such perspectives helps avoid tendencies to extreme abstraction of movement as a social and cultural force, and aids reconstruction of experiences around it. Recent applications have included investigation of object agency – i.e. of the multiple and unpredictable meanings things carry and

evoke, especially when moved – meanings linked to objects’ transportation and receptive context, but also to their intrinsic forms. Dietler (2005: 59) notes (in the context of colonial history/anthropology) that the adoption of objects or practices over time and space must be seen as ‘an active process of creative appropriation, manipulation and transformation played out by individual and social groups with a variety of competing interests and strategies of action, embedded in local political relations, cultural perceptions, and cosmologies’ (and see, for example, Bourdieu [1997], whose work on the relationship between material environment and practice foreshadows many recent observations; De Marrais et al. 2005; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hicks 2010; Latour 1987; 1999; Martin 2005; Tilley 1990; Tilley et al. 2006; for applications in the Mediterranean see Brysbaert 2010; Burns 2010; Knappett 2005; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Whitley 1998). However, most uses of object agency perspectives in the Mediterranean to date have been in small and chronologically specific case studies. There is usually limited focus on the wider historical context affecting contemporary movement, interaction and social and cultural change (Chapman 2014: 44; see Broodbank 2014a; 2014b on the need for more joined-up, ‘historical’ approaches in this context).

Agents and their experiences are becoming of ever greater interest in regard to understanding ancient movement. In a plea for more personified, experience-focused and historically contextualised accounts of Mediterranean movement, Kotsakis (2008: 64; 55) asks that future research on this field include not only ‘definition and elucidation of migratory processes and their constitutive parts’ but investigation of ‘the condition and the active transformational quality’ of movement. Kristiansen and Rowlands (2005: 1–2; 23) identify questions of social and cultural transmission, including ‘how knowledge is produced, assessed, and transmitted’ as under-explored fields in contemporary archaeology generally. Yet many recent perspectives on Mediterranean interaction still largely avoid addressing issues of movement’s experience, agency and materiality. Again, they risk treating consumption or other experience of objects acquired over distance as somehow irrelevant to, or entirely separate from, the experience of movement. In this way it is possible to underestimate movement’s feedback into social relationships, identities and changes (see Cornell and Fahlander 2007a; 2007b; Manning 2014: 112).

In engaging with the case study data, the present book analyses, draws and builds on aspects of all the above approaches. My argument is that if movement (with all its related and messy impacts) matters in past societal development, then we need a more anatomised, contextualised and embodied understanding of its effects and experiences, including the forms of power associated with and emerging from it. Existing models of movement in the ancient Mediterranean – often surviving, battered, from much earlier periods/agendas of research, and heavily assumption-laden – need in this process to be better-defined and more systematically reassessed, rather

than being pushed to one side. Recent (reactive) tendencies to processualise, endemicise, systematise or otherwise normalise ancient movement in the region can fail to fully engage with the contingent nature and powerful impact of movement and its related encounters, and themselves need critiquing in a more imaginative and more broadly, deeply contextualised perspective.

Reviewing the significance of movement in the ways above seems most usefully undertaken in a long-timeframe, cross-period comparative context, covering large parts of the region. This avoids either interpretative dead-ends (where focus on ‘proving’ individual movement episodes often results in the question ‘So what?’) or overgeneralised assumptions about standard/inherent movement patterns/types across the region, which may not actually apply well to many periods. A strongly *constructive* critique of existing narratives or models, in an historiographically informed perspective, also seems important. Proving or querying the existence of movements over distance, mapping related cultural and connections, and examining the various agendas and overtones behind earlier models cannot substitute for *actually trying to evaluate and describe the significance of specific movements/encounters in transforming ancient societies over time* (Burmeister 2000; Brysbaert 2010: 186–8; Knapp and van Dommelen 2010: 5–6). The focus on agency in much recent archaeological thought (tying in with materiality-centred approaches) highlights the need to investigate and imagine, rather than assume or model in standard fashion, how people in receiving areas experienced movers from other regions, and the objects/materials associated with them (see e.g. Given 2004: 13 for an example of imaginative approaches to agent experiences in interaction). I am ambitious in aiming at this in each case study here, with varying results which I hope will at least provide an enriched basis for further argument.

My focus is on evidence for specific, directional movements (usually at a significant scale) linked to episodes of transformative social change. But as Mediterraneanist perspectives stress, such movements cannot be properly understood unless viewed alongside other kinds and outcomes of movement. Throughout, I will look at how contingency and context affected movement’s nature and impact, especially by addressing differences and similarities between the cases studied, which all involve the same kind of highly characteristic landscape/seascape, and societies with a shared, contact-rich history – the *longue-duree*, environment-conscious setting of classic Mediterraneanism.

The Aegean focus: European/Mediterranean, disciplinary and data context

A European and Mediterranean location

Re-exploring the role of large-scale movement in past sociocultural change can inform and challenge current conceptions of movement’s impact. This point is especially relevant in the European (especially Mediterranean)

context. Small-scale movement (of individuals/families) over distance and across political boundaries has become highly normalised in western Europe today. Even where this actually, in sum, represents large-scale migration (permanent movement of large numbers of people over distance and across political boundaries within short periods of time), it has often not been perceived as such (at least until the refugee crises of the last few years) due to dispersal of migrants on entry and their relatively efficient, peaceful processing into host societies (whether through the emergence of enclaves or deeper cultural integration in a globalised cultural environment) rather than the drastic, large-scale and visible transformation of those societies.

This modern European reality is echoed in (and partly normalised by) some recent Mediterraneanist accounts of ancient movement, which often view the Mediterranean population as essentially socially and culturally accommodating and inherently mobile, with ‘connectivity’ more or less endemic. This study will question the usefulness of ideas about ‘normality’ of movement and ‘connectivity’ over long periods, highlighting both (a) differences between various kinds of ancient movement and their social effects in and around southern Europe, and (b) differences between these movements and recent historical movement (including colonial movement) *rooted in* Europe. In this context, the Aegean, with its exposed ‘junction’ location at Europe’s historical edge – still forming a locus of large-scale and transformative movement – *and* its special, prominent historical role in the way ‘Europe’ has been perceived and defined, offers an ideal study. The fragmented, interdependency-promoting nature of Aegean geography has been highlighted by Mediterraneanist models (with the Aegean region often viewed as a ‘super-charged’ mini-Mediterranean: see Harris 2005). Exploring issues around ancient and historical Aegean movement can usefully encapsulate and test wider debates and perceptions around movement in the European and Mediterranean arenas.

Disciplinary and cultural perspectives on the ancient Aegean

I noted above (and will show further in the case studies to follow) that recent processual and/or systems-based models of ancient Mediterranean movement have reacted to much late nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century scholarship, which had strong diffusionist and culture-historical preoccupations. In both perspectives, the Aegean has been of consistently high interest.

The early growth of Aegean prehistory as a discipline was rooted in a European intellectual and political environment where ‘ancient Greece’ had special resonance. Late-imperial European politics affected not only how data were gathered from the region, but assumptions about how past movements there had operated, including a view of cultural attributes as ethnically innate and able to be automatically/aggressively imposed through movement (see Bernal 1991; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Moro-Abadia 2006: 6; Norton 1996; Said 1978). Interpretations of movement in this vein in turn

reinforced contemporary national and imperial agendas at a number of levels and across a range of settings (Dietler 2005: 35). Many established narratives of movement and social transformation in Aegean prehistory are rooted in models developed in this period. At the same time, the role of competitive foreign-led fieldwork and scholarship in building archaeology as a discipline in the Aegean encouraged rapid, politicised entrenchment of interpretations of ancient material and created a generally conservative academic environment, holding back the advent of a globalised, reflexive discourse (Hamilakis 2007: 57–125; Cherry 2005). The traditional association of Classical archaeology with ‘art-historical’ approaches helped to support this, promoting scholarly views of specific types of artefact, ancient texts, and monumental buildings and sites as straightforward expressions of ancient societies’ values and attributes.

Against this background, as noted above, the last forty years of research in the Aegean have been dominated by somewhat belated and often simplified applications of processual approaches, focused around finding predictable and generalised patterns in human behaviour over long timescales and large areas. Cases from entirely different geographical and historical settings have often been cited as analogies for ancient Aegean developments, while studies drawing on regional ethnography as analogy for ancient practice have focused heavily on framing the exploitable parameters of Aegean landscapes and seascapes: see Fotiades 1995; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Rogers 2005). Some recent approaches to the role of movement as a factor in ancient social and cultural change are systems- and process-orientated, though less ecologically-focused (Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005). As we shall see, state formation (one of the preoccupations of processual archaeology) has been a major theme in Aegean prehistory during the last few decades, used to justify a large proportion of field research projects. This perspective has helped clarify regional data patterns to a valuable and stimulating extent. Indeed, this book can be read as just one more attempt to narrate the multiple ‘emergences’ of state societies in the Aegean. I will argue here, notwithstanding, that research on Aegean prehistory needs to stretch itself in new ways, exploring its rich database using a variety of alternative tropes/routes to those already discussed. The study of movement forms a relevant and important example for the reasons outlined above, allowing application of a variety of new perspectives developed in wider archaeological discourse.

Aegean data quality: special features

The case studies here are linked by the Aegean theatre in which they occurred and by their interconnected histories, but the range of space and time involved (c. 3500–333 BC) still makes the scale of the data involved intimidating. While scholars into the 1970s could attempt sweeping cross-period analyses (including of phenomena like movement) in a fairly guilt-free fashion,³⁴ given the limited amounts of data and the generally low-resolution nature

of data recovery and processing, this scenario has changed as standards in retrieval and analysis have risen.

In this context, contemporary analysts of Aegean material often prefer to focus on small subregional patterns and extrapolate processes, rather than trying to develop a picture of large-scale, diachronic and complexly-related developments (Foxhall 2014: 107). Like most of my contemporaries in Mediterranean archaeology, I have previously sub-specialised in analysis of one period/area (the Early Iron Age Aegean). I cannot, and do not attempt to, offer exhaustive review of/deep familiarity with the data in all the cases addressed here. Yet given the quantity and quality of data now available, there is no easy way (or any scholar supremely qualified) to write a study of early Aegean movement with the kind of long-term and wide spatial scope I have set out above (see Broodbank 2014b: 102; 2014c: 117). Recognising the complexities of the data and engaging with them in new ways, as well as adopting a contextual approach, is the way forward adopted here.

Partly thanks to the volume and complexity of data available, Aegean-linked movement over long timeframes has recently mostly been treated in small regional or thematic chunks, via a variety of papers and edited volumes (often citing or subsuming studies of other Mediterranean areas as a way of enlarging the frame of reference, especially as Mediterraneanist approaches have gained traction). Many of these works have tended to focus on trade, or on the techniques of travel (Cline 1994; Cline and Harris-Cline 1998; Galanaki et al. 2007; Gale 1991; Laffineur and Greco 2005; Papageorgiadou-Banis and Giannikouri 2008; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; Steel 2013; Tartaron 2013; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010; van Wijngaarden 2007; Wachsmann 2013). Works offering a synthetic, broadly contextualised perspective on movement's role in the region are limited in number: they include Broodbank's *The Making of the Middle Sea* (2014a) which has the Aegean as a specially highlighted interest and is aimed at a general audience, and Knappett's strongly theory-engaged volume on networks (2011), which uses the earlier Bronze Age Aegean as a major case study. There still seem further opportunities to use big themes and multi-period syntheses to build footholds in the bog of data and reach out from the Aegean to archaeology as a world discipline (Broodbank 2014b). While accepting that we will never obtain the complete, unambiguous sets of evidence providing a 'final answer' to the kinds of big questions posed here (Shanks and Tilley 1987), limiting commentary to period/area case studies or general reviews of theory/past approaches risks leaving those questions permanently obscured.

The Aegean data has some special facets which need consideration in any synthetic approach. As my case studies show, an important one is the existence of early texts in this region, but the latter's often limited volume and range of types. We will see that close and literal readings of ancient text accounts, in many ancient-historical/art-historical approaches, has tended to encourage 'event'/'takeover' models of Aegean movement. In contrast, approaches rooted in anthropology have tended to minimise,

deconstruct or challenge text-centred accounts of movement, often in a useful way (see Manning 2008: 36–7; Whitley 2000: 264). Sophisticated, nuanced readings of ancient texts, of a type recently gaining ground, *can* offer light on the way ancient social identities and encounters were constructed, in ways not available from the analysis of archaeological data. They can also caution against straightforward assumptions about movement and its impacts on the basis of texts.

Approaches to the use of texts as a source do *not* neatly separate Aegean prehistorians from Classical archaeologists, as we shall see. Aegean prehistory as a discipline is heavily rooted in Classical studies, and later text accounts relating to migration and other forms of movement are still often cited in interpreting social and cultural change in Aegean periods which are wholly or largely ‘prehistoric’. The Late Bronze through Archaic/early Classical periods, which I address here, have long been approached using text-based models of movement of various kinds – e.g. readings of the contemporary Amarna and Hittite letters and the Linear B documents, Homer, and selected Classical accounts. Thus in several of my case studies, I will need to engage with the evidence of ancient texts in some form or another – another kind of ‘rich data’ challenge, full of opportunities as well as pitfalls.

Analysing ancient culture change: earlier approaches and the ways they are built on in this book

I place the concept of *transformative* change (denoting a number of changes in society concentrated within a particular timeframe, and strongly visible in terms of cultural practice) at the core of this book. But there are few, if any, instances in my case studies of ‘overnight’ deep change across a comprehensive range of cultural/social categories. This scenario has traditionally been one of the most tempting to analyse and explain with models of mass migration and related automatic cultural transfer (Rouse 1986). In the case studies treated here, change can be seen to have occurred within a noticeable and defined period, but at a variety of rates and levels.

In considering this kind of change, the heritage of culture-historical approaches in European archaeology comes to the fore (for a recent overview of these, see Hakenbeck 2005). These approaches overlap with many past and current perspectives in Classical archaeology, and had considerable influence on early movement and culture change models for the Aegean: for the continuing application of such approaches to Aegean prehistory (see e.g. Bouzek 1974; 1985; 2010; Korfmann 1995: 175–6; for critiques see e.g. Kotsakis 2007; Sjögren 2010: 94–100). With varying degrees of nuance, these perspectives have tended to equate the character of social groups with aspects of their cultural production: when the latter change, the group is seen as inherently altered – often in terms of the physical replacement or augmentation of its membership. Frequently noted problems with these approaches include their failure to envision the full range of social dynamics affecting cultural

practice (encouraging overreliance on simple tropes, including movement, to explain change) and their assumption that cultural boundaries are coterminous with ethnopolitical ones. The latter again tends to favour views of movement as a straightforward force in cultural change.

A related problem, especially within the Classical archaeology tradition, has been the tendency to focus on selected cultural features (often highly visible, accessible or spectacular ones) in mapping change, even though these may be subject to distorting factors (as in areas like prestige goods consumption, as classically demonstrated by e.g. papers in Appadurai 1986). Archaeologists will always need to map patterns of cultural practice in space to understand social developments – but they increasingly recognise that such mapping (and naming) needs to be fluid in nature and to be based on strong understandings of context – that is, the wider social, material, economic and historical fields in which individual aspects of material culture operate and are embedded (Hodder 1978; 1982). Scale and timing, as well as context, seem crucial to identifying transformative social change through cultural data. The shifts treated as transformative in my case studies cover extensive parts of the Aegean/east Mediterranean region, and are quite long-term (often covering several centuries) yet still form identifiable horizons in time, with permanent effects. It is unlikely from the outset that *all* features of representative cultural change were present in all subregions concerned, or that they appeared simultaneously. Indeed, variations in the quality and timing of sociocultural change across regions can be highly informative when reconstructing the role of movement in producing change at large scales.

Other legacy issues associated with the consideration of transformative change include that of social class. We shall see from the case studies that older movement-linked models of change in the ancient Mediterranean often reconstructed migrants and the societies they affected as lying at social extremes (e.g. elite warriors; barbarians). This tendency was linked to the models' focus on change in highly visible and distinctive artefacts/practices (such as grave goods) associated with the wealthier part of society. World-systems perspectives usefully moved away from these kinds of preoccupations, favouring more sophisticated models of multilevel social aggrandisement and mobility as linked to/structuring movement and related cultural change. By their nature, though, these models tended to use extremely broad culturally-based class/identity definitions, and to assume standardised processes/contexts of movement for individual socioeconomic classes (e.g. long-range prestige goods/materials procurement on the part of regional elites, with the regular travelling involved subcontracted to a merchant class). The effect of such approaches has often been to leave the non-elite part of society (i.e. the vast majority) either largely undiscussed or else reified (see e.g. Foxhall 2014: 108; Gosden 2004: 41–2; Killebrew 2005: 23–4). Yet – except in rare cases where a small invasive/alienised elite was able to impose deep cultural changes across an entire society – we should expect that most movements with transformative effect involved a range of social groups (Knapp 1998:

196–7). In this book I will try to avoid reading contact/movement-linked change in one segment of society as having generalised, automatic or uniform impact. This is necessary for balance and nuance, even though the Bronze Age east Mediterranean social environment *was* a highly unequal one, in which elite movements and interactions did produce disproportionate effects on society. I maintain balance in this area again through addressing the broadest range of contextual data possible.

Language and script forms have traditionally been heavily relied on by scholars identifying movement-linked social change in the early Mediterranean. There is a strong history of linguistic reification of ancient social/ethnic groups and their movements – often in isolation from or purely hypothetical connection with other aspects of culture. In the Aegean, language has been given special weight thanks to its associations with a resonant ‘Greek’ ethnic identity, first identified/promoted in texts and other cultural forms of the eighth to sixth centuries BC. Assumptions grounded in culture history – e.g. that mapping language spread allows us to identify the spatial origins and movements of ‘the Greeks’ as a consistent ethnic group as far back as the latest Bronze Age – have been widespread (see Renfrew 1998: 240 for an overview). Yet the most recent studies of ancient texts and linguistics have stressed the manipulability of language in structuring ethnicity, and its consciously politicised use in the ancient world. Bearing these aspects of linguistic culture in mind, I will in this book treat language evidence consistently within the deep context of the wider material record when assessing sociocultural change and its causes, including movement. The issue of class comes into play again when addressing the significance of language change. In the whole period covered here, the vast majority of the Mediterranean population were not literate: writing grants us access to information only about an unrepresentative elite. In this context, we should remember that change in written language need not always indicate either deep social change or related large-scale population movement.

In the context discussed above, many older models identifying ancient Aegean cultural change as directly driven by movement clearly require review (Manning 1994: 221). Though this is already occurring in the scholarship to some degree, it often involves simply sidelining movement as a complex, overburdened subject (Sjögren 2010: 128–30). Many scholars working on topics/areas where older movement-based models have a strong presence have been preoccupied with the better documentation and delineation of sociocultural change and with exploring other, ‘internal’ modes by which it might have occurred, rather than directly readdressing issues around movement. Since the 1980s, the application of scientific techniques has been a valuable way of refining or testing small-scale hypotheses about cultural change and innovation. Applicable to a wide range of archaeological material, these methods have the potential to help circumvent issues like class bias in investigating sociocultural change and movement’s role in it – e.g. characterisation of diet and lifeways across populations (through bone isotope and organic residue

analysis) or of basic practices such as manufacturing, processing and cooking (through micromorphological study of soils, ceramic petrography and again organic residues). Changes in burial rites and goods (a focus of traditional movement models relying on limited, selective data collection) can now be evaluated in conjunction with detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of human skeletal remains (elucidating genetic composition, place of birth, age at death, sex distribution and other elements of possible diachronic change in burial populations). These methods parallel those used in analysing ancient culture change across the rest of the world and contribute strongly to a contextual archaeology. However, their context of application to movement and culture change in the ancient Aegean has hitherto been variable and restricted. There is no Aegean parallel yet, for example, to large-scale integrated NW European studies utilising techniques like DNA and strontium isotope analysis to elucidate the relationship between multifaceted cultural change and movement (e.g. Eckerd 2010; Leach et al. 2009; Price et al. 2004: 9–40; Pluciennik and Brown 2001). These restrictions are partly due to difficulty in accessing large bodies of Aegean material for scientific analysis (especially when regional or national boundaries are crossed, thanks to the politicised history of archaeology in the region, discussed in Chapter 2). Another restricting factor is the unsystematic methods which were prevalent in data collection in the early days of Aegean prehistory, compromising the condition of collected material. Interest in and opportunities for this sort of large-scale scientific research are improving notwithstanding (Kovatsi et al. 2010; Triandaphyllou 2010). Yet few are under the illusion that scientific techniques alone will provide clear answers on how and why sociocultural change occurred, including in possible relation to movement. Rather, better-clarified models and developed research questions seem core. A study like the present one can best use science techniques in making contextualised assessments of the *diversity* of change across social and cultural categories, the regional *concentration* of change, and the *permanence* of change.

Movement and culture change in the ancient Aegean: recent region-specific perspectives

I have noted a current general tendency to wariness in presenting long-distance directional movement as a factor in social and cultural change in the early Aegean (for critiques of this attitude, especially in regard to processually immersed Anglo-Saxon scholarship, see e.g. Maran 2007: 4; Rahmstorf 2012). Another legacy of processual approaches, reinforced by ‘Mediterraneanist’ perspectives and awareness of climate fragility and catastrophe in the contemporary era, is an ongoing preoccupation with how climate and ecology may have encouraged movement and/or culture change. Ethnographic, landscape and bioarchaeological studies since the 1970s have heightened scholarly awareness of Mediterranean landscapes’ high vulnerability to climatic changes, particularly the potential effects of

small shifts in rainfall levels on subsistence and social systems, as well as offering material for phenomenological studies on land use and on travel through landscapes/seascapes (Broodbank 2012; Halstead and O'Shea 1989; see the large body of recent research on the climatic events likely to have influenced movement near the end of the Early Bronze Age discussed in Chapter 3). Across the east Mediterranean, ecological explanations (often movement-linked) for state emergence, collapse and other major cultural horizons are currently being enthusiastically explored – sometimes *in preference* to explaining movement stimuli, modes and effects in terms of society, agents and experience. Post-processual archaeologists are highly aware of the pitfalls of ecologically determinist viewpoints, so correlations between past climate change and episodes of sociocultural change are rarely presented in terms of direct determination. But the subtext is clear: environment (especially environmental catastrophe) is seen as a potential major driver of both movement and culture change – even while the relationship between the last two phenomena is left hanging. The tendency has been especially strong for early prehistory – where the most systematic reconstruction of ancient climate over long timescales and the most serious consideration of it as a driver for momentous cultural transitions, such as the origins of farming, have applied (Kaniewski et al. 2008; Manning 2014: 114; Mithen and Black 2011; Moody 2005; Nüzhet Dalfes et al. 1997; Peltenburg 2000; Trigger 1984: 367–8; for recognition of the need to better contextualise ancient response to/perceptions of climate change in the early Mediterranean, see Broodbank 2014a: 43–4). Climate-based models of movement-linked culture change seem most convincingly used at the large (e.g. east Mediterranean) scale, on the basis of strong scientific evidence, and in regard to deep, long-term changes in subsistence culture. Their use often appears unsatisfactory or incomplete when explaining transformative sociocultural change in already partly complex societies and/or small areas (e.g. the Aegean in the relatively short Middle Bronze or Iron Age periods), especially in the absence of much Aegean-specific data on climate. Climate-driven models of movement rarely appear as part of a joined-up conceptualisation of *how* movement might have occurred in social and cultural terms, taking into full account its experiences, benefits, practicalities and long-term effects.

A sophisticated take on environmentally-conditioned movement and culture change, involving stimulating and insightful comparison between different Mediterranean and non-Mediterranean areas, has emerged out of island archaeology (which has roots in processual approaches and links closely into Mediterraneanist and systems-type models). The original notion of islands as 'ecological laboratories' (housing consistent ethnocultural groups forming useful subjects on which to test hypotheses about movement as change stimulus) has recently been backgrounded. The *process/experience* of movement and related cultural change in maritime areas is now the focus, with islands seen as particularly informative nodes in light of their multidirectional connections (e.g. Broodbank 1999; 2000: 5–39; 68–107; 272–5; Cherry 2004;

for earlier island archaeology approaches see Evans 1973; 1977; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; for critiques, stressing a lack of attention to agency, history and contingency, include Erlandson and Fitzpatrick 2006: 7–8; Knapp 2007; Rainbird 1999). In a Mediterraneanist-type treatment of early complex social and economic systems in the Cyclades, Broodbank (2000) masterfully examined the ways in which specific topographical and spatial characteristics, including ‘islandness’ and connectivity, are likely to have conditioned ancient agents’ actions and perceptions in movement – moving beyond a view of landscape/environment as directly conditioning of agents to see it as one of several strong factors in agents’ experience. Broodbank’s long-timeframe focus on the Neolithic to early palatial periods (c. 5000–2000 BC) encompassed several well-acknowledged transformative sociocultural horizons, which he attempted to contextualise in relation to movement. Overall, however, movement of an endemic, continuous kind is the most heavily stressed in this and related subsequent work by this author. Some general/limited accounts of specific, directional movement tropes and impacts are attempted, but Broodbank shares with some other recent scholars the systemic conception of movement networks as an analytical tool. Knappett and others have focused on identifying patterns in movement during another transformative period of Aegean prehistory (the emergence, consumption and impact of palatial culture on and around Crete, c. 2000–1600 BC) while also recognising the variable conditioning of movement by environment and agency (Knappett 2011; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; 2013; Knappett et al. 2008). Others have used network models to investigate movement in later Aegean periods (especially Archaic to Classical: Antonaccio 2013; Hodos 2006; 2012: 254–5; see also Constantakopoulou 2007; Demand 2011; Malkin 2004: 358–9; 2011; Malkin et al. 2009 for adaptations of the network concept in analyses based largely on textual sources). Such approaches help avoid the assumptions about movement as unidirectional and predictable in its effects found in older scholarly narratives (especially those based on texts). More open-ended and less purely economically-focused than world-systems models, and taking account of agency, cognition and social structure, network perspectives *potentially* offer the chance to explore diverse (e.g. cross-class) aspects of cultural change in relation to movement, and to address targeted and episodic kinds of movement, as well as endemic ones. Yet they have as yet been applied to few periods and still engage relatively little with socially wide-ranging/episodic/transformative experiences and outcomes of movement. Where not text-centred, they tend to focus on moveable artefacts and the ‘agency’ of the latter, rarely directly visualising moving people and their behaviour (though see recent developments like Gorogianni et al. 2016). Like their forebears in processual archaeology and systems theory, network models can tend to be ahistorical, objectifying movement/contact developments during particular points in/spans of time (and sometimes favouring the use of decontextualised cross-period or external analogies to describe these developments) rather than seeing them as historically grounded

and shaped. The best such models (usually incorporating Mediterraneanist-type assumptions about connectivity) acknowledge environment as both a structuring factor in movement and a conceptual product of movement. They take a contextual approach, focusing on the perceptions, materials, structures and systems conditioning movement and its effects, rather than isolating movement as a system in itself (Broodbank 2014a: 20; Davis and Gorogianni 2005; van Oyen 2012). Some rightly stress connectivity as unevenly and consciously structured and conceptualise moving actors as connective nodes in themselves (Antonaccio 2005: 248). In my case studies, I try to build on the best of these approaches in a more overtly historical perspective, less focused on simplifying the growth of movement systems as repeated patterns than on highlighting their contingent nature.

Another promising way in which the discourse on ancient Aegean movement and culture change is being developed is through some new approaches to ancient texts – mostly relevant to the Iron Age and later periods. While scholars of the Aegean used ancient sources as more or less authoritative guides to prehistory for much of the twentieth century (e.g. Homer to reconstruct the interactions of Bronze Age states, Thucydides to analyse Aegean trade, settlement and ‘colonisation’ in the central Mediterranean from the eighth century BC, and Aristotle to elucidate the way Archaic cities emerged in the landscape), scholars working in a post-structuralist environment recognise how deeply such texts were politicised and socially conditioned entities, both at the time of their production and in later interpretation (e.g. Hall 1997; 2007; Malkin 2002; 2009). This has encouraged more nuanced evaluation of textual accounts of movement, and new archaeologically- and anthropologically-informed explorations of how movement and related culture change might actually have been experienced by ancient groups, which draw on texts in a wider context of cultural evidence (e.g. Hodos 2006). The effect has nonetheless filtered through only into some parts of the scholarship (Bintliff 2012: 52 for critique). Classical text traditions about origins and movement remain well-entrenched as literal or near-literal accounts in both academic and popular awareness/understanding of the prehistory and early history of the Aegean (especially in contemporary Greece). Superficial reference to texts often still appears tempting in the absence of a cogent, engaged and up-to-date archaeological discourse on movement and the experience of movement in this region. This is another reason for building and testing clear models based on a contextual examination of the ancient evidence (Avdela 2000; Mavroskouphis 1997; Repoussi 2011; Simandiraki 2004; 2005).

Summary: context, methods and parameters of the present study

It seems vital to address questions of generalised or repeated process in movement and its sociocultural impact in relating influential recent perspectives on the ancient Aegean (including Mediterraneanist and systems approaches)

to traditional models grounded in culture history. In this ‘archaeology of movement’, I will thus make no apologies for a broad chronological and geographical scale of approach, allowing me to compare a number of transformative episodes in various Aegean subregions (while very often focusing on the south-central Aegean, where a number of factors have produced concentrated evidence for ancient movement and major sociocultural shifts). Related topics, such as the archaeology of colonialism or of islands, have been treated by single authors at an equally wide, or wider, spatial and diachronic scale (e.g. Broodbank 2000; 2014a; Gosden 2004; Steel 2013). In my case studies, societies in areas including coastal Anatolia, Egypt, Syria-Palestine, south Italy, Cyprus and the Balkans, as well as the Aegean mainland and islands, will all need to be considered when exploring the experiences and effects of movement and interaction. But Aegean-resident groups (whether as migrant or receiver communities) remain at the centre of the discussion throughout, and their contact partner/interlocutor societies in other regions are inevitably treated with less depth in terms of their internal dynamics. It is extremely important, nonetheless (especially in view of the history of scholarship in this field) that my *explanations* of culture change and arguments about its importance and relation to movement avoid an Aegeo-centric bias: I try to ensure this throughout.

Archaeology is the only consistent way of exploring this kind of time/space range and is necessarily the main discipline in use here. Artefacts in exchange circulation have often been the focus of movement accounts for the region in the past. High-visibility ceremonial practices are another favoured area, as we shall see in the case studies. Both fields offer limited perspectives on how sociocultural change may have related to movement. In order to widen the scope of analysis, I here explore the archaeological record in its widest possible sense – including, for example, texts, cultural landscapes, domestic practices and subsistence-related data – without making assumptions about the priority of specific data types in indicating kinds or volumes of movement. I consider not only the ways in which moving agents interacted/ became ‘entangled’ with objects/materials – whether actively using them to communicate and establish themselves, and/or becoming defined by ‘receiving’ communities through associations with particular objects or materials – but how they interacted directly with the people, practices and structures encountered during movement (Stockhammer 2013). This focus will, I hope, help the book to avoid becoming mainly a study of movement in relation to trade, procurement and consumption, focused on imports, imitations, ‘travelling craftsmen’ and other familiar tropes (Cline 1995; Hitchcock 2005) and will give it a richer perspective on movement’s facets and impacts.

My method in dealing with the overwhelming quantities of relevant data applicable to each case study period will be, first, to provide a targeted overview of the currently available *evidence around movement* and socio-cultural transformation in each case (Chapters 3–7). In each case study, this

is followed by an evaluation of previous interpretations of that evidence based on contextualised and updated review. This leads into a updated model of the role of movement in change for the relevant period, drawing on the outlooks, methods and approaches I have highlighted as valuable in the discussion above. I have not approached the data through the lens of any *single* new method or perspective, though the underlying and consistent approach is that of a contextual and historical archaeology. Though the individual case study chapters reflect on historiographical dimensions of the debate in specific detail, Chapter 2 introduces the study's historiographical concerns and references in broader terms, helping to avoid repetition and providing a coherent set of evaluative arguments around this important aspect of the work. Notwithstanding, the book is not intended as a mainly historiographical exercise. The gaps in scholarship around ancient Aegean movement which I have identified above do arise in part from a lack of direct scholarly engagement with older models and the discourses informing them, making it important to revisit these. But simply deconstructing older models and showing how they emerged does not, on its own, offer something more useful to put in their place. My aim is rather to discuss the data from the early Aegean in a way which enriches both region-specific and general understanding of movement as a force in past social and cultural transformations. To this end, I try to model the evidence in positive and structured terms, making no *a priori* assumptions about movement as a likely or inevitably transformative force in any particular period or pattern. My conclusions (Chapter 8) suggest that while movement did often have deeply transformative effects in the Aegean and that some repeated patterns exist, the features of movement and its effects across the period studied are complex, deeply historically grounded and non-predictable. My argument is that movement needs to be rehabilitated in this region as an important factor in change – a factor with its own open-ended and self-sustained patterns, rather than an overdetermined or endemic force. At the same time, it cannot be seen as an inevitably dominant, unique or standard factor in change above other historical forces.

Notes

- 1 In great part due to the region-wide investment in research by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory.
- 2 Even the most sophisticated, historically-sensitive world-systems approaches can tend by their nature to gloss movers' identity/agency and minimise the effect of encounters/experiences. Sherratt's (2012) encapsulation of Aegean groups' interaction with the south Italian region in the early Late Bronze Age as 'a purely economic device' exemplifies the way functionality/economic rationality is often assumed in analysing interactions within a system. In a recent conference paper – while rightly highlighting the way systems-focused approaches have improved on older assumptions about inherent ethnocultural attributes as structuring movement and its effects – Sherratt commented of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean travellers:

- 'I don't really care about their ethnicity' (Sherratt 2011). I argue that disregarding the way ethnicity or other aspects of ancient identity were constructed and operated in material terms must limit our insight into movement-linked encounters, and thus into their impacts.
- 3 The few full-length synthetic works on the early Aegean with movement as their overt focus which have been written up to this point contrast strongly in angle with the present work's concerns and methodologies (see e.g. Casson's 1974 *Travel in the ancient world*, with its focus on historical text sources and the mechanics of Mediterranean travel; the conference *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean* (Crossland and Birchall 1974) and the ethnography-driven, processually framed *Invasions and migrations in Greece and adjacent areas* (Hammond 1976).
 - 4 See for example Malkin (2011), who compares networks of Archaic Mediterranean states to globalised modern European societies, strongly and deliberately playing down aspects of directionality in cultural practice and historicity in movement.

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2 Movement as explanation

The heritage

Introduction

Below, I examine some past contexts for the treatment of movement and culture change in the ancient east Mediterranean and Aegean. By introducing my case studies in this way, I can best introduce and explain recurring themes and overtones highlighted and engaged with in more specific detail in the individual case studies. For example, it is important to be aware of the roots of Aegean prehistory (a young discipline, developed only from the late nineteenth century) in Classical archaeology, with its much longer history (Morris 1994; Papadopoulos 2005a; Trigger 1989: 3). The resulting partial separation of study of the prehistoric Aegean from the study of wider east Mediterranean prehistory in general is significant. It is also important to situate past ideas about Aegean-linked movement and cultural change within broader historical and archaeological thought. Much relevant ground (especially on nationalist and colonialist archaeologies) has been covered in the last two decades by reflective volumes on the history of European archaeological discourse generally (e.g. Atkinson et al. 1996; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Ó Ríagáin and Nicolae Papa 2012; Stein ed. 2005) and on discourses affecting Greece and the Mediterranean in particular (Hamilakis 2007; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Meskell ed. 1998). Reference to this body of work allows me to focus here on issues specifically relevant to the study of ancient Aegean movement, rather than attempting to provide either a full historiography of Aegean archaeology or a review of movement and culture change models in European archaeology generally. The main themes of my discussion are (a) the influence of Classical archaeology perspectives and methods on the study of movement in and around the Aegean; (b) the links between past movement narratives for this region and nationalist and/or racist archaeologies; (c) the intersecting roles imperial, colonial and postcolonial discourses have had in developing scholarly perceptions of ancient moving and ‘receiving’ groups; and (d) the way all the above elements have informed Aegean and wider European/Old World interpretative frameworks on movement and culture change in the past and into the present day.

The Classical archaeology tradition

The rise of interest in material remains of the Greek and Roman past occurring from the Renaissance period has been well-documented (e.g. Childe 1925: 29–30; Lowenthal 1985: 74–87; 2007; Manning 2008a: 43; Morris 1994; Whitley 2001: 17–41). At first focused on the rediscovery and discussion of ancient literary texts, then extending to Classical-Hellenistic Greek and Roman statuary and fine painted pottery as art items, this interest flourished in the context of the Enlightenment and became increasingly systematised, academicised and politically appropriated in various contexts (notably those of European imperialism and nationalism) by the late nineteenth century (e.g. Diaz-Andreu 2007: 82–6; 99–131; 245–78; Whitley 2001: 25–9). Over time, ‘Greek’ culture was increasingly understood and appropriated in different ways from ‘Roman’. In these developments, a prominent notion was that the cultural products of these particular ancient societies represented humanity’s greatest achievements. Collected or studied artefacts, which had mostly functioned as prestige items in their original context, were often read (in traditions developed by scholars such as Furtwängler and Winckelmann in the later nineteenth century) as the direct expression of ancient societies’ values and qualities – whether generally or via the hands of specific artists (see Dyson 2006: 2–3; Whitley 2001: 42–59). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the beginning of major investment in the scientific recovery and recording of ancient Mediterranean objects in context, using techniques developed in northern and western Europe (and most often involving scholars from, or aligned with, that region), the sites selected for investigation were the seats of power, prestige and glory described in ancient texts – temples, tombs and palaces. A sense that this was the way to get closest to the essential spirit/values of ancient people, inherent in their cultural products, was widespread. Characterisation of ‘ancient Greeks’ as a race endowed with superior qualities was reinforced by consistent scholarly focus on sites of the Classical-Hellenistic periods (rich in the state-linked apparatus of texts, monumental architecture and fine art) along with their ‘Homeric’ forerunners (sites of the Latest Bronze Age named in Archaic to Classical Greek texts as great cities with legendary rulers). Two of the latter, Troy and Mycenae, were the focus of early excavations, starting from the 1870s (see Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Sarri 2010: 604; Schliemann 1875; 1878). Such work consciously repositioned and strengthened ‘Greece’ and ‘the Greeks’ as the fount of European culture, at the same time as archaeology in the contemporary late-imperial Near East was revealing impressive traces of other early civilisations (and sometimes in overt contradistinction to the latter: see Andreou 2005: 77–9; Fotiades 2005; Papadopoulos 2005a: 101–7; Plantzos 2008: 17). Associations of superior achievement were not, however, extended to the earlier prehistoric (Palaeolithic through Middle Bronze Age) inhabitants of the Aegean region, of whom very little was known (though some

indigenist perspectives did seek to link these early societies directly and continuously to 'the Greeks' and their achievements).

By the early twentieth century, Classical archaeology was developing, and its products being consumed, in new ways. The discovery of Aegean prehistory (like contemporary east European/Mediterranean ethnography, which developed in the same late imperial context) was a formative reference in emerging modernist thought, contributing to conceptions of the 'primitive' and 'innate' qualities of contemporary human societies within a notional structure of societal progression (see e.g. Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Leontis 2005). A post-Darwinian focus on the systematic documentation and analysis of data, both through growing numbers of excavations and the cataloguing of older finds, continued and developed in the same period (Cook 1998; Dyson 2006: 79–80; Papadopoulos 2005a: 104). The 'glories' of ancient Greece – its sanctuaries, city centres, rich cemeteries, and the monuments and art they housed, remained the preoccupations of research. But as richer contextual information was obtained, the view that the intrinsic qualities of ancient societies were comprehensively reflected in select artefacts became less relevant. Continuing interest in attractive prestige culture was increasingly justified by an agent-centred approach, with individual artists and sculptors being identified/imagined and studied in the vein of art history/appreciation. Scholars of ancient Greek texts were still heavily concerned with writing history in the form of event narratives, and the systematic study of material culture was often expected mainly to enhance and support heavily text-grounded debates, such as those around 'Greek colonisation' or the emergence of the *polis* (Bounia 2008; Calotychos 2008).

From the 1970s onward, it is difficult to trace a single coherent path of thinking in the field. Yet certain tropes are recurrent, including in relation to understandings of movement. The 'artist'/artefact-centred approach has by now fed into much more sophisticated explorations of agency in ancient Aegean societies. Influences from other areas of archaeology, including anthropological archaeology, have developed the interests of Classical archaeologists in researching a broader range of site types, social classes and archaeological remains, eroding the 'Great Divide' between the Classical archaeology tradition and wider archaeological practice (Morris 1994; Renfrew 1980; Whitley 2001: 42–59). Yet the earlier concerns and contexts of Classical archaeology have left many legacies. Regarding movement, one of these is a tendency to straightforwardly link movement narratives in Archaic to Classical Greek texts with archaeological evidence for culture change (both in the Archaic to Classical periods themselves, and in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages) with limited or no contextual background or critique. Increasing awareness that accounts of movement in Archaic to Classical Greece were often aligned to contemporary agendas of ethnic self-definition or legitimation, and/or used as historical explanation in the absence of any reliable source of evidence about the past (e.g. Hall 2007b; Malkin 2002a), has only slowly discouraged the use of texts as straightforwardly valid sources on movement.

A second relevant legacy comes from Classical archaeology's conception of 'the Greeks' as a permanently coherent sociocultural group with innate collective characteristics – a group timelessly defining, and defined by, a specific Aegean territory (Baines 1996: 41–2; Plantzos 2008). Among early examples of this concept's extension into the field of Aegean prehistory, we can note Tsountas and Manatt's presentation, soon after their first discovery, of rich Late Bronze Age Aegean assemblages as representing 'a phase of unfolding Hellenic culture' along with their claim that 'Mycenaean culture belongs to the Greeks' (Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 3–4; 787; see Voutsaki 2002: 120–2); Arthur Evans's contention, in discussing his discoveries at Bronze Age Knossos, that 'the artistic genius of the later Hellenes was largely the outcome of that inherent in the earlier [Cretan] race in which they had been merged' (Evans 1912: 278), and Carl Blegen's search on Bronze Age mainland sites for 'the peculiar physical and mental characteristics of the Hellenic stock . . . they [the Greeks] have always in the end absorbed the marauders and imposed their own Greek spirit, their way of thinking, and their culture' (Blegen 1928: 146; see Plantzos 2008: 18). Some more recent 'revisionist' views – stressing shared environmental and cultural features/conditions, rather than descent, as defining Greece and 'the Greeks' – still overtly or implicitly present the region's inhabitants as having inherent, permanent characteristics:

This civilization . . . maintains stable certain of its basic traits . . . shaped within a fragmented landmass united by the sea. These traits – the entrepreneurial character of the economy, anthropocentrism in architecture, in art, in religion, the position of the individual as the principal unit of society, already existed in the Early Bronze Age.

(Dumas 1996: 56)

Much scholarly attention has been paid to what is, in this context, the self-evidently important issue of origins (and movement) – where 'the Greeks' *came from*, whether in terms of 'organic', geographically-determined evolution – as in the above account – or literal arrival in the region. Another longstanding (related) concern has been the movement and assumed impact of 'Greeks' outside the Aegean. For example, the emergence of overtly 'Greek'-aligned communities elsewhere in the Mediterranean by the mid-first millennium BC has often been seen as representing an inherently, uniquely Greek achievement (through direct settlement). The strength of culture-historical perspectives in archaeology during the first half of the twentieth century (discussed below) enhanced and developed the notion of a specific ethnocultural group with inherent (and superior) long-term qualities, developing an advanced society in its own 'natural' territory and then expanding its influence through population movement and related automatic cultural transfer/imposition. A related recurrent assumption has been as follows: if an innately able and strongly-defined ancient 'Greek' people and culture

evolved in the Aegean territory, then *only* invasions and migrations, rather than internal change processes, could disturb or alter their essential nature or spatial extent (as indicated by cultural forms).

Nation, race, ethnicity and movement

Postmodern scholarship has highlighted the significant contribution of prehistoric archaeology, first developing in Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in shaping modernist and nationalist European discourses (e.g. Atkinson et al. 1996; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Hamilakis 2007; Härke ed. 2002; Meskell 1998; ed. 1998; Piotrowska 2008; Trigger 1984: 358). In some cases, the discipline and/or its exponents have been more or less directly appropriated by nationalist regimes, with long-lasting legacies in the scholarship. The archaeology of the Aegean has been affected in a number of different ways by this phenomenon. The formation circumstances of the Greek nation-state in 1821 have affected the nature of archaeological research in the region up to the present day. Nationalist political drivers have often been apparent in the general structuring of archaeological research and interpretation (though never affecting research design in the targeted way seen in autocratic regimes such as those of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia (Arnold 1990; 1998; Bertram 1991; Shnirelman 1995). Because related approaches to ancient movement in most of the Aegean area have been bound up heavily with concepts of 'Greekness' (see above), rather than 'Anatolianness' or 'Turkishness', I will focus primarily here on the national/ethnic discourse around the former category, without any suggestion that it is the only relevant one.

Ownership of the past was an immediate concern of post-independence society in Greece, reflected in various ways as the new state was established (Hamilakis 2007: 57–125; Kitromilidis 1997; Morris 1994: 15–23; 2000: 41–8; Peckham 2004: 115–37). In the early twentieth century (during and after conflict with Turkey and through the rise of modernism and fascist nationalism), the idealisation of the Greek past and the concept of a continuous Greek ethnicity associated with certain essential qualities and territories became a strongly foregrounded aspect of national culture, at multiple social levels. Local perspectives on the past are suggested by Andreou (2005) as having become fossilised at this time in an ethnically-centred framework – partly as a result of pressure felt from direct foreign interests in Aegean heritage, particularly a boom in archaeological fieldwork and the recovery/collection of resonant artefacts. Some long-established features of a strong national(ist) popular and academic discourse on archaeology in Greece are still apparent today. They include emphasis on the Classical and Hellenistic past as the pinnacle of human achievement (rooted in the traditional preoccupations of Classical archaeology); the assumption of direct and unilineal links between this past and the modern Greek nation and its political claims; a strong focus on the recovery, study and display of prestige artefacts, especially those of the Classical period; a stressing of ancient artistic and trade

links (rather than other kinds of connections) between prehistoric Greece and the ancient Near East; and a concern to link archaeological sites and their material directly to ancient Greek text accounts (again strongly rooted in Classical archaeology approaches). In contrast, attention to/public awareness of aspects of the pre- and post-Classical past of Greece not easily able to be fitted into a coherently ‘Greek’ descent tradition (particularly the Arab, Ottoman and Slav cultural heritage) has until recently been restricted (see Bintliff 2012: 64; Hamilakis 2007; 2008; S. Morris 1996; Renfrew 2005).¹

Such views of the past have been mobilised up to the present day in a number of powerful and political ways. Concerns with demonstrating the independence and uniqueness of ‘Greeks’ from an early date, with proving the descent of modern from ancient Greeks, and with retrojecting the territorial integrity of the modern Greek nation to the ancient past, have come frequently to the fore in the public arena. For example, rhetoric adducing ancient colonisations of Cyprus from the Aegean has been used to support Greek ethnic and political claims to the island (in one aspect of political and cultural standoff between the modern Greek and Turkish states; see e.g. Leriou 2011; Voskos and Knapp 2008). A forced focus on mimicking/ recreating the material features of the Classical past, drawing on assumptions about their makers’ inherent superiority and shared values, was used to ‘rehabilitate’ and align dissidents under the rule of the conservative junta in Greece during the 1970s (Hamilakis 2007: 205–43). In the 1990s, the presumed threat of ‘annexation’ of the Macedonia province of Greece by the emergent post-Yugoslav republic of the same name led to an overtly political promotion of the region’s archaeological heritage as ‘Greek’ by the Greek state, with a focus on the prestigious and monumental royal tombs at Vergina (see Danforth 1997; Finney 1999; Repoussi 2011). Emphasis was placed on the prestige and strength of the Hellenistic Greek kingdoms and on an implied direct line of connection between them and the modern Greek nation and its territory. Also in the 1990s, there were demonstrations against exhibitions of antiquities leaving Greece – rooted in a public sense that the ancient material was part of the ‘body’ of the Greek nation; the case of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum continues to raise similar emotions (Hamilakis 2007: 243–87). In such cases ‘Greek’ heritage has clearly often been perceived as threatened or diluted by an external (paracolonial) other (Herzfeld 2002; Varouhakis 2015). But *internal* divisions of feeling about the ownership and significance of ‘Greek’ heritage occur in Greek society too – often rooted in the same underlying conceptions of the region’s cultural past (particularly the Classical past) as reflecting a timeless, coherent set of social qualities and constituting the directly ‘owned’ ancestry of modern Greeks. For example, when a 1990s advertising campaign used a photograph of the Parthenon adapted to show Coca-Cola bottles as part of the structure, parts of Greek society saw it as an almost sacrilegious act (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996).

In this context, examinations of ancient Aegean culture at an academic level – including studies of movement and contact seen as undermining

assumptions about the continuous cultural 'Greekness' of the region's population – have made controversial impacts on popular consciousness. In 2009, conflict occurred in the national press over a public lecture by a senior state archaeologist (and subsequent debate) in which the archaeologist noted that 'Minoans' – i.e. the Bronze Age population of Crete – were apparently not Greek speakers for most of the period and could not, by implication, be assumed to be ethnically or culturally 'Greek'. A colleague participating in the debate noted Semitic language elements in Linear A, the earliest Cretan written language. One popular, highly emotive and contested contemporary reading of this discussion was that 'Cretans were not Greeks, but Jews' (Kokolakis 2009).

Clearly, conceptual boundaries related to nation and ethnicity in the region's archaeological discourse have long made objective discussion of ancient population movements difficult. Yet the very strength of the entrenchment and manipulation of nationalist perspectives on the past in this region makes the subject worth investigating further. The last twenty years of rapid change in the ethnic makeup of modern Greece linked to large-scale legal and illegal immigration, and popular responses to it (and to the recent economic crisis in the country), including the rise of ultra-nationalist groups, show the continued relevance of discussion of movement in relation to culture and origins.

The archaeology of the Aegean region, including evidence for movement, has also been affected by aspects of *foreign* nationalisms, especially those of northern and western Europe. This fact is linked to the high presence of foreign scholars in the area since the birth of the Classical/Aegean archaeology discipline and to the (related) historical profile of Greek antiquity as the 'fount' of European civilisation in important international political contexts (including the French Revolution, German Romanticism and nationalism, and the foundation of the American state: see Butler 1935; Cherry 2005: 9–10; Diaz-Andreu 2007: Part 1; Dietler 2005; Gosden 2004: 153; Marchand 2003). It has had crucial implications for the nature of scholarly practice in the field, including data recovery. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, large external financial investments, negotiated at governmental level, were made in the excavation of major Greek sites by foreign expeditions. The latter were represented by/based in individual national research 'schools' in Athens. The first foreign powers represented in this way were the main imperial/para-imperial players of the time, which had correspondingly strong vested interests in ancient Greek culture and its generic symbolic and legitimising value, as well as in the contemporary territory of Greece and the east Mediterranean (Davis 2000; Diaz-Andreu 2001: 429–30; Dyson 2006: 81–8; Hamilakis 2008; Sakka 2008). The Greek state developed the practice, anchored in early and stringent post-independence laws for general protection of the archaeological heritage, of allocating a fixed number of permits for research by each school – a system partly rooted in fears about the vulnerability of the high-profile heritage resource to foreign 'consumers' (see Cherry 2012: 235; Plantzos 2008: 14; Tolia 2008; Voudouri 2008).

This background helped encourage the development of separately entrenched traditions of practice and interpretation within the foreign research schools – partly tied in to contemporary features of the archaeology/Classical archaeology disciplines as practised in the relevant home countries (Sakka 2008: 112; Schnapp 2012: 211).

We thus see the long-term existence of strong claims to identity with the ‘ancient Greek’ past by interested *others*, and on the part of many Greek nationals/residents, a notably strong sense of ownership of/continuous identity with that past – alongside pride in its externally valued nature *and* resentment of perceived appropriations of it. A long-term scholarly and popular focus (in and outside Greece) on the origins, physical spread and achievements of ancient Aegean societies as a coherent (‘Greek’) body can be seen as grounded in this context, while also being linked to culture-history perspectives and to Classical archaeology’s longstanding conceptions and preoccupations. As recently as the 2004 Olympics, the iconography presented as Greece’s symbolic capital in the opening and closing ceremonies – designed for a global audience – referred to all the most eye-catching products of Aegean prehistory (including those from pre-Greek-speaking Bronze Age Crete) in a way which reinforced the notion of a single ethnocultural line of development rooted in earliest prehistory (Momigliano 2005: 218; Plantzos 2008: 16; Simandiraki 2005). Notable exclusions from this picture of unilineal ethnic heritage (e.g. Ottoman and Slavic features) showed how closely and recently Greek national identity has been tied to the idea of a single, coherently-identifying and -evolving race/culture in the Aegean space.

The way past and present perspectives on nation/race in Classical/Aegean archaeology link into nationalist/ethnicist perspectives in European archaeology more generally is also relevant to my examination of movement models in the following chapters. Scholarship in the German Classical archaeology tradition – one of the largest and longest-established in Europe – is important here (Dyson 2006: 73–4; Härke 1991; 1995: 4; 2000; 2002: 12–13; Trigger 1984: 363–5; Whitley 2001: 32–6). Emphatically culture-historical and diffusionist, this tradition has fed into wider archaeological thought in Germany and beyond, and has helped nurture well-embedded alternatives to processualism (including continuing strong interest in ancient population movement) in central European archaeology during the last half-century (Bintliff 2011: 172; Härke 2004). While some accounts of the early Aegean in this tradition have become obsolete, the wider assumptions they shared and developed have left echoes and reactions in the Aegean/Classical archaeology discourse operating in many parts of Europe, including Greece. The concept of culturally diagnosable racial links to territory (*Siedlungsarchaologie*; *Kulturkreis*) emerged in Germany and elsewhere as part of broader nineteenth-century concern with classifiable origins and races, flourishing within a contemporary positivist discourse and the developing understanding of evolution (see e.g. de Gobineau 1850; Diaz-Andreu 2007: 338–68; Kossinna 1911; Said 1993: 120; Stepan 1982).

It also had strong links to German Romanticism – especially the ideas of Herder, who saw a ‘people’ (*Volk*) as being imbued with its own intrinsic and permanent spirit or character (*Volksgeist*) and as evolving within a stable ‘natural’ territory.

The notion of a people’s timeless cultural attributes and rights to territory chimed in diverse ways with national and international political agendas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was variously embedded and manipulated within those agendas. The notion of inherent racial qualities as able to be straightforwardly diffused through movement/settlement could be linked up, for example, to the international ambitions of a number of late-imperial European nations, in one context, and to national expansionism within Europe, in another. It was a reference point for early German nationalism, later appropriated by Nazism; Arnold 1990; 1998: 238–43; Dyson 2006: 199–200; Härke 1995: 7–8; 2002: 44–8; Roesel 2006; Veit 2002: 50; see Diaz-Andreu 2001: 431 for the rise of ‘ethnic nationalism’ in Europe, especially Germany, from the 1870s onwards, and the kinds of reference to the past, including the shared and valued Classical Greek past, this involved.²

A fascination with origins and the innateness of certain human qualities accompanied the rise of modernism by the early twentieth century (Trigger 1984: 360; 1992: 358). The attribution of intrinsic qualities – such as ‘hardiness’, ‘creativity’, ‘innovation’, ‘strength’ and so on – to racio-cultural groups appeared regularly across the early twentieth-century humanities (e.g. Hobsbawm 1989). Much scholarship in this framework tried to explain the origins of Europe – building on the recently developed definition of the Indo-European/‘Indo-Aryan’ language group – in terms of the spread of ethnic groups with positive characteristics of this type, often attributed with an ‘Aryan’ origin. These movements were usually seen as aggressive and as involving imposed cultural change (Adler 1987; Kossinna 1912; Renfrew 1987: 23–4; see Bernal 1991;³ Jenkyns 1996: 418; Norton 1996: 405; Smith 1984 for the special role attributed to Greece and the ‘Greeks’ in such models). There were nuances within this trend. In some early twentieth-century models, ancient ‘Greeks’ were seen as the *ur*-race of Europe: in others, the ancient inhabitants of southern Europe, attributed with certain innate features, were portrayed as having been ultimately challenged by stronger, ‘fitter’ (if less cultured) northern Europeans moving into ‘their’ area. Links with Classical archaeology were evident, particularly in the use of aspects of language or historical tradition to identify ancient groups. However, the attention paid in such models to ‘simple’ material artefacts, rather than prestige ones, and the straightforward reading of those artefacts as coterminous with ethnicity/race, also drew heavily on elements of the *Volksarchäologie* developed in application to non-literate early central Europe: Hakenbeck 2005; Sherratt 2005; Stocking 1996; Veit 1994). An example of this kind of simplified biological-cultural reasoning as applied to the Aegean record of the time appears in Hawes and Hawes (1922: 154; Figure 2.1).

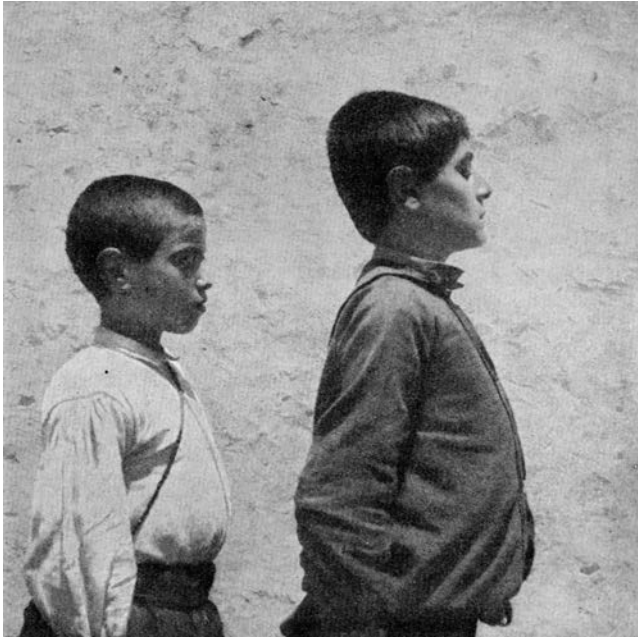


Figure 2.1 Photograph of Cretan children used to support early twentieth-century arguments about the significance of cranial form in the archaeological record (after C. H. Hawes, 1910. *Some Dorian descendants? Annual of the British School at Athens* 16: 258–80; fig. 2).

Using comparative cranial analysis of sampled ancient and modern populations in explaining ancient Aegean cultural change, these scholars argued that a core long-headed ‘native Cretan’ race of pre-Classical times were affected by immigration of round-headed groups (from Africa/the Levant) and/or ‘Aryan’ groups from the north. Each group was seen as possessing reified cultural and social characteristics, with Aryans as pastoralist fighting folk, intruding by force, and Africans as likely to have been encountered through trade. The authors concluded that

in Classical Greece we see the results of the mingling of two unusually gifted races – one autochthonous, the other immigrant – the former contributing the tradition and technical skill of a highly advanced native civilization, especially rich in art; the latter its heritage of Aryan institutions.

Hawes and Hawes (1922: 154)

As well as the influence of ideas about *Volksgeist*, we can see here links to narratives of civilisational rise and fall and sociocultural ‘progress’ which

were important in European thought throughout the late imperial/early modernist era (e.g. Spengler 1918–21; Toynbee 1934).

Racially reductive models are now in wide disfavour, and exhaustive archaeological analysis has demonstrated that social and cultural behaviour cannot be usefully modelled on biological processes, including evolutionary competition (e.g. Trigger 1998). Yet the long-term impact of such models in scholarly analysis and popular understanding of the ancient Aegean is apparent – resulting not only from various past confluences of nation/race-linked discourses with approaches in Classical archaeology, but from the specific social and political siting of participants in the analysis. Above, I discussed and explained the attractiveness of the concept of a timeless ethnic line and its essentially fixed ‘natural’ territory in some current scholarly and popular discussions of modern Greece. Härke (1998) and Burmeister (2000) have suggested that archaeologists from central European countries, where migrations have been a well-documented historical and recent phenomenon, tend to use movement models to explain ancient culture change in an especially robust fashion, compared to colleagues elsewhere. Härke offers a contrasting case study of British scholars’ minimising attitudes to ancient migrations, suggesting these reflect Britain’s island situation and its isolationist politics vis-à-vis Europe in the recent past, as well as the strong embedding of processualist approaches (with their marginalising approach to migration) in the English-speaking scholarly arena (see also Clark 1966; Hakenbeck 2005; Hood 1986: 132; Kristiansen 2001). As Härke points out, such consistent, if subtle, regional/national biases in past and present scholarship need to be reflected on, alongside more overtly nationalist tropes of analysis, if we want to identify ancient movement and weigh its effects in an objective manner. In all the case studies below, I will be able to note examples of the way interpretation of Aegean-based movement has been affected by ethnicist/nationalist, post-nationalist, and ‘national’ cultural discourses. These range from the self-identifying projection of Bronze Age Crete as internally peaceful but externally aggressive/controlling by British-based scholars in the late imperial and post-imperial era, to the neglect and/or marginalisation of aggression hypotheses in Aegean archaeology by integration-orientated continental European scholarship after World War II (Driessen 1999: 11).

Imperial legacies

The ways in which nineteenth- to twentieth-century European nationalism, racism and cultural evolutionism affect models of ancient movement in the Aegean/Mediterranean are impossible to extricate from the discourse of late imperialism. The influence of the latter is not a finite historical phenomenon, or one solely relevant to scholarship in countries with an imperial past (Hamilakis 2005: 173; Liverani 1996: 422; Rowlands 2005: 329; Said 1993: 120; Snodgrass 2005: 45; Trigger 1984: 364). Many ‘traditional’ types of model

developed up to the 1960s by scholars trained in European imperial-era environments, tending to attribute specific and inherent characteristics and motivations to ethnocultural groups on the move, must be read in this broad context.

The Western view of contemporary Greece through much of the nineteenth and early twentieth century period (despite the 'European' values attached to its ancient history) was as a region belonging firmly in current political and cultural terms to the East – and therefore inherently 'other' – as well as essentially subject: first part of the Ottoman empire, then housing an independent state whose status came about as a result of, and relied heavily on, Western intervention and interest. Ottoman Turkey was even more straightforwardly 'Oriental' and thereby alienised. Pre- and post-World War I Greece, although not actually under a mandate system, had a paracolony status, sharing a similar recent history to, and many cultural, political and economic features with, the east Mediterranean mandate states (Hamilakis 2008: 273; Herzfeld 2002: 274; Said 1978).

In this context, and with regard to the special values traditionally associated with 'the ancient Greeks', externally-based scholars influential in building archaeological narratives for the region found it easy to attribute colonial-type attitudes/motivations to assumed moving and 'receiving' populations there in the ancient past. This modelling worked in diverse ways. Often it involved self-identification with idealised 'Greeks' as natural colonisers/leaders of undeveloped groups abroad (for examples, see Boardman 1964: 303; Dunbabin 1948: 90–3; Freeman 1891–4; Gwynn 1918: 109 ['in every sphere of their colonising activity the Greeks met with races . . . socially and intellectually their inferiors']; for analysis of such approaches, see e.g. de Angelis 1998; Dietler 2005: 34; 56; Rowlands 2005: 329; Said 1978: 143; Shepherd 2005a: 29; 35; Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005: 192; van Dommelen 2005: 109; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 102; Whitley 2013: 410). But in other contexts, ancient Aegean groups could be seen as colonial-type subjects (of sophisticated easterners) or as the civilised victims of barbarian invasions. In most such conceptions, ancient travel and settlement over distance were assumed to have been normatively large-scale, aggressively structured, and territory/subsistence-oriented, and to have had moral implications (Mantzourani and Catapoti 2007: 70, citing Friedman 1993; Schofield 1984: 45). Attention was very often focused on the supposedly conquering or successful entity: inherent weakness/inferiority/unfitness on the part of receiving populations was often seen as explaining assumed colonisation/conquest and related cultural transformation, without much need for consideration of the detailed sociocultural context, nature and consequences of encounters.

Since early archaeological exploration in the east Mediterranean was directly connected to European imperial interests and presence, it is hardly surprising that foreigners investigating the past of the region were strongly identified (by themselves and by the locals) with the current (para-) colonial/

mandate power, or that the power in question consciously identified itself with attractive/high-profile elements of the local past (Hamilakis 2008: 275; McEnroe 1995; Rowlands 2005: 331; Said 1978: 204). The highly valued cultural practices and products (and inferred superior qualities) of past Eastern societies like those of Greece or Mesopotamia were seen by Western investigators of the nineteenth through early twentieth centuries (as by their Enlightenment forebears) to contrast strongly with the underdevelopment of contemporary local populations. This fact seemingly alienated the latter from their past and allowed it to be more easily identified with/claimed by metropolitan/imperial groups (Diaz-Andreu 2001: 436; Herzfeld 1987: 49; Papaconstantinou 2007; S. Said 2005: 273–8; Figure 2.2).

Said (1978: 209) encapsulates the specially nuanced case of Greece by quoting Nöldeke's (1887) low opinion of 'the [contemporary] eastern peoples', including those of Greece, and contrasting this attitude with Nöldeke's dedication of his life to the study of the ancient Greek world. The idea that past population movements could explain the observed stark contrasts between ancient and modern societies in colonial areas offered an alternative to the problematic notion of massive decadence from evidently powerful, sophisticated ancient societies with assumed inherent qualities. In addition, scholars reasoned that since imperial structures and



Figure 2.2 Louis-François Cassas, *The Olympeion at Athens with the Acropolis in the distance*, Azay-le-Ferron 1756, Versailles 1827 (Attingham Park, The Benwick Collection).

By permission of the National Trust.

their expansion were textually documented in parts of the ancient east Mediterranean, they might reasonably expect to find some familiar related interests/ mechanisms at work in ancient cultural contexts (Baines 1996: 35).

Some aspects of these perspectives produced useful insights. Despite the shifts it had undergone by the late nineteenth century, European colonialism recognised its own origins in trade, and some early twentieth-century archaeological narratives of ancient Aegean overseas contacts saw them as closely paralleling those of early Western empire-building – that is, as focused around opportunistic, socially disembedded trade activity (cf. Shepherd 2005a; Snodgrass 2005: 149, citing Blakeway 1933).⁴ Notwithstanding its biases, this perspective offered a useful enhancement to existing interpretations of trade and movement based heavily on Classical texts (which are now recognised as having often deliberately downplayed the importance of trade; see e.g. Finley 1973; Morris 1996). In other cases, however, assumptions made in the context of contemporary colonial experience (especially in conjunction with literal readings of ancient texts) have led scholars down doubtful paths. This is notable, for example, in the still-frequent assumption of ‘land hunger’ as a major motive/structure for Aegean-based movement abroad in the Bronze Age to Classical periods (with Aegean-based settlers seen as inherently able to annex land from local populations in Anatolia, Cyprus and Italy to serve their needs). In fact, the kind of agricultural pioneerism familiar from the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial world – where large areas of cultivable land were available thanks to hugely unequal and established military power, owner-agriculture was idealised as a way of life for emigrants from a range of social classes, and settlement occurred in a massive, structured way pushed by perceived short-term rewards (e.g. Erickson 1994: 37–45) has proved to have limited application to the ancient Mediterranean (e.g. Rowlands 2005: 327–4; van Dommelen 2005). Models on this basis have often assumed that ancient settlers over distance treated native inhabitants’ claims and practices as essentially inferior or irrelevant. A culturally-identified ‘incomer’ group has been seen as the active agent, planning movement and taking aggressive advantage of the opportunities it provided, while another (passive) local group of players has been viewed as simply lacking the capacity or desire to withstand the physical, economic, moral or cultural onslaught. The imperialism-coloured notion of ‘improvement’ of a territory and/or society through external movement into it often runs through such reconstructions, though the degree of benevolence attributed to settling agents varies. In contrast, many of my case studies below highlight evidence of long, complex, intimate and influential relations between moving groups associated with transformative impacts and communities in the areas ‘receiving’ them, and note their roughly parallel levels of technology, resourcing and skills. I will show how, by recognising and deconstructing conscious or unconscious analogies with the recent imperial past, we can develop richer scenarios of movement and contact (Gosden 2004: 2; Stein 2005; Dietler 2005: 24–5).

Today's context of globalised movement, with its roots in the recent colonial past and its high levels of time-space distanciation (Giddens 1990: 181) is also limited in use as a model, though it has proved attractive – for example in Mediterraneanism and world-systems modelling as discussed above. It encourages us to overlook the fact that contact in the ancient world was overwhelmingly between groups in relatively close proximity and familiarity with each other. The case studies show that the small size and interpenetrability of the Aegean and some other Mediterranean regions, providing opportunities for permanent close contact at everyday level, produced particular types of contrast and similarity between groups, affecting the impacts of more targeted, specific or ambitious kinds of interaction in special ways. When considering ancient cultural perceptions of and reactions to the travelling 'other' in this context, I suggest we can expect elements of difference from most recent colonial cases, where spatial distances, contrasts in environment, and differences in history and culture between colonisers and colonised were often vastly bigger. Other major differences in historical context also make direct analogy misleading. For example, while imperial activity by huge expansionary Bronze Age west Asian states (such as Akkad, Mitanni, Hatti, Babylon and Egypt) often seems to have had trade and/or procurement as one of its considerations, the kind of moral and social justifications and related mechanisms/institutions used for large-scale trade and other expansionary activities in the recent colonial past are rarely documented in the ancient world (Césaire 1972; Kemp 1978; Moran 1992). Where ethnicity and other identity concepts affected ancient interactions, they often operated in very different ways than in recent imperial contexts (Gosden 2004: 32–3; 41; 141–2). At the same time, the documented reliance of Bronze Age states on violent conquest and forced tribute to maintain their boundaries suggests we cannot marginalise the potential role of violence in long-range movement of various sorts. I show that despite the weight of older scholarly discourse and the potential value of some kinds of overt analogy with the recent past, we must recognise strong elements of difference in ancient long-distance interaction from *either* the context of post-World War I international diplomacy, with its emphasis on bloodless ethnic self-determination and (latterly) free movement, *or* the world of late imperialism, with its roots in violence and extreme and accepted inequality, accompanied by a heavy moralistic/ideological superstructure and a strong boundarisation of movement (Rowlands 2005: 330).

The deconstructed *practice* of historical colonialism (rather than its structural framework) can provide a valuable comparative tool in helping us visualise interactions between players over distance (van Dommelen 2005: 112–13). In Chapter 1, I noted the importance of considering class relations when examining ancient long-distance movement and its relationship to social change. It is clearly reductive to apply standardised/idealised colonial models here – e.g. to assume that, as under recent imperial systems, incomers would take on the highest social, political and administrative positions in

a universally hostile/resistant context. Yet careful use of recent individual case studies of colonial societies exploring ‘hidden’ aspects of social relations, visible in the material cultural record, can potentially highlight other, complex kinds of relations between movers and receiver communities, including class-crossing/-transforming practices like emulation, hybridity, mimicry and ornamentalism (Bhabha 1990; 1994; 2005; Cannadine 2001; Thomas 1994). Marriage and other intimate relationships between ‘receiving’ groups – another powerful sphere of cross-class and cross-ethnic interactions and related social shifts – can also be illuminated by deconstructions of colonial practice. Models of ancient Aegean migration partly rooted in imperialist discourse have often posited intermarriage to explain culture change in a way which makes sweeping assumptions about gender/power roles, the nuclear family and inheritance practices, with little deeper thought about the encounter circumstances in which these kinds of intimate relations might develop. ‘Greeks’ settling abroad have often been directly personified or implied as male – with assumed linked qualities such as entrepreneurship and mastery, including in the marriage sphere (Mohanty 1998); see, for example Coldstream (1993: 104): ‘Those who settle on foreign shores will either found their own independent settlement, or infiltrate among the local population; and they will either bring their own wives, or marry indigenous women in their new homes.’ Shepherd (2005a) notes imperialism-coloured views of intermarriage as an essentially functional practice in studies of ‘Greeks’ abroad, while Snodgrass (2005: 50) shows how associations of ethnic cross-marriage with formal status degradation and the straightforward fulfilment of sexual need in recent colonial societies have been projected onto interpretations of ancient interactions. Again, in-depth studies of actual colonial practice, including subaltern accounts of contradictory and hidden practice, may helpfully be used to re-evaluate models of personal encounters/relations in ancient movement contexts (Stein 2005: 9; see Gorogianni et al. 2014 on the updating and contextualisation of marriage models over distance).

The way cultural ‘otherness’ is crystallised in response to contact across distance is a significant focus of postcolonial analysis. Studies in this field have noted the multiple, subtle and various forms of reactive/resistant practice in reception contexts, including mimicry/hybridity as a form of self-legitimation/assertion rather than straightforward emulation (Bhabha 2005; Desai and Nair 2005; Given 2004: 8–9; Jiminez 2010; Miller et al. 1995; Rowlands 2005: 330). Recently, a number of scholars addressing interaction in the context of the ancient Mediterranean have presented cultural hybridisation in material form as a neutral ‘third space’. In apparent reaction to diffusionist models, some have reified it as an two-way, functional, depersonalised process/phenomenon rather than a specific, directional and agentified one (Knapp 2013: 268).⁵ Such assumptions deserve another look, in perspectives informed by the anthropology of colonial practice. Notably, ancient Mediterranean texts discussing movement and settlement across distance (which, given their elite context, often have their own strong agendas

and assumptions about social/political integration) rarely mention aspects of dissent/resistance, other than full-scale conflict, in related encounters. Scholarly models have often accepted this unquestioningly, assuming there were few (or unimportant) loci of resistance in movement. Recognising the potential for diverse (and diversely materialised) kinds of reaction to movement in the past can improve general insight on how movement helped produce cultural and social change.

Sociocultural change and movement: frameworks of past scholarship

In the above context, I now want to examine a few influential past frameworks of archaeological thought about sociocultural change and its relationship to movement, showing how these have contributed to current outlooks (especially on the Aegean) and will affect my own arguments in this book. The discussion is by no means exhaustive.

Gordon Childe's work remains a reference point for all studies making use of material culture to define and investigate social groups, and/or those treating movement as a potential stimulus/ mode in sociocultural change (e.g. Childe 1925; 1933). Practitioners of a very directly Childean kind of archaeological analysis – that is, viewing the transfer of selected cultural/ artistic traits as consistently identifying specific moving groups – still operate (particularly in central European academia) and include Aegean prehistorians among their number (e.g. Bouzek 1985; 2010; Crowley 1989; discussion in Dziegielewska et al. 2010; see recently Prieu's adapted culture-historical approach [Prieu 2005]). This seeks to identify a set of standard processes/features within cultural units during historically documented periods of migration in Europe, cross-cutting various regional and chronological contexts, and then to use them to test prehistoric data on culture change (similarly categorised) with the aim of securely identifying ancient movements. Martin Bernal's self-proclaimed debt to Childe in his account of the African origins of Greek civilisation in *Black Athena* illustrates the continued popular attractiveness of the diffusion concept which Childe's work defined (Baines 1996: 40). More critical perspectives still recognise Childe as one of the most thoughtful modellers of movement in the explanation of sociocultural change: notably, his mode of approach is noted as largely free of nationalist or imperialist slants (Harris 1994; Manning 1994: 221–2; Meinander 1981; Sherratt 1992; Trigger 1992: 357–8). Notwithstanding, part of the stimulus to his work (including particularly the notion of 'civilisation' as a package transferred over distance) was clearly its formation in an imperial-era context. Despite Childe's Marxist groundings, he never deeply addressed the way class and power relations might drive or condition physical movement and/or cultural transfers unevenly, at small scales, and in a feedback-type relationship (a topic since explored and clarified in postcolonial studies) (Sherratt 1992: 368). The geographical and chronological scope of his work, in an era when archaeological

data were limited in quantity and quality, meant data was able to be treated in a highly abstract way. Groups of people were reified and attributed in very broad cultural terms – their movements not envisioned in a contextual way; their *modes* of encounter/contact left largely unexamined. An instrumentalist/functionalist perspective prevails in the work in regard to all kinds of innovation processes (see Sherratt 1992: 373; 378). On the other hand, in refusing to adopt grand directional narratives in the imperialist mode, Childe did ultimately accept cultural diffusion/transfer through movement as having occurred in a random and unpredictable fashion over time. This contrasted with some more directly imperialism-flavoured contemporary models, which reductively personified movement ‘events’ and assumed a set of typical outcomes for them in terms of sociocultural ‘progress’/decline (see Sherratt 1992: 366).

Processual/anthropological archaeologies of the 1960s–1990s, with their emphasis on repeatable global patterns in human behaviour, were characterised by strong reactions to culture history, notwithstanding the variety of applications now subsumed by the concept. However, Childe’s work recognised a point which has outlasted processual approaches and is strongly relevant to this book (which takes it as a basic premise). That is, that archaeology is most valuably and relevantly written as wide-ranging, complex and sequential history, rather than as a set of evolutionary paradigms (Hodder 1987). Childe’s attention to long-term historical context, and the ambitious spatial range of his work, are notable. He did not set out to prove the seminal importance of any particular cultural transfer or movement, but ultimately to write the early history of Old World social development at a huge scale, in a perspective considering a number of causes and effects, including both mobility and other (largely untheorised) processes of cultural transfer. Movement, to him, was an important and widely recurrent, if not predictable, element in transformative sociocultural change.

Childe’s impact on Old World archaeological discourse as a whole, including Aegean prehistory, prefigures that of another major European prehistorian, whose best-known work (dedicated to Childe) helped define the processual approach in Old World archaeology. Making the Aegean its case study, Colin Renfrew’s 1972 *The Emergence of Civilisation* was seminally influential well outside the field of Aegean studies (Barrett and Halstead 2004; Renfrew 1972). It focused on how the first Aegean complex societies developed, placing them in a European and global context. Renfrew’s positioning of his work (e.g. 1979: 63) was openly as an alternative or challenge to diffusionist approaches (which he rightly saw as bound up with the unscientific equation of archaeological cultures to societal qualities/characteristics/motivations) and an attempt to define and explain sociocultural change in alternative ways. Legacies of this approach have since dominated the field of Aegean prehistory scholarship, especially in the prominent Anglo-Saxon sphere (see e.g. Bintliff 2008: 37; Broodbank 2014a: 28; Cherry et al. 1991c; Hamilakis 2002; Manning 1994; Tartaron 2008: 95). Renfrew’s use

of systems models (especially the ‘multiplier effect’ – the idea that cumulative changes in one area of sociocultural practice area produce knock-on change effects in others, with increasing magnification in scale and reach over time) stressed internally-generated processes of change, giving little role to movement – episodic, endemic, structured or otherwise – as a driver. In this, it presaged and influenced other models more recently developed to explain cultural shifts in the ancient Mediterranean. These, including world-systems and Mediterraneanist approaches, have acknowledged the role of movement more directly, while also deliberately avoiding diffusionist and culture-historical assumptions and placing emphasis on systemic relations (see Bintliff 2008: 37). As I noted in Chapter 1, though such models have usefully enhanced and deepened Renfrew’s perspective on cultural change as exemplified in *Emergence*, they have largely failed to fill the gaps around agency, encounter and experience shared by traditional assumption-laden diffusion models, more abstract Childean diffusion models and Renfrew’s ‘scientific’, process-focused paradigm.

Renfrew’s broad chronological (as well as geographical) sweep in *Emergence* showed his interest in history – echoing that of Childe, while not always being paralleled by later scholars building on his work. He made his case against views of ‘cultures’ as inherently attached to and representative of specific social groups (views which he noted as particularly pervasive in Aegean prehistory: Renfrew 1979: 54) partly by articulating a desire to explain culture change *over time* in terms other than those of simple replacement of specific populations by others in space. Like almost all archaeologists before or since, he nonetheless acknowledged the need to use culture groupings of some sort in historical discussion. Ambitiously, he even chose to develop new classifications for early Bronze Age Aegean cultural material (which were neither exclusively territorially- nor chronologically-based) in order to help disestablish the notions of unilinear or unicausal processes/units of change, including movement of specific groups. Like Childe, Renfrew perceived that sociocultural change occurred in variable interaction with time, as well as with space and agency (Renfrew 1973). Yet his especial stress on self-generating systemic processes of change ultimately offered little place for contingent or conditioning history, whether local or external – and little examination of historical self-consciousness or the force of encounters.

I noted above that Childe’s way of using the archaeological evidence set was pre-processual: the large amount of intricately quantifiable data now integral to European archaeology was not yet available. Childe could convincingly (and briefly) identify significant quantitative patterns in a very limited data set. Renfrew’s work marked a point of no return in culture change studies – setting out potentially testable hypotheses referring to quantified data across large regions in the overtly ‘scientific’ vein characteristic of processual approaches. He felt free to draw strong conclusions on the remarkably small and scattered amounts of such data available at the time of

writing (Cherry 2004b). The sense of freedom to confidently synthesise data across large regions is now largely missing for archaeologists – especially those working in the Aegean, where low levels of historic development, good surface visibility and long-standing research interest have produced an exceptional density of information, now able to be systematically retrieved and recorded at high resolution. As I noted in Chapter 1, one result of this change is that there are fewer attempts to write long-term or large regional-scale histories of sociocultural change. Instead of attempting to update Renfrew or Childe in terms of range and conception of argument (however incompletely), scholars are often reduced to isolating, updating, questioning and refining specific parts of these earlier approaches, in application to specific sets of evidence. This takes us no closer to a truly historical perspective than Childe or Renfrew – and often moves us further away.

Dispensing entirely with culture history in all its dimensions seems difficult (Lake 2007; O'Brien et al. 2005). Archaeologists do need to group cultural data in historical and spatial context, looking for similarities and dissonances, in order to make the most basic inferences about human societies, especially when the relationship of change to movement is considered (Rutter 2012: 73). Shifts across a number of cultural categories within one region and timeframe will always suggest significant social change and lead us to look for its causes, among which population movement may, or may not, factor. If Childe's work continues to remind us of this truth, Renfrew's vision (and subsequent commentary on it) has pointed up that addressing cultural change *in full social and historical context*, using as complete and detailed a range of data as possible, is essential in building our understanding of it (Hodder 2009). While the shortcomings of unquestioning reliance on event-type hypotheses (including invasive/diffusive movements) as explanations for culture change are increasingly clear, so too are the problems of focusing on very large-scale, general and long-term phenomena such as environmental conditions (thereby failing to engage with the intimate, personalised and immediate elements in sociocultural change and its experience) or on internal cultural and social process (a potentially ahistorical approach). Ian Morris (2000), in advocating the development of a contextualised, embedded 'cultural' rather than 'culture' history, stresses that instead of attempting to make any standard inferences or analogies based on patterns of cultural change, we must view culture as having both a socially structured and a structuring role (thereby itself acting as an agent in change) and through a strongly historical lens.

More recent and current perspectives on cultural change in the ancient Aegean show interest in further addressing the social and economic contexts governing the production and consumption of material culture, the conditioned agency of the individual actor or group, and the cognitive/structural/emotional relationships between humans and cultural and natural space. The use of anthropological analogy (pioneered by approaches including Renfrew's work; see e.g. Cherry et al. 1991; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982)

is a regular and consistently valuable feature of these approaches. It has a long and rich history in the Aegean, where the accessibility of traditional practice in contemporary rural communities has facilitated it. Broodbank's study of early Aegean social change in conjunction with maritime movement made extensive (though sometimes ahistorical) use of both local and more exotic (Pacific) analogies (2000: 8–18; 176; 272–9). Traditional pastoral lifestyles observed in the Aegean (from small-scale transhumance to the large-scale seasonal migrations of highly visible specialised nomad minorities such as the Vlachs and Sarakatsani) have regularly influenced ideas about movement and socioeconomic change in the past (see e.g. Efstratiou 1993; Garnsey 1988). Again, though, some use of such analogy (as in Hammond's 1976 book) has been superficial, lacking deep context.⁶

Analogy of various sorts has also supported work on consumption as a driver in past cultural change: consumption practice is clearly linked to various kinds of social identity-building and to many contexts of long-distance travel in the ancient past. The last twenty years have seen a huge growth of analysis of consumption in archaeology and anthropology generally, assisted by the increasing quality of data (see e.g. Barth 1969; Banks 1996; Bentley 1987; Demoule 1999; Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Hall and du Gay 1996; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997; Just 1989; Levine 1991; Shennan 1994; for recent studies of the Aegean world informed by such perspectives, see e.g. Hall 1997; 2007b; Hodos 2006; 2012; Preston 1999; Shepherd 2013; Sherratt 1998a; 2005). This analysis ranges from studies of the role of prestige goods consumption/exchange in elites' emergence and development, through the construction of gender via imported goods and tropes and the development of ethnic identities with reference to external cultural awareness and interaction – all elements of transformative social change discussed in this book. Though this has been a fruitful development, I will show in my case studies how the established use of these approaches can currently discourage scholars from engaging with the role of physical movement (rather than simply shifts in identity/consumption tropes) as a factor in change (see Hakenbeck 2005: 17). In fact, the two seem likely often to have gone hand in hand: shifts in ethnicity and other identity structures can be seen as a potentially important drivers of/results of/tropes in movement. The ways in which material constructions of ethnic or other identity can mask or distort population movement in the ancient record, and of how the impact of population movement may have differed according to the way identity was materially constructed in both moving and 'receiving' groups, will be of special interest in this book.

The recent growth in materiality-focused studies of the ancient world also has strong roots in anthropology, including the anthropology of science and the ethnography of non-complex societies. Both areas have been drawn on to explore the multifaceted relationships between people and objects in various past social/spatial realms, including travel (e.g. Hicks 2010; Hicks and Beaudry 2010; Knappett 2005; Law 2010; Martin 2005). Of special

potential relevance in examining movement's relationship to culture change are studies of 'object agency' – that is, the way the nature of certain objects allows them to be received and adapted with very different resonance in individual contexts, and to condition future actions in those contexts at a number of levels. In the case studies, I show that flexible, imaginative understanding of the way past objects may have moved with people, but also operated in ways separate from those people, is important to unpicking problems with some existing movement models and developing relevant revised ones.

Language-based approaches have a special, long-established place in the study of culture change, including in relation to movement, and have followed wider recent trends in this field, including the use of anthropological analogy. Ancient language is increasingly recognised as a form of cultural construction. Drawing on both historical and anthropological cases, for example, scholars of the ancient Aegean have recently highlighted the fact that the use of certain language and script forms could be as politically motivated and selective as the content of texts (e.g. Duhoux 2007; Hall 1995; Stoddart and Whitley 1998). Procedural problems with attempting to identify language 'homelands' from which to map the spread of population have been highlighted, affecting views on past movement as a straightforward factor in cultural and linguistic change (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 73–4; 116–35; Renfrew 1987; Sherratt and Sherratt 1988: 585). Work across linguistics, ancient history, anthropology and archaeology suggests language contacts and influences may often be more usefully studied the other way up, by evaluating known maps of ancient language features (suggesting communities of practice/social networks) in deep and broad cultural context. This approach avoids reductive equation of language features with specific sets of cultural features or generalised group mobility patterns. It can still highlight (and in some cases help date) periods and circumstances of close cultural contact between regional populations, but it makes fewer assumptions about diffusion processes than do older 'language homeland' models (discussed further in Chapter 5). Written language has often seemed to bring the past alive more than other aspects of culture have and can potentially (through some kinds of texts) bring us 'into the minds' of past agents. In this regard, it remains of high interest to scholars addressing ancient cultural and social change. Yet for the purposes of the present study, the new perspectives on language outlined above, as well as the limited number of text documents available for the early Aegean, force recognition that evidence for ancient language change cannot be usefully separated from consideration of other cultural forms in historical context.

Conclusions

Aspects of all the historical and current perspectives on movement and culture change discussed above will be evaluated and built on throughout this study which, as previously stated, takes as its primary approach/method a contextual and historical perspective. Recent interests in the construction

of cultural identity inform the book throughout, yet it is not primarily an investigation of identity structures in the ancient Aegean. Consideration of ancient language and text use also play a significant part in the discussion, yet the work is not a language-focused one. It seems problematic to straightforwardly adopt traditional culture history as an interpretative approach – yet not all past scholarship rooted in a culture-historical understanding can be rejected here. Like any modern archaeological work, this study will have to engage with a large set of complex, detailed and quantified archaeological data. Yet I want it to retain a synthesising aim – necessitating heavy condensing, considerable selectivity, and reliance on the conclusions of earlier primary scholarship. The explanatory limitations and biases of many traditional movement paradigms for the Aegean, highlighted in the discussion above and explored in more detail in each case study, suggest that insight into the impact of past movement will be best gained by trying to avoid specific agendas of argument from the outset. At the same time, it is disingenuous to suggest that my views are unconditioned. As a UK-trained and -based scholar in archaeology, for example, I have needed to make special kinds of effort to accept the transformative potential and scale of ancient movement (see Härke 1998, as discussed above). Indeed, this challenge to myself – and to many of my scholarly generation – was a stimulus to writing the book.

The discussion above shows that movement models are such an important and loaded part of past and current narratives in Aegean archaeology that they need to be directly addressed, assessed and developed in a strong comparative, synthetic context. In the current Mediterraneanist interpretative environment, we need updated investigation of the concept of intrinsic long-term and widespread patterns /effects in movement vis-à-vis momentous but regionally disjointed sociocultural changes affecting this region. In what follows, I will show that some ‘classic’ movement models have distorted or neglected aspects of the data as they currently stand; that others have picked up crucial points more convincingly, and that in some cases a loose collection of data calls out for stronger modelling, including serious and contextualised consideration of the role of movement in transformative change. I query or undermine many aspects of existing movement models, but also find convincing evidence that movement did have transformative impacts on early Aegean societies and argue that this process needs to be better imagined through a more strongly humanised, experience-focused analysis.

When looking at the history of migration narratives for the Aegean and developing revised views, we enter a debate which is strongly European in its history, character and relevance, notwithstanding aspects of global interest. The case studies show in more detail that it is the European history and practice of archaeology which has given rise to the most influential movement models for the ancient Aegean. I will thus refer most heavily to Europe-based or -linked publications (with the strong presence in my citations of Anglo-Saxon literature unavoidable in view of the latter’s quantitative dominance in the field; see e.g. Cullen 2005). Related debates in fields centred outside

Europe (e.g. the issue of Afro-centrism versus Afro-marginalisation in the academy, especially the American one, when discussing ancient Mediterranean interactions; see e.g. Bernal 1991; Lefkowitz and Rogers 1996) are less directly stimulative to my discussion here. At the same time, the influences on the book of international archaeological thought and practice (including the use of analogies from outside Europe/the Old World) are significant.

Notes

- 1 In Turkey, a responsive/counterbalancing neglect/alternative presentation of monuments and sites prominently connected to Classical Greek culture in the coastal Aegean can be seen through much of the twentieth century (e.g. Şahoğlu 2008: 483).
- 2 Veit (1994; 2002) places the rise of the ethnic nationalist phenomenon slightly earlier.
- 3 The reductionist tropes involved are, ironically, echoed in some recent culture-historical treatments which position themselves as far as possible from the models of innate ethnic characteristics exploited by fascism. See, for example, Bernal's 1991 *Black Athena* for reified ideas of 'the Greeks', critiqued by Baines 1996: 38; Lefkowitz 1996: 20.
- 4 Snodgrass stresses, however, the perceived rigid cultural and racial separation of 'Greeks' from 'locals' in these accounts, in ways that recall the later British imperialist context in which these scholars were writing, rather than earlier imperial trade outlooks.
- 5 Knapp's depersonalised account of hybridisation is notable: 'hybridisation refers (1) to the practices in which cultural differences are either naturalised or neutralised when distinct *cultures* meet and mix and (2) to the visible manifestation of difference . . . as a consequence of incorporating foreign elements' (emphasis mine; see Stockhammer 2013 for a more nuanced argument; also Knapp 2009).
- 6 For example, Hammond's focus on landscape/ecological factors as mainly conditioning human behaviour, especially pastoralist lifestyles, over very long periods, his lack of deep attention to archaeological context, and his failure to follow through the full implications of his movement models for culture and society have given his work limited influence. Unresolved issues include exactly what level and type of change in material culture might be expected as a result of periodic shifts to nomadism, how nomadism could be sustained at large and permanent scales in the small Aegean region, and how significant the direct role of nomads could have been in the development of the complex, settled majority societies seen in the Aegean throughout later prehistory and into the Classical period.

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3 Movement, ‘Anatolianising’ culture and Aegean social change c. 3500–2300 BC

Introduction

I start by considering a period for which a critical mass of recent research makes the readdressing of old models on movement and culture change a pressing matter. The latest Neolithic–Early Bronze Age I–II period¹ in the south-central Aegean saw rapid socioeconomic growth, clearly linked to expanded volumes of movement. The period is marked by newly intense, strongly directional cultural connections (with variable emphases, modes and impacts over time and space) between the west Anatolian area and the insular/coastal Aegean. Use of the term ‘Anatolianising’ to describe this phenomenon in what follows does not imply that Aegean groups became progressively indistinguishable in social or cultural terms from those on the Anatolian mainland (Bevan 2007: 85; Hilditch et al. 2008: 263; Şahoğlu 2008: 483). In many ways, the reverse is the case. I will focus here on a core phase of transformative change, recently the subject of intensified research – the Final Neolithic to EB I transition (3500–3000 BC). I will make brief notes and observations only on the subsequent movement-linked growth trajectory in the region, and a major disjuncture in this at c. 2300 BC (late EB II).

The transformations of the core phase involved groups which had already used settled farming for millennia. Yet we will see that discussion around these changes and their causes has been closely linked with the question of how farming practices first came to the Aegean, and of the character of the Aegean Neolithic generally (c. 7000–3000 BC). This is partly valid: many features present during later major change episodes in the Aegean were missing at c. 3500 BC – including extensively-adapted subsistence landscapes, relatively stable and dense population coverage, and entrenched social hierarchy. Nonetheless, this perspective has framed the way socioeconomic transformation is addressed in particular (and sometimes restrictive) ways. It has encouraged an especially heavy focus on the ecological and subsistence base and the potential within it for internally generated social shifts or evolutions (Tomkins 2008: 21). Arguments of the kind characterising Renfrew’s *Emergence*, stressing ecological/evolutionary processes of change, have been especially influential in this kind of explanation. Much of the latter shows strong reaction to older paradigms of ancient Aegean sociocultural

development, which tended to see the inherent attributes/motivations of distinct cultural groups as embodied in, or pushing, unified movements over distance (Halstead 1994: 195; 2004: 189 for critique; see also Manning 1994: 230; Renfrew 2004: 263 citing Renfrew 1972: xxv). Renfrew argued that a managerial elite, supported by a secondary products revolution (i.e. a developing incorporation of dairy, wool and traction into the economy: Sherratt 1981) emerged locally in/by the Aegean EB II period. He saw major cultural shifts, such as the advent of copper/bronze metallurgy, as occurring from that time, forming part of an ‘essentially local process’ (Renfrew 1972: 338). The development of an extremely intense, diversely-centred travel and exchange system (‘nexus’²) in and around the EB Cycladic environment was a major focus of Renfrew’s studies, and others since – many of which explained and characterised the phenomenon in terms of regionally-specific geographic/environmental/demographic confluences (e.g. Manning 1994: 227–9; see Broodbank 2000). Notions of the way in which regional socioeconomic pressures and adaptations operated through the late fourth and third millennium are currently being debated by scholars working with new data, discussed later in this chapter. As a result, movement is being foregrounded and dissected in some new ways. But given the previous ecological framing of discussion, the outlooks and decisions of moving people themselves (especially across distance and in large numbers) are still not often addressed in their own right as system drivers/changers.

Dating is moving on as a consequence of new research, and new datings are changing interpretation. The importance of the set of transformations encompassed by the term ‘Early Bronze Age’ is still recognised, but accuracy in describing and dating those shifts has sharpened. Renfrew’s ‘emergence’ concept is being moved back in time (e.g. Day and Doonan 2007; Doonan et al. 2007; Sherratt 2007; Tomkins 2004: 38). In some earlier scholarship, a major cultural change horizon was already assigned to EB I rather than EB II, and was suggested as linked to ‘event’-type migration into the Aegean from western Anatolia at that time (e.g. Cadogan 1986: 154; Hood 1990a; 1990b; Warren 1972 for Crete). Some scholars even placed a notional first ‘coming of the Greeks’ to the Aegean at this point. However, new findings explode the idea of a fourth-millennium regional ‘depopulation’, formerly used to explain population growth and cultural change in terms of a major EB I immigration event (Coleman 2000; Cosmopoulos 1999). Increased evidence is emerging of a transformative horizon dated somewhat earlier in the later Final Neolithic period (from c. 3500 BC). The very first advent of smelted metallurgy in the south-central Aegean, changes in many aspects of pottery production and use (especially drinking/serving), and new kinds of chipped stone technology and sourcing are all traceable to this period. The greatest weight of recent evidence for population growth in the south-central Aegean also points to late FN as a period of transformation (Doonan and Day 2007: 11; Halstead 2008: 233; Kouka 2008: 272; Nowicki 2014; Tomkins 2008; Figure 3.1).³

Much interpretation of the various sociocultural transformations being recognised at this period, including settlement spread/population growth, is in an evolutionary/ecological vein (Doonan et al. 2007: 98–9; recently Tomkins and Papadatos 2013; Tomkins and Todaro in press). A recent model by Halstead, for example, explains the change in terms of increased social distancing within expanding communities and the related formalisation of economic support/social storage (replacing the more direct/flexible socio-economic interdependence seen in small communities earlier in the Neolithic; Halstead 1994; 2008: 248; Knapp 1994; Manning 1994; Sherratt 2008: 297; Tomkins 2004: 39). Movement is accepted as a factor/outcome in this process, but its volume, mode and experience are usually not conceptualised in detail. In evident reaction to past diffusion-based perspectives, there is distinct reluctance in this model to see movement itself as a major force in cultural change. In suggesting new internal impetus/ability to move out of the arable-rich, already densely settled northeast Aegean mainland plains into south Aegean regions with various ecological profiles, Halstead has grouped the latter as ‘marginal’. FN movement is thereby presented as essentially ‘local’/standardised in nature, and as internally, ecologically driven. Manning (1994: 240) has also cited movement to marginal zones to explain the evidence for widespread new settlement in late FN Crete, postulating expansion from an assumed sole/main existing settlement at Knossos, in the central part of the island. He suggests gradual expansion first to nearby prime arable land, then to other marginal land (‘infilling’). In an arch-ecological perspective, this is argued to have been a strategy to ‘improve mating range’ within a society which lacked specialisation – i.e. again a mode of easing expansive pressure. Though Manning rightly notes that several *different* ecological zones saw new settlement in Crete at this time, his chronological ordering of the move has no clear basis of evidence.

More recently, Tomkins has picked up the idea of marginal infilling by characterising *all* newly heavily settled areas of Crete at this time as ‘marginal’ relative to central Crete, with its long-established Neolithic settlement at Knossos. Again the argument is for population shift/growth driven by ecological/subsistence factors (Tomkins 2008; Tomkins et al. 2007). Broodbank has built even more tenuously on the ‘marginal expansion’ model to suggest that all newly settled south Aegean areas were mainly used by dispersed pastoralist groups, pushed to relocate by climate change (the latter predicated on signs of increased aridity in the Aegean 4000–3500 BC (Broodbank 2008: 284). This is despite the fact that Halstead’s original model of Aegean movement at this period actually cautions against the equation of marginal land with pastoral practice or seasonality.

An alternative way of addressing the evidence for new movement and related change in FN–EB, avoiding either naive diffusionism or reductively ecological perspectives, has been to extend aspects of world-systems and Mediterraneanist approaches developed for the later Bronze Age back to this period. For example, Broodbank (2000) and Sherratt (2007: 258–9)

have both stressed the evidence for Aegean-specific commodities as attracting and sustaining groups involved in development and movement groups in the wider area, including west Anatolia, from the very start of the Bronze Age (see recently Tomkins 2014; Tomkins and Papadatos 2013 for discussion of emerging exchange systems already in late FN). While these discussions rightly highlight the new dynamism and volume of interaction in the Anatolian-Aegean coastal region through the FN/early EB period, they tend (like the subsistence/ecological models discussed above) to avoid addressing movers' agency or experience. Their effective normalising of movement in this region for the whole period also risks minimising its transformative impacts. All the above approaches acknowledge the strong Anatolian connections of a range of cultural shifts seen in the Aegean from late FN to EM II/III. But the conjunction of these (and of developments in contemporary coastal Anatolia) with the massive population increase in the south Aegean is not fully addressed or explained.

Other approaches in recent years, heavily grounded in the new data, *do* overtly raise and explore issues around directional transformative movement into the Aegean from west Anatolia at this time (Nowicki 2008a; 2014; Sampson 2008a). Yet these models often rely on somewhat reductive culture-historical approaches in linking movement to change, seeking the direct origins of incomers in particular artefact styles and assuming straightforward modes and outcomes for movement (including conflict/conquest).

The volume of new data for the FN–EB period, and the strong past and current contrasts in approach to movement affecting its study, make the period an ideal first case study for this book.

The long view on Neolithic–EB movement: questions of origins and identity

Settlement from western Anatolia by sea is agreed to have had a major role in the origins of Aegean farming, which started on Crete (with the only currently known site at Knossos) and parts of the mainland (e.g. Nea Nikomedeia, Sesklo) c. 7000–6000 BC (see e.g. Efstratiou et al. 2013; Karamitrou-Mentessidi et al. 2013; Perles 2001; Rodden 1965; Papathanasiou and Richards 2011; Pyke et al. 1998). By 7000 BC, aceramic farming communities had already existed for at least two millennia on the Anatolian coasts. Recent DNA evidence supports culturally-based conclusions on the direction of movement and change: populations at early Aegean Neolithic maritime sites show stronger genetic connections to western Anatolian than to Balkan groups (King et al. 2008; Martinez et al. 2008).

Aegean farming first appeared in coastal and insular areas, where inhabitants seem already to have long participated in wide maritime contacts around hunting, fishing and obsidian procurement, touching the Anatolian coasts to some degree (Broodbank and Strasser 1991; Cherry 1979: 26–32; 1990; Runnels and Murray 2001: 9–65). Region-wide studies suggest a marginal

but significant increase in temperature and aridity in the mid-Holocene eastern Levant. This might have helped push/enable Anatolian dry-farming groups to move west and north: sea-level rise in the Aegean potentially circumscribed hunting territories for local Mesolithic populations at around the same time (Aram-Stern 2005; Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 2014; Perles 2001: 39–63; Runnels and Murray 2001: 45–52; Hansen 1991: 167). As mainland Mesolithic groups, such as those living around Franchthi Cave in the coastal Argolid, changed their lifestyles to incorporate farming, the lack of sustained hunting-farming conflict is notable. The kinds of steady population and contact structures which would have enabled existing Aegean residents to pick up selected elements of innovative practice on irregular travels east and import them home in a secondary fashion seem lacking at this time. The new technological and social ideas/practices around settled farming clearly needed to be experienced/implemented *in situ* and saw the overwhelming involvement of local populations.

The permanent uptake of farming on Crete (where some resident Mesolithic population also seems likely to have been present, but is not yet fully documented), alone of the Aegean islands at this period, is remarkable (Efstratiou et al. 2013; Strasser 2010). On the basis of a range of cultural forms, including domesticated plant and animal species and the presence of aceramic deposits indicating a farming lifestyle at Knossos, the Cretan case has been argued to represent a highly-targeted direct migration by Anatolian farmers. Most smaller Aegean islands, in contrast, only started to show evidence of settlement and sedentary farming in the later or Final Neolithic (Broodbank 2000: 120–3; Broodbank and Strasser 1991; Evans 1968; Kouka 2008). Pottery suggests that few of the people involved in the expansion of farming on the islands originated from Crete, though Crete's inhabitants clearly did travel within the south-central region from EN onwards (e.g. Tomkins and Day 2001). The best current evidence is that most of the first farming settlement in these zones also involved people from the Anatolian mainland or offshore islands: long-term irregular movement of people by boat between Aegean locations and the Anatolian mainland seems to have turned into direct exploitation of settled farming's potential at times when specific local conditions/opportunities made this attractive/possible. Again, there seems to have been little or no oppositional framework to the creation of farming territories here: most smaller Aegean islands apparently had very limited populations before this time.

Signs of new or different sorts of interactions with the west Anatolian region occur in the mid- to late fourth millennium (discussed in more detail below). A very substantial but unevenly-distributed rise in site numbers and sizes (and thus apparently in overall population) occurs across a number of coastal and insular areas, notably Crete and the Cycladic and Dodecanesian islands, from the latest FN, c. 3500 BC.

Greatly increased diversity in settlement size and regional population balance is seen. Established, sometimes sizeable farming settlements in core arable areas (Crete, some mainland coasts, and a number of larger

islands) now came to co-exist with much more recently-established (often small) settlements – some with contrasting topographical characteristics. These varied in density by region. Cultural evidence of new, deep kinds of interaction with mainland Anatolian groups is strong, as discussed below.

Issues of origins/identity often arise when discussing all these early Aegean-Anatolian connections. The question of by what means and at what scale Anatolian-originating people and their innovations could have transformed early Aegean societies and (implicitly) of how far the Aegean's inhabitants *were* in any sense 'Anatolian' has often been tied up with questions of 'Greek' origins and identity (Coleman 2000; Kotsakis 1998; 2007; Sampson 2008b). Innovative cultural forms in this period are sometimes read in terms of political/power relations. Farming's entry into the Aegean from Anatolia in the Mesolithic/early Neolithic has frequently been presented in the scholarship as 'colonisation' (Broodbank 2000: 107–10; Broodbank and Strasser 1991; Cherry 1981; 1990; Perles 2001: 52–63). The term usually simply refers to the first use for farming of large areas of land formerly visited only sporadically by small hunting populations. Confrontation and/or defeat of local groups are not usually implied in this quasi-biological usage (Gamble 2003). But alternative models, partly in reaction to perceived wider imperialist overtones in 'colonisation' scenarios (see Kotsakis 2002: 375) have stressed the possibility of an 'osmotic' (non-'invasive') spread of farming culture overland into the Aegean mainland (via Thrace) alongside some seaborne settlement from west Anatolia (Galanidou and Perles 2005; Sampson 2008a).

Leaving aside the lack of evidence for/problems with a secondary-type spread of farming (Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 2014; Zvelebil and Zvelebil 1988), there is actually little reason to think of sea-based appropriation of former hunting zones for farming as requiring invasive, strategic or revolutionary operations. Broodbank (2000: 26–35; 107–44) shows that the most favourable and supportive routes for sea travel and access to arable land between the Anatolian mainland and Aegean islands/coastal areas closely match up with the documented pattern and timing of farming's spread, suggesting well-grounded and -researched short-scale movement between established and new farming areas.

Given this context, how might coastal Anatolian and Aegean inhabitants by the late FN have viewed new kinds of travellers through/settlers in their regions in identity terms? Given the irregular/uneven frequency of earlier Neolithic travel, and the scale at which new settlement/farming/technological introductions appeared as described above, identity attachments at this time seem likely to have functioned in small-scale ways – across subregions like valleys, large bays, islands, peninsulas, or island groups, via regular meetings/exchanges or tribal connections. These links might be reinforced by various aspects of cultural production, but large-scale/formal spatial or cultural boundaries seem lacking. Given the context of early Neolithisation discussed above, we might expect most residents of the Aegean to speak languages related to those of west Anatolia by the late Neolithic, if not earlier

(Pullen 2008: 40; Renfrew 1987: 145–78; Mallory 1997: 111; Zvelebil and Zvelebil 1988). The c. 3500 years between the first expansion of farming into the Aegean and the latest FN period clearly saw repeated, ongoing contact at various levels with the Anatolian mainland (explaining, for example, the first development of ceramic production at sites like Knossos, contemporary with the advent of potting in west Anatolia, as well as the patchy spread of farming to many small islands by the LN). Yet contact seems unlikely to have been intensive or blanketing enough to prevent language forms from diverging or archaising considerably in the region during the Neolithic.

The above factors probably created scattered, experience-based boundaries of difference in contemporary consciousness. It is unlikely that the majority of people living in the Aegean by FN saw themselves or their way of life as having an origin directly linked to the Anatolian mainland. But it *also* seems unlikely that they saw themselves as belonging to any other large or coherent identity grouping.⁴ Aegean cultural and social links up to the latest FN period seem to have operated in multiple overlapping spheres, related to the ease and speed of seasonal sea travel and other factors, including the perceived accessibility of particular regions and their resources. Sometimes these connections were over short distances, sometimes much longer ones (as in the case of the regular trips to Melos for obsidian made from many different parts of the region; see e.g. Cherry 1990; Runnels and Murray 2001). The absence of any strong evidence for regional ethnic structures suggests many Aegean coastal regions were still relatively open by the FN period in regard to developing social and economic attachments.

Given the history outlined above, the simple identification/quantification of Anatolian/Anatolianising cultural features in the central-south Aegean during the FN period helps us little in explaining the nature or drivers of sociocultural change. Investigating the likely experiences and contexts around such new features, and the way increased movement/settlement volumes may have related to them, is central to elucidating this.

The timing and nature of late FN sociocultural changes: evidence and interpretation

The freshness of much data on this period (mainly from survey, rescue excavations and extensive restudy of older assemblages) is indicated by the fact that chronological designations themselves are still under discussion. A scheme of four pan-Aegean sub-periods (FN: c. 4800–3000 BC) has recently been suggested, based on stylistic subgroups within strata from across the sixty-year-old excavations at Knossos, Crete (Tomkins 2007; 2008). Despite its limited comparative basis, this phasing theoretically allows improved precision and comparative scope in addressing the timescale of cultural change for the south Aegean (see Nowicki 2008a; 2014: 61–77; Vagnetti 1973 for a similarly Crete-based FN pottery chronology focused on the last half of the fourth millennium only, subdividing the 500-year period into FN I and

FN II phases only, with reference to a wide range of excavated and surveyed sites). I use Tomkins's scheme (still under revision) here for the nominally greater precision it affords in discussing the fourth millennium as a whole. The period of interest here covers FN III and FN IV in Tomkins's chronology, dated c. 3600–3000 BC (FN IV = 3300–3000 BC; see Manning's (2008b) radiocarbon dates for the FN-EB (EC) transition as 3120–2190 BC).

The changes clustering in FN IV are remarkable. Recent studies confirm the earliest (small-scale and scattered) appearance of smelted copper and metallurgical working sites in the Aegean between this period and EB I, notably at Cycladic and Cretan locations such as Kefala (Kea), Strofilas (Andros), Phournoi and Kefala (Serifos); Skouries (Kythnos); and Poros-Katsambas, Kefala Petras, and Chrysokamino (Crete) (see e.g. papers in Day and Doonan 2007; Georgakopoulou 2011; 2013; Philaniotou et al. 2011; Televantou 2008). The forms and techniques involved all had direct predecessors in western Anatolia. Obsidian working also took on new forms from just this time. Much of the technology was continuous with earlier Neolithic traditions, yet the region-wide emergence of a micro-pressure flaking system and a new emphasis on the production of cutting blades is seen by EB I, suggesting strong pressure to transform practice and shared ways of doing so – potentially connected to the advent of bronze use and associated shifts in value systems, as well as to change/enlargement of contact and procurement networks around obsidian (Carter 2008: 226–7; Torrence 1979; 1991). On Crete, at least, there was a shift in the main Melian obsidian source being exploited by EB I and an increased number of imported cores, suggesting restructuring/growth of the procurement network (D'Annibale 2008).

Many new characteristics in pottery (some developing already from FN II) appear from the start of FN IV or earlier, with the appearance of tall-necked pouring/drinking vessels especially notable (Figures 3.2–3.4). The range of new features seen can vary between (and within) quite small regions, within the wider shift. For example, the frequent appearance of pierced-rim coarse bowls ('cheese-pots'), perhaps used for cooking, is a shared new factor across much of the southeast Aegean (Sotirakopoulou 2008b: 122–3), but their lack of takeup at some sites, such as the already relatively large and well-established Knossos, stands out.⁵ The mountainous inland Lasithi region in Crete shows special pottery features, including an absence of burnishing and the appearance of thick, rounded vessel bottoms, alongside broadly shared new elements such as 'cheese-pots' and necked vessels (Nowicki 2014: 178–82; Vagnetti and Belli 1978: 128; Wallace in preparation). At some new Cretan and Cycladic sites there is a notable presence of small numbers of sherds (including 'cheese-pots') in quartz- and obsidian-containing fabrics closely matching contemporary Dodecanesian or coastal Anatolian production (e.g. sherds containing obsidian from the small island of Yiali in the east Aegean, found on Gaidouronisi off south Crete: Nowicki 2008a: 208). The existence of some fairly regular long-distance exchange patterns in the

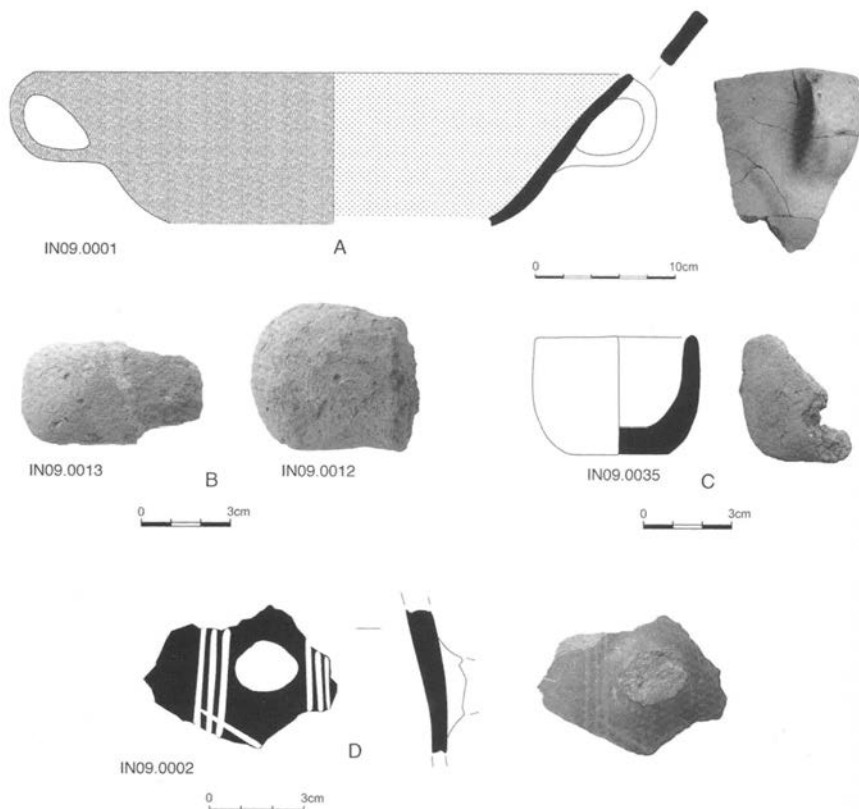


Figure 3.2 Innovative types of pottery in Late Chalcolithic 4 Anatolia (after N. Momigliano, A. Greaves, T. Hodos, B. Aksoy, A. Brown, M. Kibaroglu and T. Carter, 2011. *Settlement history and material culture in southwest Turkey: report on the 2008–2010 survey at Çaltılar Höyük (northern Lycia)*. *Anatolian Studies* 61: 61–121: fig. 14).

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Aegean seems indicated well before FN – e.g. by petrographic studies showing some long-distance movement of pottery within Crete and the presence of possible Cycladic imports in the island from EN, and by the distribution of Melian obsidian in the Aegean through the Neolithic (Tomkins and Day 2001; Vagnetti 1996: 39). However, the lack of any earlier or contemporary established, regular, large-scale and long-distance pottery trade suggests the innovation of external-type forms and technologies across such a range of materials, together with a large increase in site numbers, relates to the presence of significant numbers of new people in the central-south Aegean, rather than any simple rise or shift in exchange.

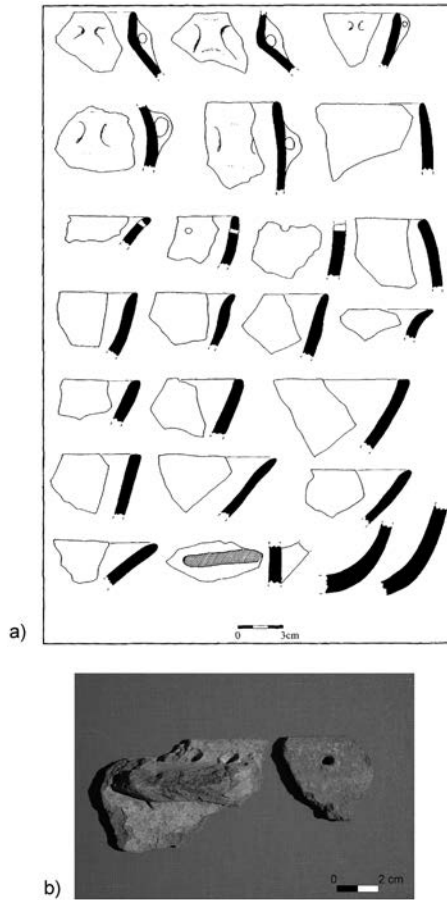


Figure 3.3 (a) ‘Cheese-pots’ and other new forms from late FN Crete: Gaidouronisi island off Crete (after K. Nowicki, 2008. The Final Neolithic (Late Chalcolithic) to Early Bronze Age transition in Crete and the southeast Aegean islands: changes in settlement pattern and pottery. In V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, eds., 2008. *Escaping the labyrinth*. Sheffield: Studies in Aegean Archaeology: 201–27; fig. 13.22); (b) Photo: ‘cheese-pots’ from the surface of a late FN site, SE Crete (by K. Nowicki).

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This period corresponds with Late Chalcolithic 4 in west Anatolia (Duru 2008: 122–42; Mellaart 1962: 95–117; Tomkins 2008: 22). Metallurgy had been established in the latter region from the fifth millennium. By the mid-fourth, a real metallurgical boom was occurring in much of western Asia, in the context of a changing sociopolitical and economic environment involving incipient elite emergence in some areas (Düring 2011b: 807).

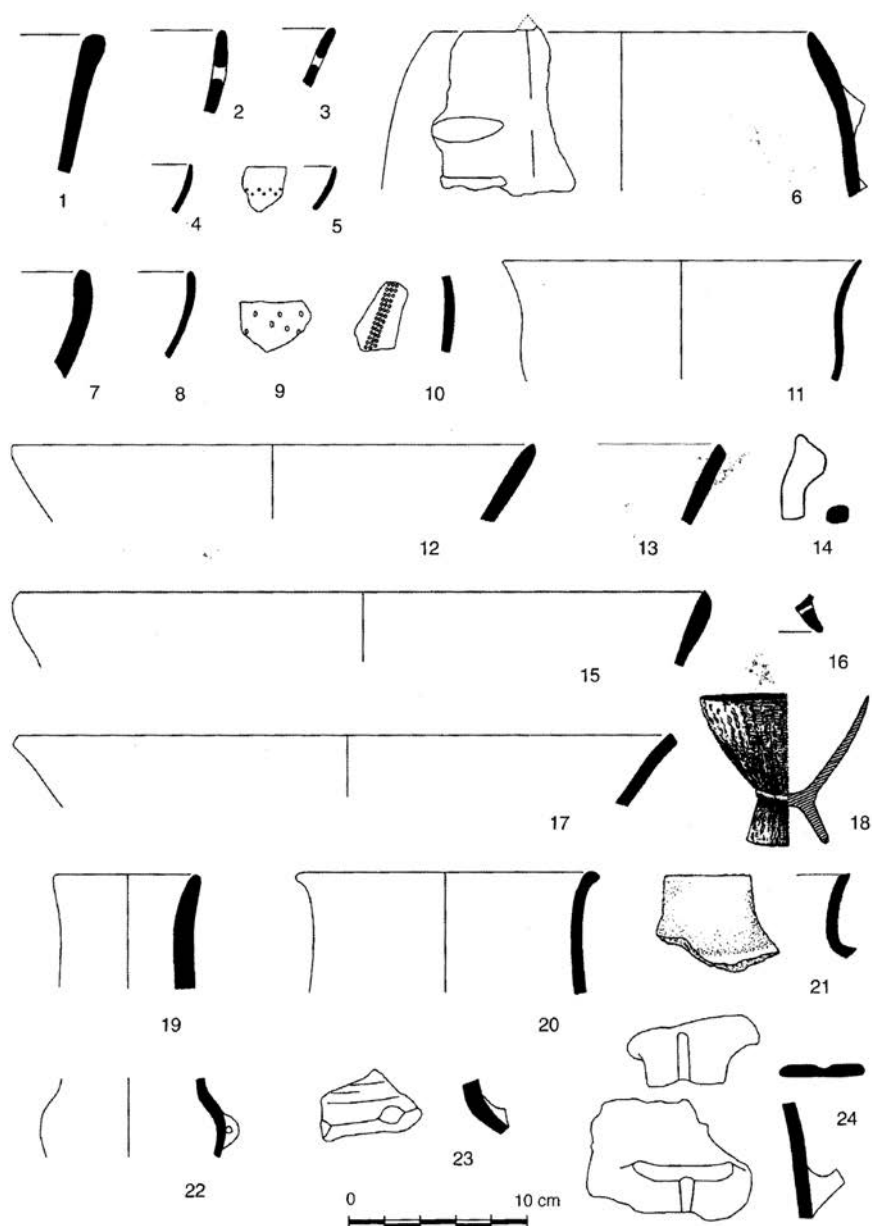


Figure 3.4 New pottery forms at FN IV Knossos (Stratum IC group) (after P. Tomkins, 2007. Neolithic: Strata IX-VIII, VII-VIB, VIA-V, IV, IIIB, IIA and IC. In N. Momigliano, ed., *Knossos pottery handbook: Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan)*. London: British School at Athens: 9–48: fig. 1.15).

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In expanding southern Levantine polities (their growth supported partly through connections with the Mesopotamian urban sphere), the development of systematised copper procurement and smelting of various kinds, highlighted by artefact hoards of outstanding size and variety, indicate new levels of specialisation and wealth access in the wider region (Efe 2002; Golden 2009; Joffe 1993; Yakar 1989: 345–6; 1995: 94–169; 2011a). A newly diverse and dense settlement pattern appears in western Anatolia, particularly the northwest, at this time. Groups in the metal-rich, highly metallurgically-active Troad region and its north Aegean fringe (which precociously imported tin/tin bronze through long-distance inland routes, as well as using local metal resources, soon after c. 3000 BC) seem to have developed new strong multidirectional connections to east and west as well as along the coast, suggesting a concentration of aggrandising interests (e.g. Efe 2002: 50–1; Gerritsen et al. 2010; Roodenberg 2010; Schoop 2005: 229–48; 253–4). Melian obsidian becomes newly dominant in the region, replacing more local sources (e.g. at Miletus and Aphrodisias in the south by the middle of the Late Chalcolithic; Niemeier 2005: 125–37; Schoop 2005: 157; 183–4; Yildirim and Gates 2007: fig. X). Similar pottery features link the Troy, Barçın Höyük and Kumtepe I assemblages in the northwest to those of Beyçesultan, Begbasi (Karataş) and Kuruçay in the south (Düring 2011b; Gerritsen et al. 2010; Mellaart 1962: 103–4); pottery of coastal/offshore origin was consumed at large inland western Anatolian sites like Beyçesultan (Sampson 1984: 239–41). A notable growth of cultural cross-connections appears between the coastal Anatolian mainland and adjacent Aegean islands, e.g. between Chios and the Troad, and Chios, Samos, the Dodecanese and Miletus (see e.g. Souvatzi and Marketou in press). The ‘cheese-pot’ form, characteristic of several coastal Anatolian regions by LChal 4, shows a particularly concentrated uptake in the Dodecanese, as well as Chios and Samos, at this period, while white-painted ware typical of Anatolian coastal/offshore locales like Chios, Samos, Bakla Tepe (Izmir) and Miletus appears in a sporadic pattern on the Cycladic islands and the north Aegean/east mainland coasts (Phoca-Cosmetatou 2008; Sotirakopoulou 2008a; 2008b: 122–3).

Sampson (1987; 2008a) maps an expansion of site numbers in coastal Anatolia and the Dodecanese from the mid-fourth millennium onwards, arguing that the patterns reflect a ‘first phase’ of movement from the Anatolian coasts, *followed* by significant movement into the wider Aegean. He shows that many new Anatolianising pottery features, including ‘cheese-pots’, tall-necked jugs, and vessels with horned handles, are concentrated especially early at the Dodecanesian sites. Georgiades’s survey on Kos (2012a: 86; 161–2) notes a marked increase in site numbers from this time – most new sites having small sizes and short lifespans. Nowicki’s surface observations across the Dodecanese also show a large number of new sites, of a variety of types (and again often short-lived), from this period (Nowicki 2008a: 212; 2014: 302–69).

Other Aegean areas show striking changes in settlement pattern at around the same time. On Crete, a very large number of new sites appear, many with coastal/near-coastal locations, and all using the new pottery forms from their inception (though in various localised patterns as described above) (Nowicki 2002; 2008a; 2014: 77–245). Foundation dates for most of these sites cluster in FN IV, though some start in FN III and continue and expand by FN IV.

Surveys on the Cyclades suggest unprecedented numbers of sites – representing the first settlement on some islands – appearing in FN (though exact start dates clearly vary and are still poorly understood). The cluster of Kefala, Paoura and Ayia Irini on Kea – coastal peninsula sites founded (in the above order) at slightly different dates within FN/EB I and partly overlapping in use – is a striking case (Figure 3.5).

The Kefala assemblage shows links to the wider set of new Anatolianising cultural features, but local connections as well. This suggests (as in the east Aegean) that small contact networks between mainland coasts/peninsulas

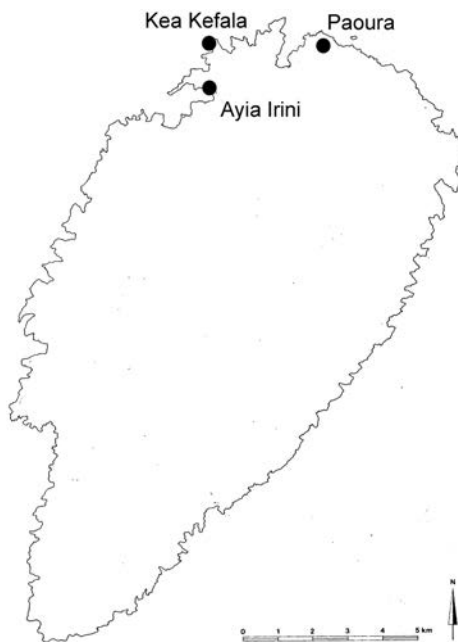


Figure 3.5 Locations of Final Neolithic–EB I sites in northern Kea mentioned in the text (after J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis and E. Mantzourani, eds., 1991. *Island archaeology as long-term history*. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology: fig 2.1).

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and adjacent islands were an important framework for travel. Late FN pottery elements seen at Kefala are paralleled at the new sites of Strofilas, Spata and Athens (Agora) on neighbouring coasts, all close to the important EBA copper source at Lavrion: smelted Lavrion copper makes one of its first appearances in the FN settlement at Kefala, and silver from that area is also exploited from late FN onwards (Kouka 2008: 312–3; Caskey 1971: 362; Cherry et al. 1991a; Coleman 1977: 3–5; Kakavogiani et al. 2008: 25; Papadatos 2007b; Televantou 2008; Torrence 1991; Wilson 1999: 227). On Kythera in the western Cyclades, similarly close cultural connections with the neighbouring south Peloponnesian mainland appear at new sites seen by EB (EH) I (Broodbank and Kiriati 2007: 242; Coldstream 1972: 272–4; Huxley and Coldstream 1972: 68–9). Some models in the internalist/ecological tradition of change explanation have in this light seen the Kea sites and others as founded from the mainland in subsistence-focused waves of ‘nursery’ colonisation, forming part of a general late ‘spread’ of Neolithisation in the Cyclades (Cherry et al. 1991b: 228; Coleman 1977: 98–110). However, the broader context of settlement change and other cultural change now recognised in the region clearly needs to be factored into consideration of these cases.

As outlined above, models wary of diffusionist/culture-historical perspectives have dealt with the newly increased quantity of evidence in a variety of ways. Some have questioned the validity of the sudden rise in site numbers in many areas – suggesting that survey findings are skewed by over-focus on hill zones, where many new FN sites are located, and that post-Neolithic colluvium may mask earlier Neolithic sites located in valley bottoms, making the number of new sites seem proportionally higher. If such sites were properly documented, they suggest, the data patterns would suggest local redistribution of population, rather than an overall increase, from late FN (Halstead 2008; Tomkins 2008: 23–8; 33–4). However, any Aegean-wide depositional event dating between the Neolithic and early Bronze Age which might mask such earlier sites, is as yet unknown. Sites of *all* Bronze Age periods are known from alluvial plains, while some examples of sites in valley bottom/plain locations dating earlier in the Neolithic have already been recovered by survey (as at Nerokourou: Vagnetti et al. 1989). More intensive survey in lowland zones might indeed recover further early sites, but their current very low profile in the record suggests their numbers never came close to equaling those of new late FN settlements in any south-central Aegean region. In addition, arguments for post-Neolithic deposition as a skew factor cannot easily explain why sites of a *variety* of topographic types (e.g. on gorge sides, low hills, flat promontories, mountain ridges) become suddenly visible in significant numbers at this time (the topographic variety failing to suggest either a specific relocation strategy or a uniform exemption from colluvial deposition), or why these sites are so concentrated in coastal/insular areas.

It is clearly important to address the new sites in their local environmental and historical context. Even in downplaying new settlement numbers in Crete as an indicator of external movement, Tomkins (2008) rightly corrects older views in which Knossos was the only significant settlement in Crete for most of the Neolithic period (e.g. Broodbank and Strasser 1991). He highlights long-term and expanding population at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete throughout the course of the period prior to FN, and notes that some of the most attractive arable areas of the island – the focus of established Neolithic settlements – saw less extreme rises in settlement numbers in FN than did more marginal areas (as well as having smaller arrays of new features in their cultural assemblages). Overall, though, it seems that no gradualist, internalist narrative of subsistence-driven dispersal to ‘marginal’ land can easily explain the enormous, rapid increase in numbers and sizes of sites, in a variety of types of location, in the south Aegean as a whole. The entire south Aegean region *is* certainly classifiable as ‘marginal’ in relation to the fertile plains of the NE Aegean mainland, which were densely settled from the Early Neolithic. Yet the new south-central Aegean sites established in FN IV show neither a uniform association with specific ecological subzones, nor standard kinds of environmental contrast with known earlier sites. They *do* show a marked rise in average site size (to 1–2 ha) in comparison to the typical sizes of EN–LN settlements (Nowicki 2008a: 209–13), suggesting a fundamental change in the pattern, as well as the volume, of settlement in the region. Sites like Knossos and Phaistos, located in Crete’s largest prime arable areas, with some other indications of existing settlement nearby in/by the FN period, reached 2 ha in size by FN IV and were clearly exceptionally large (Tomkins and Day 2001; Tomkins 2007: 36–40; Vagnetti and Belli 1978).⁶ Yet these sizes are nowhere near big enough to suggest the sites were the main source of expansion into the multiple new *and sizeable* settlements seen in the island at this time (see Vagnetti and Belli 1978: 128; contra Manning 1994; Tomkins 2008: 32). The rapid and concentrated increase of population seen in some coastal areas containing very limited pockets of arable land (such as SE Crete), while more extensive fertile inland areas in the same regions of the island were less densely settled, also argues against ‘ecological’ pressure to expand in order to take in more arable land (Figures 3.6; 3.7).

Other kinds of ecological perspective on settlement innovation at this period – such as the idea that the numbers of ‘cheese-pots’ at the new sites in Crete indicate pressure to settle new pastorally orientated territories (Broodbank 2008), are backed up neither by site distribution nor by any proven specialised use for ‘cheese-pots’. Many sites founded in FN IV are relatively short-lived, but there is no indication that they had seasonal or temporary use: their lack of consistent location in any particular ecological niche further undermines pastoralist models. Survey data from Crete suggests that many sites’ abandonments by EB I were related to the establishment of new sizeable nucleated settlements nearby (recalling the case of Kefala-Paoura-Ayia Irini; see Nowicki 2014: 369–80).

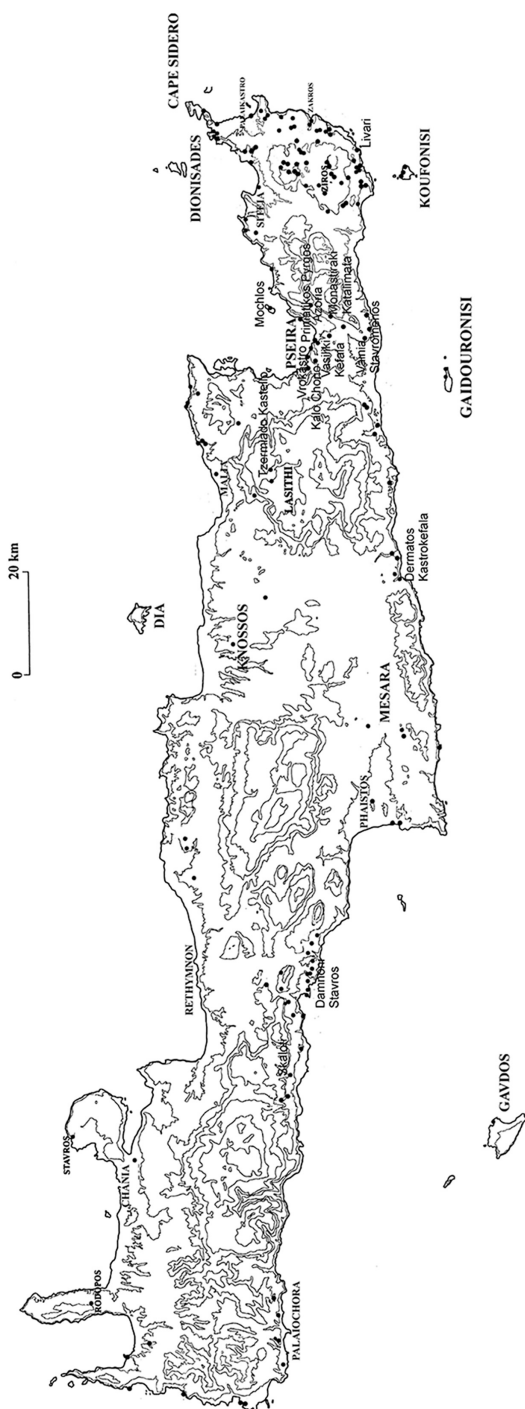


Figure 3.6 Crete: map of late FN sites (after K. Nowicki, 2015. Final Neolithic Crete and the southeast Aegean: supplement 1. *Aegean Archaeology* 11: 7–34; fig. 1).
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Envisioning movement's roots and pressures

Arguing that shifts in cultural practice seen at this time *are* linked to the concentrated, directional movement of people into the south-central Aegean, as I will do based on the evidence outlined above, is only a starting point. Articulating the nature, experience and impact of movement is my aim. Sociocultural change affected the whole region at this time, yet the process of change was diverse at the subregional level, as I will illustrate further below. This fact seems connected to prior history, environment and outlook in population-receiving areas, but also, I will suggest, to variable drivers and priorities among the newly large numbers of people involved in travel. Further attention to conditions and outlooks in the likely main source/stimulus area for movement – western Anatolia – can illuminate some of these. I will start with this context before going on to discuss the diverse impacts of movement and to try to reconstruct elements of strategy, experience and adaptation applying in relation to movement.

I suggested above that competition for control over resources was increasing in parts of west Anatolia by LChal 4. This is evidenced both in the development of newly large and complex settlements, and in various other kinds of settlement change, though the evidence is still patchy and poorly-published. Beyçesultan, one of the best-documented sites of the region (though located some way inland) reached 6 ha by the LChal/EBA transition and incorporated features pointing to incipient complexity, such as extramural cemeteries, a defensive wall, and dedicated cult and grain storage areas (Lloyd 1962). Kuruçay in southwest Anatolia – though smaller and lacking the whole set of elements listed above – also had differentiated architecture, specialised cult structures and a rich variety of metal object types: the inhabitants used a system of commodity organisation involving stamp seals by the same period (Duru 2008: 13–15; Düring 2011b: 803; Massa and Şahoğlu 2011; Schoop 2005: 184–5; 162; Yakar 2011b: 343). Far away inland to the SE, the long-used Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic site of Çan Hasan I had seen a major hiatus (Duru 2008: 188 estimates it at around 1800 years) before a new, expanded and more widely-spaced plan (covering up to 12 ha) appeared during the later Late Chalcolithic (French 1998: 50–68; 2008). Mersin, on the southern coast, became a large fortified settlement during the same period (Caneva 2000; 2004; Caneva and Köroğlu 2010; Düring 2011a: 249–50; 2011b: 805–6; Yakar 2011b: 315–6).⁷ There are signs of disruptive growth in the southwestern region, including some site abandonments/destructions, fortification-building, and settlement restructuring, at the very end of Late Chalcolithic/in EB I, though this is less well-documented than in the northwest (Mellaart 1962: 103–4; see Duru 2008: 122–42; Yakar 2011b: 362–88 for developments at Hoyücek, Haçılar and Karataş-Semayük).

Increasing differentiation in burial appears in many parts of west Anatolia from Late Chal 4, matching up well with the context of emergent complexity visible in settlements (see Massa and Şahoğlu 2011; Massa in press).

Individual pithos and cist interments (as at Kuruçay), replacing underfloor burials in houses, became a recurrent feature during the fourth millennium; at south coast sites like Tarsus, organised cemeteries of jar burials are seen by the end of the LChal (Düring 2011a: 252). At the extramural cemetery of Bakla Tepe in the Izmir region, a single female in a pithos was differentiated by wealth from other burials: there was also a kind of set-apart funerary monument – a chamber covered by a tumulus – amid hundreds of standard pithos burials (Massa and Şahoğlu 2011; Yakar 2011b: 291–2).

In the same period, I have already noted the evidence for a greatly expanded range of communications and interactions along the west Anatolian coast. Metalworking production and procurement systems seem to have developed as part of this network growth, on- and off-shore. For example, metal objects from both Poliochni and Beyçesultan show strong links to practices in the Troy region (de Jesus 1980: 138). However, expansion of travel/consumption and incipient complexity occurred in no predictable (e.g. causative) relation with economic resourcing. Some of the most dynamically growing and interacting communities – those in the NW coastal area – had substantial metals sources available locally, and used them intensively during this period. Other areas with similarly rich and well-used local metal resources, such as the Mersin and Tarsus regions, show limited traces of a boom in exchange and travel in the latest LChal/EBA.

Some settlement patterns on the north-central Anatolian coast – studied in detail by a few recent projects – indicate in more detail the kinds of pressures emerging by c. 3500 BC. An explosion of large, new and successful settlements is seen, for example, in the Izmir peninsula (a natural regional crossroads) with apparent overspill onto adjacent Aegean islands (Duru 2008: 122–42; Erkanal 2008; Gale 2008; Gerritsen et al. 2010; Kaptan 2008; Lambrianides and Spencer 2008; Lengeranli 2008; Mellaart 1962: 95–117; Şahoğlu 2008; Tunçel 2008; 2011; Yakar 2011b: 289–94). Though these sites are small by comparison with their urban counterparts further east, complexity, size and density show a real step up at this period. Survey around Limantepe suggests an emerging proto-urban environment. The size of the largest sites, the total range of site sizes and the overall growth in site numbers support the notion of small groups' exclusion or expansion from emerging centres, where they potentially competed with rising elites. Some elements of conflict in this context are suggested by aspects of the data (e.g. the appearance of fortified sites like Kale Tepe in the same region; Tunçel 2008: 584).

Our view inside expanding west Anatolian settlements is hampered by the limited number of investigations. Limantepe is one of the best-explored sites, located on an important bay: an apparent peer site, Panaztepe, lies across the bay. By LChal 4, Limantepe's inhabitants were storing large amounts of grain in a probable trend to specialisation and inequality. Bakla Tepe, on the south side of the Izmir peninsula, just north of Samos, was another large settlement by Late Chalcolithic (11.5 ha): a complex of circular storehouses here by at least EB I also suggests physically centralised storage, likely to have been a

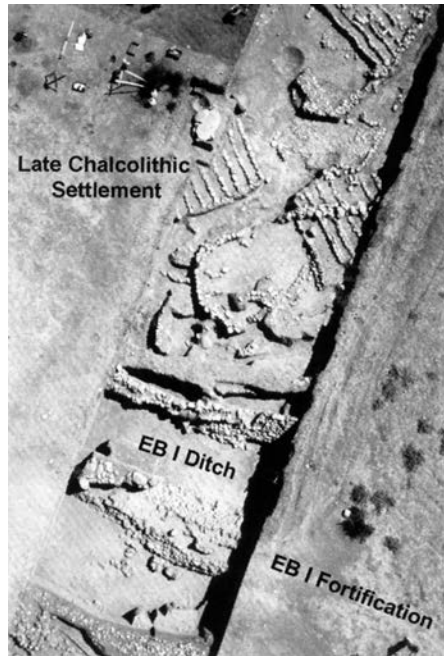


Figure 3.8 Bakla Tepe – excavation photograph of part of the Late Chalcolithic settlement (after V. Şahoğlu, 2008. New evidence for the relations between the Izmir region, the Cyclades and the Greek mainland during the third millennium BC. In H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu and R. Tuncel, eds., 2008. *Proceedings of the international symposium 'URLA: The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age'*. Ankara: Ankara Research Center for Maritime Archaeology: 483–4: fig. 5).

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locus of incipient elite control (Erkanal 2008; Şahoğlu 2008; Figures 3.8; 3.9). That such control was closely linked to the metallurgical/metals control sphere is suggested by the frequent finds of metal slag and smelting equipment in this part of the settlement. Like the Troad, this whole northwest coastal region had significant copper deposits – found in an accessible gossan form suitable for crucible smelting and clearly forming the source of most locally-used metal items. A fairly rapid and pronounced elite emergence here during LChal 4 thus seems to have been supported through multiple kinds of resource access/control. We see only limited development of a prestige sphere through the promotion of specialised ceramic traditions – though increasingly elaborate drinking forms and the early development of long-distance pottery exchange along the coast suggest that such a process was indeed in train.

North of the Izmir peninsula, on the coast facing west to Lesbos (and in another metal-rich area) there are further indications of a settlement boom, with

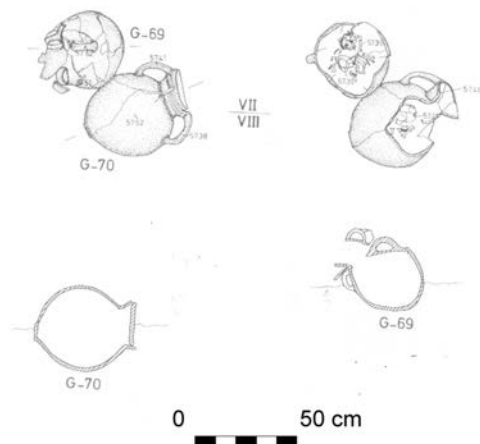


Figure 3.9 Burial finds at Bakla Tepe (after V. Şahoğlu, 2008. New evidence for the relations between the Izmir region, the Cyclades and the Greek mainland during the third millennium BC. In H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu and R. Tuncel, eds., 2008. *Proceedings of the international symposium 'URLA: The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age'*. Ankara: Ankara Research Center for Maritime Archaeology: 483–4: fig. 4).

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a cluster of sizeable sites emerging around the delta of the Madra Çay river from LChal 4/EB I (Lambrianides and Spencer 2008; Figure 3.10). Hüyücektepe (3 ha in size by EB I) lies right on the coast, with the similarly sized Yeldgimintepe only 4 km away, and four to five other sites of the same date in the vicinity. Effects of proximity to/participation in newly developing economic systems are also seen in south Lesbos: the first major settlement of this part of the island occurs at this time, in agricultural plains near the coast. Pottery and metal traditions here show close formal links with another island integral in the burgeoning offshore system – Chios – and with Limantepe, as well as the Troy area.

Stimulus to physically diversify power bases within western Anatolian regions containing multiple incipient elites seems hinted at in the multidirectional expansion of procurement and travel interests, combined with growth at established sizeable settlements. The south-central Aegean – an accessible area with limited prior settlement which had familiar (yet scattered/fragmented) topography and possessed resources, including metals, likely already to have been superficially known by residents of the Anatolian coasts, seems likely to have offered potential for groups in already well-connected and socially ‘bursting’ west Anatolian regions to become involved in multi-branched physical expansion to the west.

The south-central Aegean lacked any sites of comparable size and complexity to the emerging west Anatolian polities, and the systematic use of

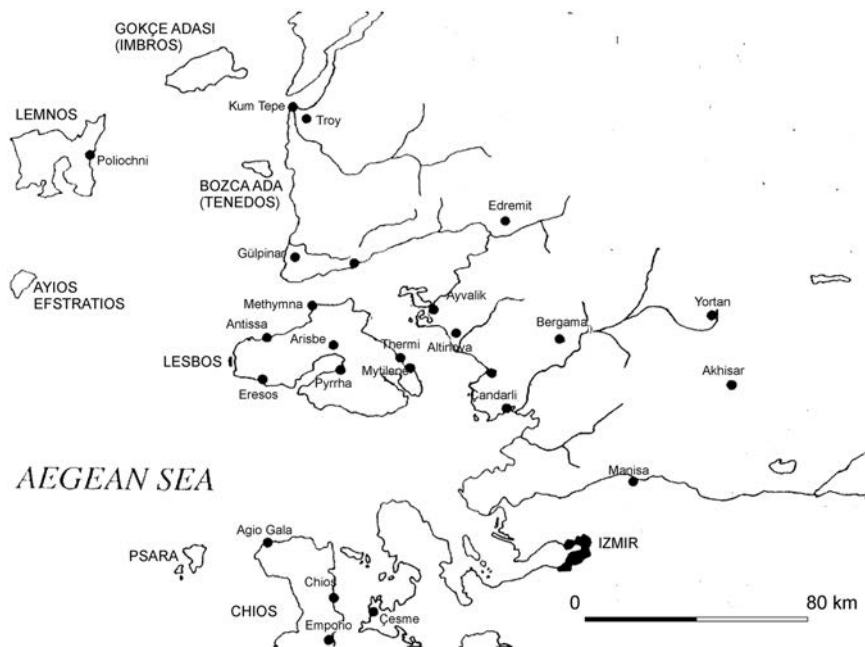


Figure 3.10 Part of the West Anatolian/east Aegean development zone in Late Chalcolithic 4: ancient sites in the Izmir area and adjacent islands (after K. Lambrianides and N. Spencer, 2008. The Early Bronze Age sites of Lesbos and the Madra Çay Delta: new light on a discrete regional centre of prehistoric settlement and society in the northeast Aegean. In H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu and R. Tuncel, eds., *Proceedings of the international symposium 'URLA: The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age'*. Ankara: Ankara Research Center for Maritime Archaeology: 333–55: fig. 1).

By permission of K. Lambrianides and N. Spencer.

smelted copper was absent there until the late fourth millennium. When Aegean metals did start to be extracted and worked for the first time, the practice was *always* associated with the use of techniques and finished products long established in Anatolia, and occurred contemporaneously with the widespread appearance of new settlement and new pottery forms. These changes do *not* suggest a classic 'search for metals' (a common trope, as we shall see, in explaining early Mediterranean movement), or for any other specific resource, on the part of Anatolian groups travelling in the Aegean. Indeed, the evidence suggests that many of the people most likely to have been involved in Aegean movement came from booming metal-rich regions like the northwestern coastal area. At the same time, a new level of interest in Aegean metal sources by multiple players in the region is highlighted by the clusters of new sites, some with metal extraction/smelting evidence,

appearing from FN IV in or near copper source areas such as Kythnos and Lavrion (Papadatos 2008; see discussion above). These sources were surely known or suspected from extended and familiar travels into the area by coastal Anatolian communities occurring by Late Chalcolithic (given the frequent appearance of Melian obsidian on west Anatolian sites – rising markedly in L Chal/FN as noted above). In context, the export of advanced metallurgy skills and products seen by FN IV looks to be part of the course of crowded/incipient elites in the coastal Anatolian zone exploring/exploiting various new permanent sources of wealth and status.

Socioeconomic expansion of this type, at this date, definitely required settlement within the Aegean itself, given the lack of any existing cross-regional structure (such as trade networks) to support it. Relatively established and familiar contact networks offered a good mode of access, but limited scope for very large-scale organisation. The boats in use during the FN to early EB periods seem to have been sailless: iconography suggests large paddled longboats were in use, perhaps especially for long journeys and/or those involving significant numbers of people – at least 25 passengers are reconstructable for a single large boat with minimal cargo (Broodbank 2000: 96–106; Figure 3.11).



Figure 3.11 Reconstruction of a recent experimental paddled longboat made from reeds, which took two weeks to travel from Athens to Melos (after H. Tzalas, 1995. On the obsidian trail: With a papyrus craft in the Cyclades. In *Tropis III, Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity* (Athens 1989). Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture: 441–69).

From H. Tzalas's personal archive, by permission.

Approach, experience and response in movement

After making a contextualised historical argument for the transformative scale of movement at this period, I want to move on to ‘peopling’ that movement – imagining in more detail how it might have been structured and experienced in south-central Aegean communities.

Evaluating the possibility of staged movement via the Dodecanese is important here. Supporting arguments for this model are mainly based on the precocious boom of Dodecanesian settlement, the occasional finds of fabrics of Dodecanesian, as well as coastal Anatolian, type on new sites in Crete and the Cyclades, and the apparent overall decline of Dodecanesian settlement by EB I. Staged movement would imply limited integration of migrants in the newly settled Aegean areas – a process likely to have given rise to a specific set of experiences. However, staged movement is *not* suggested by the new Aegean settlement phenomenon as a whole. Changed settlement patterns were already appearing on Crete in FN III, with strong developing links into the FN IV pattern (see Nowicki 2008a: 208–12). The settlement of Kea Kefala, with its associated use of metalworking, was founded by FN IV at latest. The abandonment of some Dodecanesian sites by EB I may parallel processes of settlement nucleation and economic shifts seen at the same time in Crete and elsewhere, rather than reflecting the limits of the islands’ value as a staging post. I suggested above that we could legitimately see many Anatolian offshore islands as early ‘fringes’ or ‘overspills’ of developments on the Anatolian coast. Yet the ongoing pressures which I have suggested lay behind the push to move seem unlikely to have been resolved/managed by small, timid or targeted ‘hops’, even at an early stage. Strong elements of selectivity in new settlement (e.g. the clustering of sites in the inner Cyclades and Crete) suggest limited concerns with ‘safe’ proximity to coastal Anatolia and no osmotic/down-the-line pattern in the movement process. The eastern Dodecanese and large eastern Aegean islands are not well-positioned as bridgeheads to these cluster areas – and the latter in fact provide traces of their own bridging settlements. Though concern with access/support from the mainland via island ‘nurseries’ and ‘bridges’ did characterise earlier Neolithic moves onto Aegean islands, as Broodbank (2000) shows, the late FN circumstances seem markedly different, with greater tensions and different ambitions at stake, and very different conceptions of appropriate movement range are likely to have applied as a result. In fact, the history of earlier Neolithic contacts, promoting a certain familiarity with the wider region, combines with the evident scale and long-term impact of the FN movement to suggest that ‘staged’ movements were not necessary, or even generally useful, at this time.⁸

The evident variations in the chronology and character of movement into different Aegean areas during FN are better seen as reflecting a more confident movement trend with various concurrent pushes, tests, adaptations and sub-moves, involving different experiences and outcomes. Some evidence suggests that these courses and modes of movement were responsive

to migrant experience – including encounters with established residents in the south-central Aegean. Evidence of ‘test’ movement in some areas (e.g. north Kea, south Crete) appears in sizeable settlements on some offshore islets or promontories. Groups here seem to have positioned themselves right inside burgeoning movement/contact networks, ensuring opportunities to assess permanent future territorial footholds on nearby coasts (Kopaka 2005: 92–3; Nowicki 2008a; 2014: 77–245; citing Gavdos, Koufonisi, Gaidouronisi, Cape Sidero, and Pseira in the Cretan ambit; Whitelaw 1991). Such locations were notably poor in arable land and had no raw materials resources, providing little basis for long-term settlement: none seem to have continued in sole/long-term use.

The small and scattered groups already resident in and regularly moving through the region by FN seem likely to have been open to involvement in new movement patterns in several ways. The increasingly wide and intensive circulation of a variety of localised-source luxury materials and products, such as marble, silver, copper and obsidian, starting from late FN, became a core feature of the south-central Aegean ‘nexus’ in EB I–II. This development seems rooted in the late FN linkage and boosting of several different kinds of existing local contact/procurement system (based in local interests and knowledge) via the new volume of travelling groups in the region, and associated new levels and types of consumption. The emergence of local wealth inequalities based on items and skills acquired in this process supported further growth. Existing south-central Aegean groups, especially those advantaged in terms of size or subsistence/resource access, could use the opportunities offered by involvement with developing exchange systems, without needing to be ‘taught’ to exploit a whole range of new technologies at once and without taking on external tropes of differentiation in a whole-sale fashion. Significantly, many forms of value goods (e.g. silver jewellery, marble figurines, obsidian blades, dagger forms) showed a localised character early on, rather than universally or closely emulating contemporary or earlier Anatolian forms/uses (Branigan 1999a; Doonan et al. 2007; Sherratt 2007; Figure 3.12). In some cases, such as the uptake of metal use, close engagement with Anatolia-linked groups who had established experience and expectations of metal production must have been very important. In other growing areas of materials use and trade (such as obsidian), already-established practice could be built on in more independent ways as procurement/exchange/specialisation opportunities developed (Torrence 1982; 1991). Overall, few Aegean residents could doubt the economic importance of engagement with the new movers/settlers. The news networks of the whole area must have brimmed with rumours and ambitions around the activities of the increased volumes of circulating and settling groups. In context, loosely-structured attraction/development of interest among small local communities (already navigating the waters of the region and settled near its shores) during the course of the new moving/settling activity seems more likely than systematic attempts at leadership/control/education of locals by mover groups, which I have reconstructed as relatively small, lacking in centralised organisation, and diverse in geographical origin.

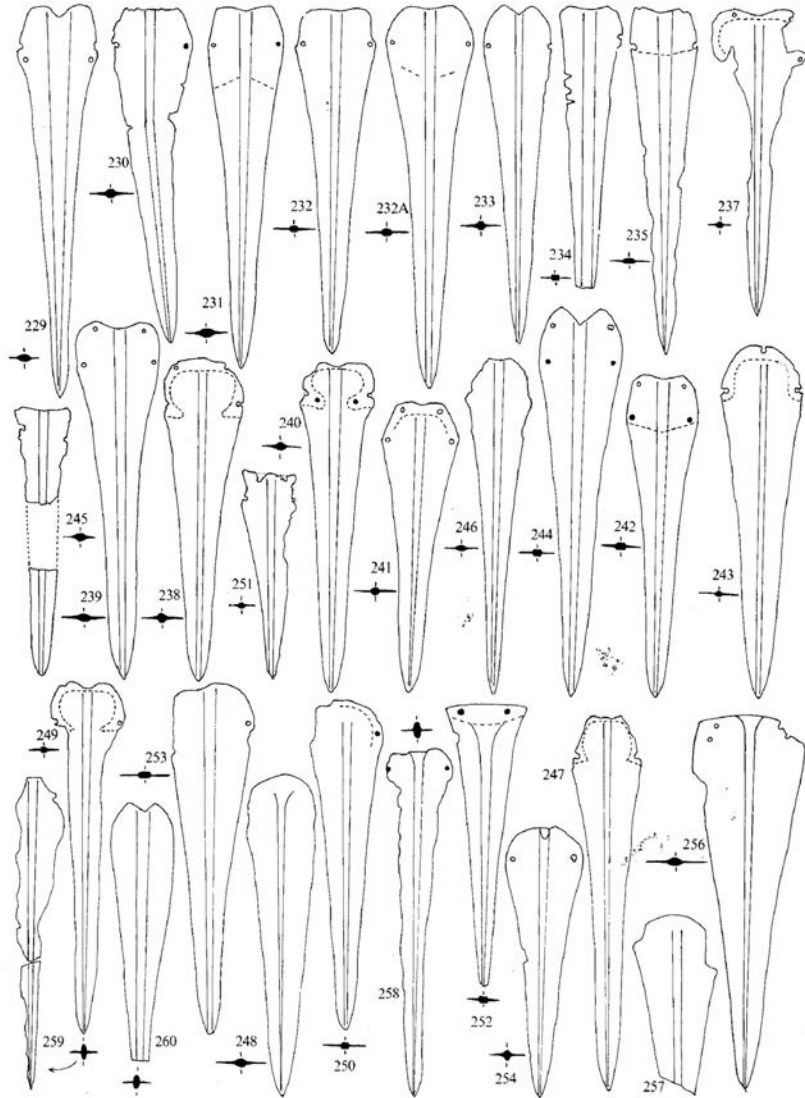


Figure 3.12 EB metal objects of distinctive Aegean type; daggers; scale 1:3 (after K. Branigan, 1974. *Aegean metallurgy of the Early and Middle Bronze Age*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: pl. 6).

By permission of K. Branigan.

I suggest the earliest moving groups within this phenomenon often contained concentrations of specially skilled/knowledge-equipped, relatively politically prominent/well-resourced, and thus perhaps mainly male, individuals (the attachment of bronzeworking paraphernalia to males at EB I Ayia

Fotia in Crete indicates that the value materials and related skills associated with the new movement phenomenon were often male-linked/controlled (see Betancourt and Davaras 2008). However, the sheer density of sites in many areas argues against any narrow social or gender range for settling groups over the course of FN IV. As travel and settlement developed in a context of economic growth, we might expect the social makeup of moving groups in the Aegean to become very rapidly wider, incorporating families with origins in various different parts of the south Aegean and west Anatolian regions.

Despite the lack of existing strong ethnocultural structures in the south-central Aegean, new settlements are unlikely to have been viewed as completely open in identity terms. The existence of many small bridgehead sites, and the elements of natural defensibility about many new settlements, suggest elements of boundarisation in play, whatever the exact origins or mix of the inhabitants. Given the rapidly changing economic context, the dense patches of new settlement, combined with apparently low pre-existing population in many south-central Aegean areas suggest that pressures between settlers were likely to emerge. Nowicki's interpretations of survey-based data from Crete, where site numbers doubled or more in many regions during late FN (Hayden 2003: 394; Schlager 2001; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004: 221–33), focus on potential antagonism between settlers and *locals*, in a model broadly equating the date of a site to residents of either local origin (FN III sites) or external provenance (FN IV sites) (e.g. Nowicki 2002; 2008a: 202–4). This model imagines encounters around new sites mainly in terms of conflict, citing some notably defensive new settlements developing inland as early as FN III, such as Azoria, Vainia Stavromenos and Monastiraki Katalimata in the Ierapetra isthmus of east Crete (Haggis et al. 2007: 668–96; Nowicki 2008b: 72–7; 2014: 161–4; Figure 3.6). Though the latter may well reflect the existence of early tensions in this narrowest crossing point of the island, linked to new activity and settlement on both the north and south coasts, it is in fact very hard to differentiate the origins of their inhabitants in the contemporary wider context of cultural change. The locations of these and many other new sites suggest more concern with strategic outlook and positioning vis-à-vis local routes and coasts than with direct defence against neighbouring settlement units.⁹ While many arable- and coastal-adjacent hills settled at this time do have sheer slopes, high peaks and/or fortification walls (e.g. the sites of Goudouras Kastri and Kastello, Palaikastro Kastri, Ayia Fotia Mertoriza, Modi, Trachilas Faneromeni, Vrokastro and Damnoni Stavros (Hayden 2003: 389–95; Nowicki 2014: 85–7; 135–6; 153–6; 172; 210–11; 288)), many others, coastal or otherwise, lack consistent defensibility (including examples [some sizeable] such as those in the Itanos area; Vamies; Xerokampos Kastri and Amatou; the Livari sites, Gournia Sphoungaras; Dermatos Kastrokefala: Nowicki 2008a; 2014: 81–4; 122–5; 131–3; 171; 186–8). Contemporaneous expanding claims to cultivation land may best explain the frequent choices of strategic inland hilltop sites for settlement in parts of east Crete by FN IV, all of them adjacent to large arable zones or routes (see e.g. Chametoulou; Ziros Rizoviglo; Lamnoni Spilia;

Vasiliki Kefala; Phaistos (below); Skaloti; Tzermiado Kastello: Branigan 1999b; Nowicki 2008a; 2014: 128–9; 140–4; 160; 178–9; 220–1; Figures 3.6; 3.7; 3.13–16).

On Kea, the essentially non-defensible peninsula sites of FN–EB I, lying near an important onshore bronze source and on an island with very limited previous settlement, suggest experiments/negotiations vis-à-vis subsistence, security and procurement systems over a considerable period before some kind of economic plateau, reached in EB I, favoured the emergence of Ayia Irini as a permanent nucleus (Wilson 1999). FN or early EBA defensive walls like those at Strofilas on Andros, facing the Attic coast, suggest, as in Crete, the existence of early inter-group self-assertion/tension within the new settlement phenomenon. (Marangou et al. 2011; Televantou 2008).



Figure 3.13 Photograph, FN site of Plakias Paligremnos, SW Crete.

From NW (by K. Nowicki). By permission of K. Nowicki.



Figure 3.14 Photograph, FN site of Ayia Fotia Mertoriza.

From N (by K. Nowicki). By permission of K. Nowicki.



Figure 3.15 Photograph, FN site of Ziros Rizoviglo, SE Crete.
From E (by K. Nowicki). By permission of K. Nowicki.

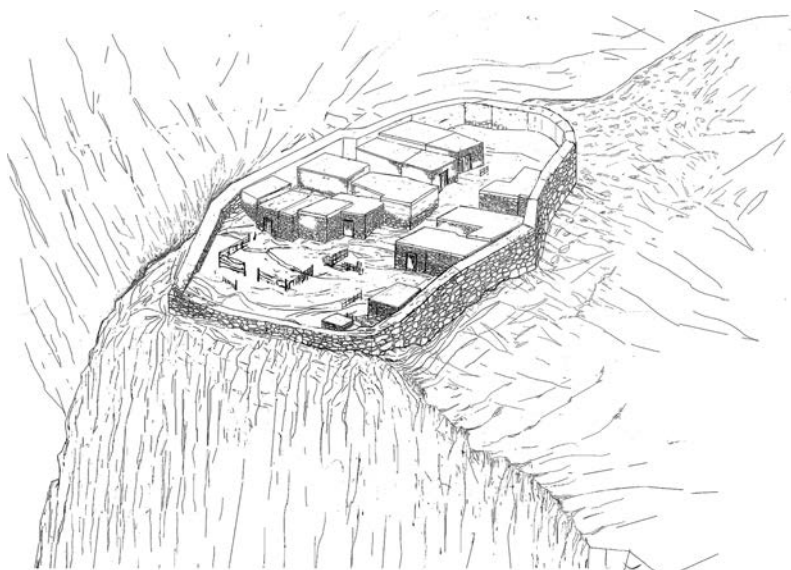


Figure 3.16 Reconstruction drawing of the defensible FN site of Livari Katharades, SE Crete (by K. Nowicki).
By permission of K. Nowicki.

While not intrinsically or predictably conflict-based, interactions between movers and existing populations are also generally difficult to construe in terms of classic emulation models. There is no trace of culturally-constructed identity distinctions between locals and ‘outsiders’ or of a high-volume one-directional flow of prestige goods. New practices potentially presented/

perceived as prestigious, like formal burial with goods, ceremonial drinking, and metalworking, all seem to have been adapted in a deeply local context from an early stage (see below). A complex linked-up framework for luxury goods consumption/exchange developed in the south Aegean mainly *after* the FN population growth (with its boosting effects on local resource networks and routes) and a significant major phase of growth in the supporting agro-economic base. This makes it hard to argue for early settler enclaves radically distinguished in wealth or other cultural respects from 'locals' and acting as a reference point for emulation. The interest of existing local populations in the social and economic opportunities around increased travel and settlement in the region during late FN is likely to have been useful for movers to cultivate, rather than requiring exclusion structures. Such interest could assist the process of settling – especially in already relatively highly-populated areas – and affect its nature. The inhabitants of many newly-settled areas appear to have stayed linked into cultural developments on the Anatolian mainland in cultural and economic terms. At the same time, the wide spread, local embedding and diverse nature of new cultural practice suggests the rapid building of strong new connections and resource bases spanning a number of different Aegean and Anatolian coastal areas.

The burial record shows how deeply and early new cultural patterns were locally embedded, sometimes in highly-visible ways. Kea Kefala has the earliest recorded cemetery in the Cyclades, dating from late FN (c. 3500 BC) and presaging the distinctive stone-built cist cemeteries characterising much of the EBA 'nexus' region. As a fully formed practice from its inception, this reiterated and adapted earlier and contemporary west Anatolian traditions of cemetery burial (Coleman 1977: 15–18; 44–83; Overbeck 1984; 1986). We see the new 'cemetery' concept operating in Crete, too, from FN IV, but taking other and diverse forms, closely linked to local social and environmental contexts. North Cretan communities show strong interconsciousness with Cycladic ones in this, as in other, ways – building strongly on the new pattern of single-grave cemeteries (Betancourt and Davaras 2008; Day et al. 1997; Galanaki et al. 2012).

Elsewhere (notably in the agriculturally-rich and probably already fairly well-settled Mesara) relatively strong community bonds in existing sizeable settlements apparently combined with the new opportunities/stimuli for social differentiation to push a different trend – single-tomb 'cemeteries' housing collective burials. Data from Lebena suggest the earliest appearance of the practice in FN IV or very soon after (Alexiou and Warren 2004: 15–18; 118; Branigan 1970: 201; 1997; Relaki 2004; Vagnetti and Belli 1978: 135–141). Circular vaulted stone tombs (*tholoi*) – becoming typical of the south central region in the EBA – were highly visible built landscape features positioned close to settlements, suggesting the existence of well-embedded and coherent community and sub-community groups forming from an early date in this period of movement and change (Figure 3.17). In a closely-related context in the Lasithi region, the first use of caves near settlements for group burial may also begin as early as FN IV. Some of these caves had previously been in habitation use,

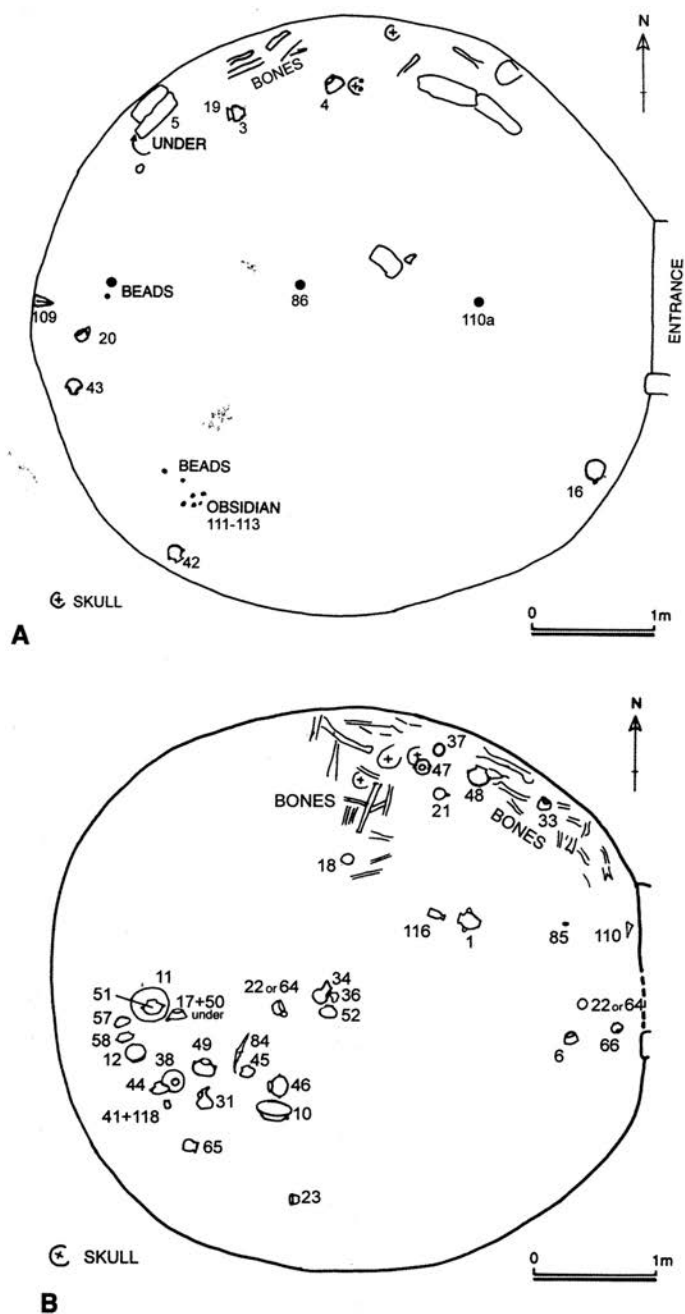


Figure 3.17 Lebena: levels in *tholos* tomb I, with burial assemblages dating back to EB I and including small amounts of FN IV material. The latter is residual in nature and could represent either FN settlement remains or an FN tomb. Image B shows the lowest levels (after S. Alexiou and P. M. Warren, 2004. *The early Minoan tombs of Lebena, south Crete*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag: fig. 17).

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so the change looks like a highly conscious, locally-accepted/-rooted departure (Betancourt et al. 2005; Betancourt and Davaras 2014; Branigan 1970: 17; 1988: 152–78; Godart and Tzedakis 1992: 44–8; 76–9; Pendlebury et al. 1936; Figure 3.18).¹⁰ In already well-populated, agriculturally-rich areas, there may also have been special interest in constructing/representing broad-based, stable community links as populations grew, through features like ceremonial drinking practices. Recent analysis of material from FN III and IV deposits previously excavated at Phaistos suggests some new ceremonial activities at the community level (Todaro and Di Tonto 2008; Di Tonto 2012; Figures 3.19; 3.20). An open-air location, dating as early as FN III, contained richly diverse concentrations of the new kinds of pottery, including ‘crusted red ware’ and vessels with grooved/jabbed decoration (paralleled at Knossos) as well as a triton shell and animal bones – the latter items associated with ritual contexts in Bronze Age Crete. We must be cautious about interpreting this activity as ritual, due to the lack of well-studied ‘ordinary’ contexts elsewhere on the site. Again, though, it hints at complex, responsive structuring of interaction modes, especially in attractive and already well-populated areas.

The northeast coast of Crete, which shows markedly increased settlement in FN, has its own specific features: a significant number of sites here seem to have been early and permanently focused on a maritime, outward-looking position: many saw *in situ* expansion during the EBA (Kalo Chorio, Mochlos; Gournia, Priniatikos Pyrgos; Hayden 2003: 390; Figures 3.1; 3.6) with less regional nucleation/rebalancing in the EB I period than appears in the southeast of the island, though there was some selection over time.¹¹ For groups living in this region by late FN–EB I, a role in the Cycladic economic/sociocultural network seems to have been important in the construction of cultural identity (cf. the Ayia Fotia cemetery with its strongly Cycladicising burial forms and assemblages). The amounts of FN obsidian circulating in this zone and the frequency of Cycladic links in the pottery form a sustained contrast with the south coast, where local chert is dominant in tools and obsidian is notably sparse (except in the widely-linked Mesara region: Nowicki 2014: 245–302; 2015: 9). A coarse red pottery tradition with links to the Dodecanese is also much more widespread along the south coast (Nowicki 2008a: 208). The inter-accessibility of the regions in question makes such divisions difficult to explain in terms of simple practicalities in travel. Indeed there are signs that groups with these different kinds of manufacture/consumption practice occasionally sat cheek by jowl, e.g. in the far east of Crete (Nowicki 2008a: 208). Rather, the implication is of conscious and specific outlooks, rooted in individual histories of approach/reception within the movement phenomenon.

Though access to metals was surely an essential part of maintaining and developing status and power in late fourth millennium movement, the undeveloped context of Aegean metals exploitation meant movers could not be sure of how rewarding settlement in metalliferous areas would prove until considerable investment had already been made in the process. Engagement here seems to have been responsive, flexible and open-ended in many ways. On late FN Kythnos, a major Aegean copper source, multiple primary smelting

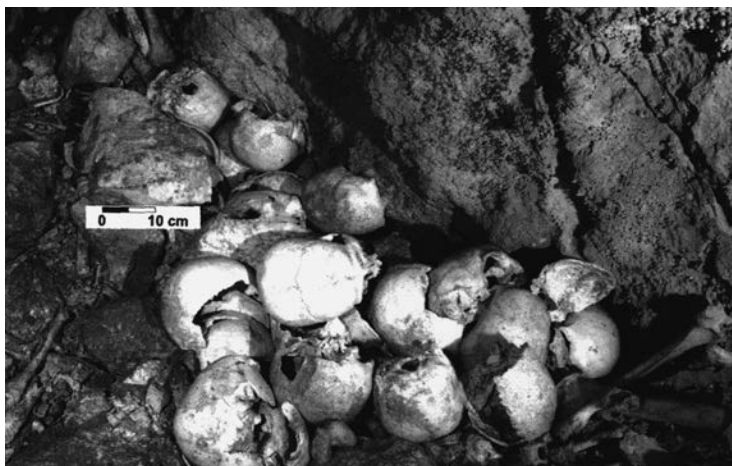


Figure 3.18 Finds from the Ayios Haralambos collective cave burial, Lasithi, Crete: accumulation of skulls against N wall of room 5. From S (after P. Betancourt, with contributions by C. Davaras, H.M.C. Dierckx, S. C. Ferrence, et al., 2014. *Hagios Charalambos: a Minoan burial cave in Crete. I. Excavation and portable objects*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press: pl. 9C).

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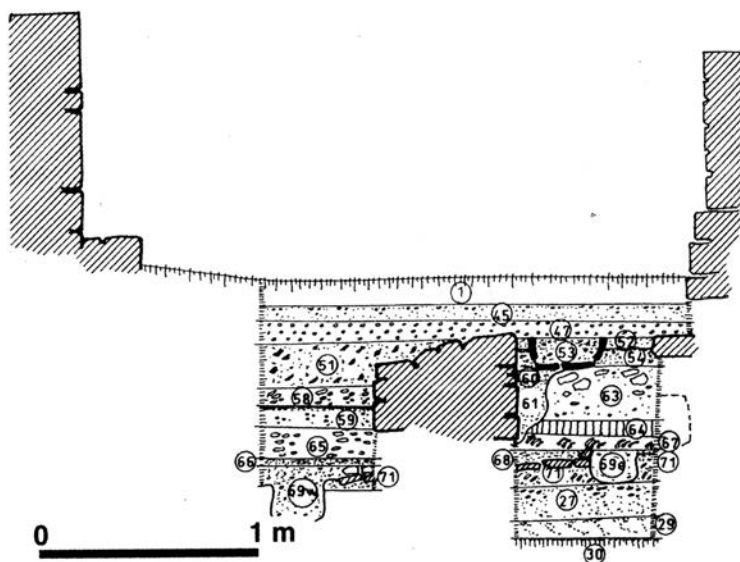


Figure 3.19 Phaistos: deposits suggesting FN III–IV ceremonial activity: E-W section through Room XIX showing cooking installation 71; hearth 68; pits 69e and 69w (dotted line between 67 and 63 represents pillar-shaped stone) (after S. Todaro and S. di Tonto, 2008. *The Neolithic settlement of Phaistos revisited: evidence for ceremonial activity on the eve of the Bronze Age*. In V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, eds., *Escaping the labyrinth*. Sheffield: Studies in Aegean Archaeology: fig. 11.2).

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Figure 3.20 Pottery from the Phaistos FN IV deposits (after S. Todaro and S. di Tonto, 2008. The Neolithic settlement of Phaistos revisited: evidence for ceremonial activity on the eve of the Bronze Age. In V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, eds., *Escaping the labyrinth*. Sheffield: Studies in Aegean Archaeology: fig. 11.3).

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sites appear at accessible, highly visible ore-recovery points, with permanent settlement often probably not involved. A developed furnace technology was used at these sites, with no sign of prior experimentation; similar features appear on Serifos, an island also rich in oxidic copper ores (Bassiakos and Philaniotou 2007; Georgakopoulou 2011). The timing and density of the sites' appearance, and the technology employed, leave little doubt of the role played by Anatolian-based/-linked groups already deeply familiar with copper extraction and working technology. Existing populations are likely to have quickly recognised the potential social and economic gains from engagement with the people and practices involved. The already partly-interconnected context of the central-south Aegean islands and coasts (encompassing long-established exploitation of some specialised resources such as obsidian), the scale of new movement, and the general lack of evidence for centralised resource control well into the EB period all suggest that the process of metal resource development probably involved multiple groups, operating over various distances. These groups might form (or join onto) new settlements/extraction sites in relevant areas, spread out alongside the latter to work the same deposits, set up camps on a short-term basis, or operate directly from remoter sites (whether new or already established). The specialised metalworking site at FN/early EB I Chrysokamino, north Crete, lying near a number of contemporary settlements but in its own isolated space, has

evidence for the processing of a mixture of raw ores from both the Kythnos and Lavrion areas (Catapoti and Bassiakos 2007; Stos-Gale 1998; Figure 3.21). Though the site's isolation may be partly linked to the polluting effects of concentrated primary smelting, it hints at how some other FN IV/EB installations dedicated to exploiting metals or other value resources might have looked, and highlights the potential ambiguity around the control/status of such sites – a feature which might help to prevent them becoming conflict loci.

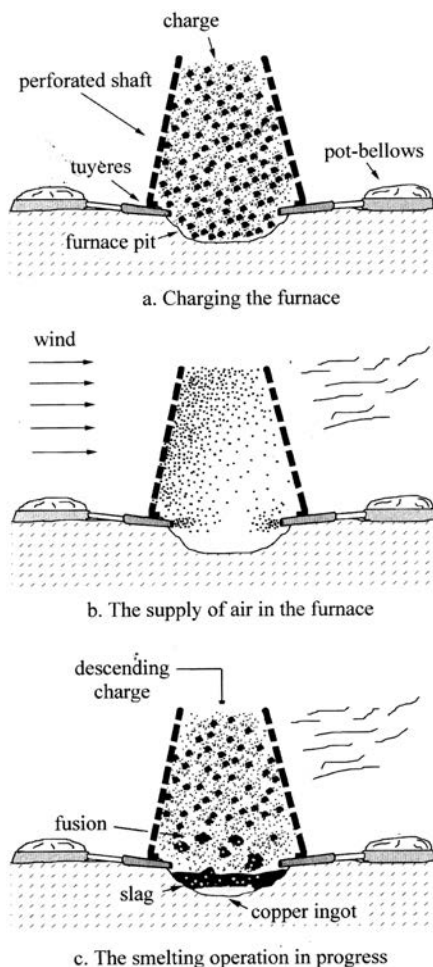


Figure 3.21 FN-EB furnaces at Chrysokamino: reconstruction of use (after M. Catapoti and Y. Bassiakos, 2007. Copper smelting at the Early Minoan site of Chrysokamino on Crete. In P. M. Day and R.C.P. Doonan, eds., 2007. *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 68–84; fig. 4.5).

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Longer-term impacts of movement

The transformative quality of FN movements seems linked to their focus on the central and south Aegean islands and coasts, with their special characteristics and history. By EB I, we see the development of a highly interconnected, dynamic economic bloc out of what had previously been a sparsely populated area where specialised resources were exploited in a very limited fashion. Topographically-fragmented and uneven in agricultural quality, the south-central Aegean lands offered plenty of actual and figurative space for movement to transform social and cultural life. In turn, patterns of movement/interaction were shaped by various new local social and economic circumstances. Increasing consumption of distinctive value goods/materials and the rise of interest in structured control of land and sea routes/territories are two important features of the EB I–II Aegean. The development of large differentiated cemeteries indicates increased status delineation and conscious alignment of social practice across large parts of the region. The appearance of specialised intra-settlement zones for metallurgical production suggests increasing opportunities for stable status definition through specialisation (e.g. Doonan et al. 2007); crucibles positioned in rich graves (though not necessarily alongside metals) at Ayia Fotia show that prestige, power and wealth were formally attached to the craft of metalworking, or the idea of it (Sherratt 2007). The wide use of stone figurines in increasingly regionally-distinctive forms (most made of marble from the central Cycladic area) also indicates a developed role for specialised production and procurement around new shared ceremonial practices, into which new tropes of individual and communal identity could be linked (Papadatos 2007a).

The rebalancing of settlement pattern seen from EB I suggests the consolidation of a stable population and growth base within optimised subsistence territories. Southeast Crete provides some of the best detail, with widespread movement to fewer, larger, less strategic and more arable-focused settlements on valley bottoms or low inland hilltops (Nowicki 2014: 77–245). On smaller islands, shifts/consolidations tended to prioritise coastal communication/connectedness, producing a long-lasting pattern of coastal ‘nodes’ (Broodbank 2008: 55; Cherry et al. 1991b; Wilson 1999). This widespread tendency to settlement pattern change, with its economic implications, has sometimes been centred on by ‘ecological’ movement models in isolation from its FN history – the latter viewed simply as the neutral ‘backdrop’ for a self-generated economic revolution. For example, Manning (1994: 232–5; 244) saw EB shifts (which he presented as a simple expansion from earlier Neolithic sites, with no reference to the major transformations of the FN period highlighted by more recent scholarship) as related to top-down pressure to ‘more efficiently manage’ farming, and assumed that social inequality and economic growth in the EB period mainly arose in this new context. Current evidence indicates that pressures and interests in movement must have been more socially- and historically-embedded than such models suggest. Indeed, a whole set of EBA cultural developments, including the rise of the Aegean trade/consumption/movement ‘nexus’, seem primarily rooted in the transformations of the FN IV period.

The most elaborate kinds of status formalisation and internal differentiation are seen at sites on the south Aegean mainland. By EB II, powerful groups or institutions were using some Anatolianising tropes (e.g. megaron-/corridor-type central buildings and sealings) in exclusive patterns. Parallels in specialised architecture and the consumption of prestige artefacts can be noted, for example, between large sites like Lerna or Tiryns in mainland Greece and Liman-tepe, Beycesultan, Kuruçay, Karatas-Elmalı, Bademagaçi Höyük, and Troy (Maran 2007; Mellaart 1962: 62; Mellink 1986; Pullen 2008: 24–5; Rutter 2008; Şahoğlu 2005; Yakar 2011b: 362–88). Such large and agriculturally-rich settlements on the Aegean mainland, while closely linked into developing island-based networks, seem to have been able to claim a particular kind of ‘peer’ relationship with western Anatolian polities of the period, highlighting the emerging complexity of relations within the Aegean network. There was no *real* peer relation – nothing like equality in terms of size, class power and structuring – between the Aegean mainland and western Anatolian zones, so in some ways these features recall classic emulative core-periphery relations. For example, the potter’s wheel came into use in the EBA of western Anatolia (at Troy in EB I and in more southerly western Anatolian regions by EB II) but not into any significant long-term use in the Aegean: use of tin bronze on parts of the Anatolian coast took off at about the same time, but (like the metal wealth of this region generally) is paralleled nowhere in the Aegean until EB III (Şahoğlu 2005: 345). Clearly, the levels of specialised demand and production seen in western Anatolia were not approached in the Aegean at this time. There was no incentive or mechanism for standardisation in cultural production to emerge in conjunction with long-distance exchange. Large-scale, identity-linked political and economic imperatives in cultural production seem absent.

Long-lasting generalised back-links with western Anatolia through exchange and other means are suggested by the close paralleling of some EB Cycladic cultural developments (as well as significant consumption of Cycladic imports), in coastal Anatolian locations. These include Iasos, which had cist graves containing beakers of Cycladic marble, and Miletus, with imported Cycladic pottery. Figurines in white marble (some of Cycladic origin) are found along much of the west Anatolian coast and inland as far as sites like Kuruçay; some are made on the coast itself in substantial quantities, as at Kulaksızlar (Düring 2011a: 220–2; 2011b: 806; Duru 2008: 171). Ceramic ‘frying pans’, an innovation focused in the Cyclades, appear in the Izmir area, with locally-adapted decoration (Mellaart 1962: 107; Şahoğlu 2011: 172–4). Some of these connections might tie back into travel routes or intergroup relationships formed in FN migration networks (Schofield 1996). Yet the circumstances pushing FN movement, the clearly variable strategies/contexts of that movement, the large spatial areas involved, and the relative physical and conceptual openness of the contemporary Aegean suggest there were no neat, fixed or exclusive socioeconomic linkages between individual Anatolian and Aegean regions (Sherratt 1998: 337).

Like other parts of the value goods economy (and clearly operating at the apex of the latter), metallurgy developed apace in the EB I south-central Aegean.

We see numerous, scattered primary smelting sites; the placing of metallurgical areas within sizeable settlements; intentional and diverse alloying practice; the consumption of metal items (including Aegean-originating silver) in regionally specific ways; and concentrated secondary smelting, all suggesting the growth of exchange networks in refined metals (Catapotis et al. 2012). Crucibles and other metallurgical equipment found at Poros, in north central Crete, have forms distinct from those typical of the Cycladic network and a mixed set of provenances has been noted for both the alloying materials and copper used (see Doonan et al. 2007; Doonan and Day 2007; Galanaki et al. 2012; Sherratt 2007: 251–4; Figure 3.22). They include likely Anatolian sources, also indicated at FN/EB Kefala Petras (e.g. Papadatos 2008: 155). All this suggests a still multi-rooted and -branched metals exploitation sphere, with little centralisation. Prestige associations between metallurgy and other specialised crafts, and participation in complex long-distance networks of various kinds, seem to have remained vital to the development of the island nexus (Sherratt 2008: 251).

Reading FN movement and its effects in the dynamic terms discussed above helps to explain why we see no kind of delayed parallel progression in socio-cultural developments between EBA Anatolia and the Aegean. Instead of proceeding through a long Chalcolithic, with the relatively slow emergence of larger, more complex and specialised social units, south-central Aegean groups entered an Early Bronze Age growth period very quickly, but in a highly individual and partly limited fashion. This process seems likely to have been affected by the specific nature of FN movements and interactions, the kinds of agents involved in them, and the latter's aims, experiences and history.



Figure 3.22 Evidence for early Aegean metalworking: slagged crucibles from EB I Poros, Katsambas (after R.C.P. Doonan, P. M. Day, and N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki, 2007. *Lame excuses for emerging complexity in Early Bronze Age Crete: the metallurgical finds from Poros-Katsambas and their context*. In P. M. Day and R.C.P. Doonan, eds., *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 98–123; fig. 6.1).

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Movement models and the late EB II crisis – a regional-scale view

The emergence by EB II of firmer structural boundaries (and higher potential for conflict) in circulation systems for Aegean value goods/materials seems pertinent to the disruptive developments seen towards the end of the period. The appearance of elaborate fortifications at several Cycladic nodes (Panormos and Spedos on Naxos, Halandriani Kastri on Syros) and large coastal mainland sites (Lerna, Manika; Perachora: Pullen 2008; 31–2; Figure 3.23) is suggestive, though such measures are not widely seen on Crete.¹² A more modest scale of wall may have been favoured by large Cretan settlements, which tended to share land resources/be inter-accessible by land in ways not seen in the Cyclades. Walls helped to define island communities internally and externally as political entities. Some south Aegean communities were engaged by now in parallel/shared ritual practices across distance (as at Daskaleio-Kavos in the central Cyclades), helping to affirm/consolidate distinct power structures and identities at a growing scale (Broodbank 2008: 56; Maniatis et al. 2009; Renfrew et al. 2007; Figure 3.24).

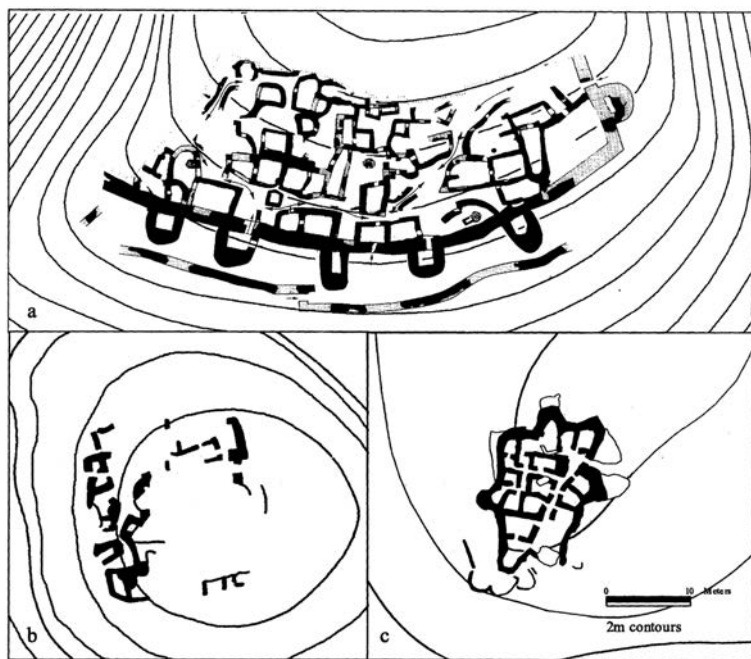


Figure 3.23 Plans of fortified sites in the EB II–III Cyclades: Kastri (Syros), Mt. Kynthos (Delos), Panormos (Naxos) (after C. Broodbank, 2000. *An island archaeology of the early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: fig. 105).

Drawn by T. Whitelaw. By permission of C. Broodbank and T. Whitelaw.

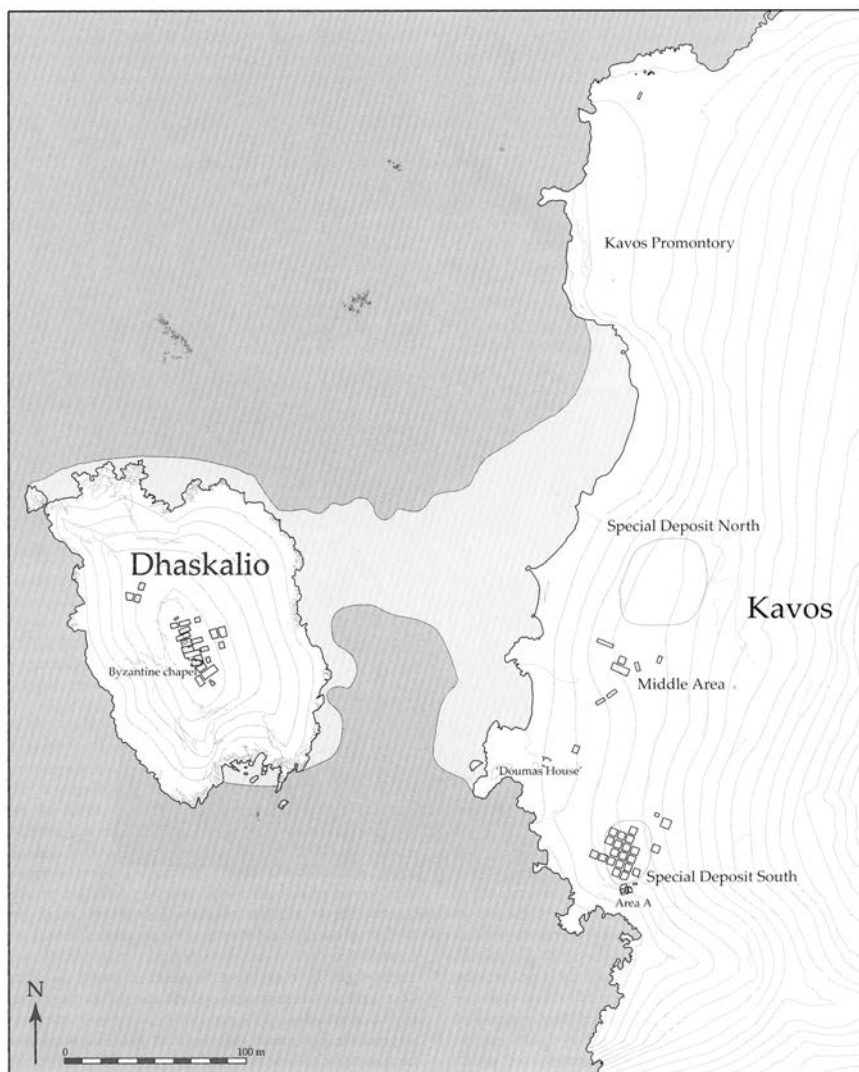


Figure 3.24a Daskaleio-Kavos: (a) location map with trenches and (b) site plan (after C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and M. Boyd, eds., 2013. *The settlement at Dhaskalio: the sanctuary on Keros and the origins of Aegean ritual practice*: 1. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research: figs. 4.7 and 6.1).

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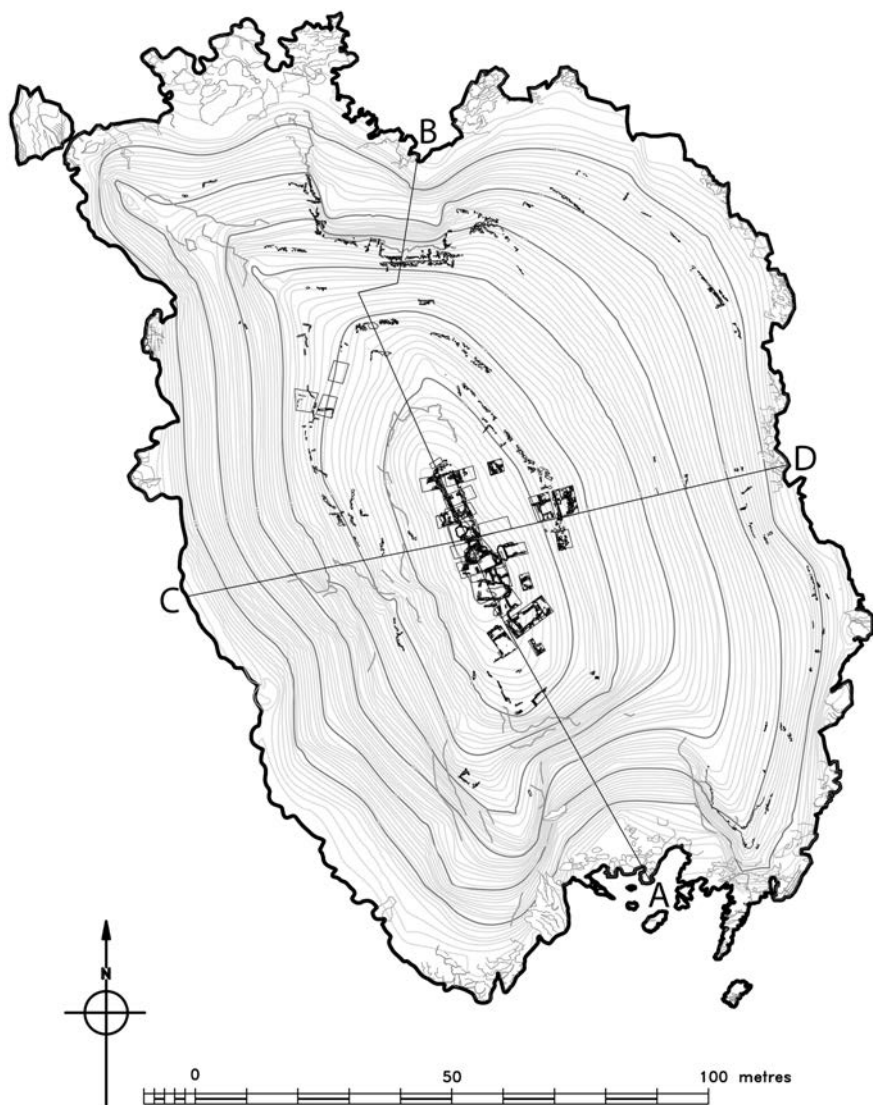


Figure 3.24b (Continued)

It seems likely in this context that claims to the territory of connections (extending over important harbours or channels, even some whole routes) were increasingly important. We can note in this context the intensified public and private use of ship symbolism (Broodbank 2000: 96–101; Televantou 2008; Figure 3.25).

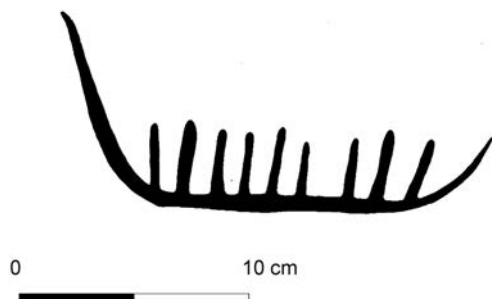


Figure 3.25 Ship imagery engraved on bedrock at FN-EB Strofilas, Andros, near fortification wall (after C. Televantou, 2008. Strofilas – a Neolithic settlement on Andros. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 43–55: fig. 6.8).

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While ongoing connections promoted overall similarity in value goods and practices, the visible development of sub-regional traditions (e.g. in marble figurine manufacture) suggest that networks of regular trade and consumption might increasingly be seen (and enacted) as congruent with emerging sociocultural identities (Papadatos 2007a). In short, the Aegean was becoming a more boundarised place, in which regular systems of contact/connection had considerable political weight and were managed by coherent power groups, including large coastal Anatolian communities.

In this context, political or economic problems in one part of the Aegean area, potentially involving large unplanned one-way flows of people seeking access to new resource networks or territories, would pose serious disruption. Flows of exactly this type (whether as cause or effect) have previously been argued to explain the regional cultural and socioeconomic shifts, including site destructions and abandonments, seen in the Aegean, as in the rest of the east Mediterranean, at c. 2300–2200 BC (Aegean EB II–III transition; Barber and McGillivray 1984: 141–57; Cadogan ed. 1986; Caskey 1986: 25; Dumas 1988: 27–8; 1996: 56; Hood 1986: 34; Haley and Blegen 1928 [who related these developments to the ‘coming of the Greeks’ to the Aegean]; Kenyon 1965: 92–7; Maran 1998: 468–9; Mellaart 1958; Pullen 2008: 38–41; Rutter 1983; 1984: 102–5; 2001; de Vaux 1971: 536; see Wilson 1999: 238 for critique; Massa 2014; Massa and Şahoğlu 2011). The main emphasis of such models, which cite a variety of new cultural features dating around this period, is on a new wave of movement westward out of Anatolia.¹³

Unsurprisingly, some processual/ecological perspectives have questioned these views. Manning (1994: 234–6) minimises the developments as an ‘historical hiccup’, depriving them of both agency and impact. Others have simply avoided confronting movement as a factor in the changes. Pullen (2008:

35) adopts a vaguely ecology-driven movement model of explanation for the crisis period (drawing on Weiss [2000] and others) without envisioning movement's structure or experiences; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou (2013) move away from what they see as one-sided narratives of 'continental' influence or movement in the EB III–MB Aegean to stress active cultural realignments by Aegean populations.

Cypriot archaeology, until recently characterised in some quarters by a heavily processual/ecological outlook, has offered especially strong reaction to models assuming movement as a driver of change at this time. Cypriot societies were radically transformed from this period, seeing new levels of investment in/long-term sustainability of large settlements, alongside newly intensive, deep, and wide-ranging cultural connections with the south Anatolian area. Use of copper/bronze metal as an accumulatable and exchangeable wealth form first started to take off in the island from this time: the forms, techniques and some ore sources involved had strong links to the existing Aegeo-Anatolian nexus, especially south Anatolia. Processual-type 'island archaeology' approaches to these changes from the 1970s explained them mainly in internal terms (see Evans 1973; 1977; Held 1993). Notwithstanding recognition of the transformative role of several earlier (Neolithic–Chalcolithic) periods of movement into Cyprus from coastal Anatolia, consideration of potential migrant agency, experience and encounter context in these changes was notably lacking in such accounts (see Clarke 2007; Knapp 1994: 274; 2007; 2013: 267–71, the latter presenting Cyprus simply as newly included in the 'Anatolian trade network' at this period; Manning 1994; Peltenburg 1993). Concerned to avoid diffusionist outlooks, many models framed the issues in terms of why local Cypriot communities chose not to take advantage of a depersonified 'stimulus package' available from the nearby mainland at different points during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. The way internal social and environmental factors (such as 'constructed insularity') might have circumscribed responses was stressed (Broodbank 2000: 19–21; Held 1993; Wasse 2005). Only quite recently have such models been altered to take account of the nature of likely new external encounters in the wider context of this period and their effects (e.g. McCartney and Peltenburg 2000; Peltenburg 2007; Webb 2013; Webb and Frankel 2011; see Figure 3.26).

Comparison of the Cypriot changes with developments in the FN Aegean as discussed above certainly negates ideas of Anatolian movement as any kind of standard transformative process. Yet it also argues strongly against scholarly marginalisation of directional movement as a factor in change. The evidence from late third millennium Cyprus, with its well-established agricultural, exchange and procurement territories/systems, shows that the effects of movement in this case were on long-term integrated settlement in an already well-populated area – a scenario which pushed social and technological change in very specific ways, including a secondary products revolution and the related emergence of solid elites (Frankel 2005; Webb and Frankel 2011). As we have seen, movement-linked growth in the FN/EB I Aegean had been much

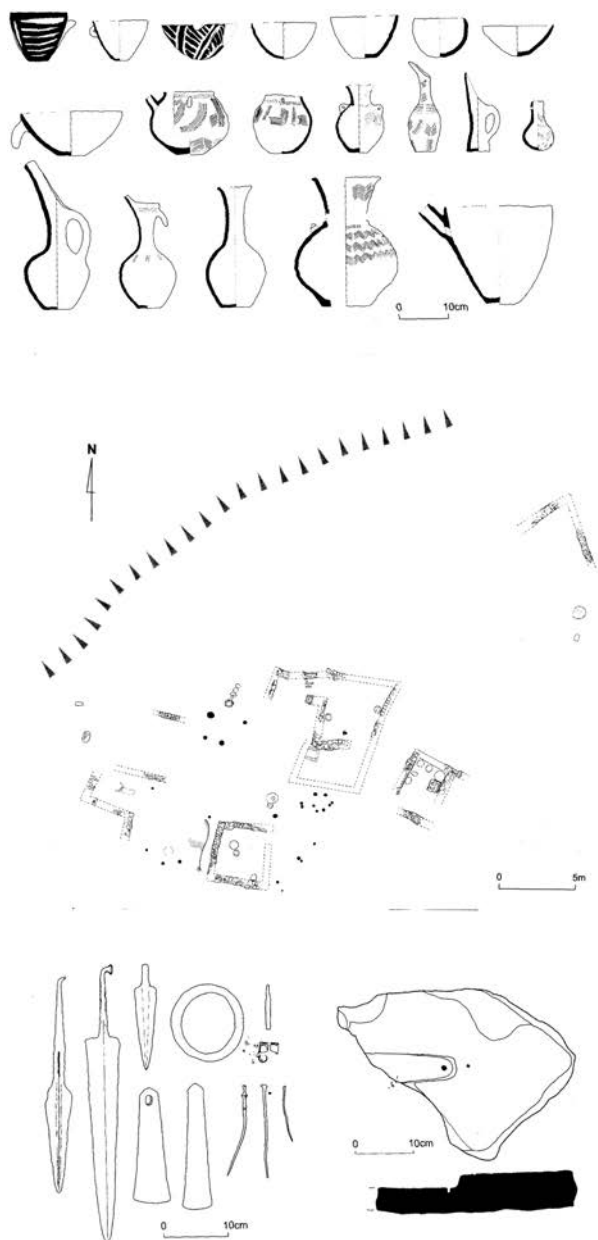


Figure 3.26 Changed cultural forms in EC I Cyprus: ceramic/cooking artefacts; architecture; bronzeworking tools and bronze artefacts (after J. M. Webb and D. Frankel, 2007. Identifying population movements by everyday practice: the case of third millennium Cyprus. In S. Antoniadou and A. Pace, eds., 2007. *Mediterranean crossroads*. Athens: Pierides Foundation: 189–216: figs. 2; 3; 5).

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more connected to the development of procurement systems for value goods. The already-differentiated and sizeable nature of Cypriot communities by c. 2300 BC allowed/pushed the development of some classic emulation practices, including the takeup of exotic (Anatolian) forms of drinking equipment and bronze items (including imports) in the new context of movement/encounters. Perhaps as a result, an especially strong and close Anatolianising emphasis across prestige culture is visible throughout the Cypriot EBA. In contrast, the FN–EB Aegean saw the rapid development of more diverse (though inter-related) prestige traditions by multi-facing, variably-resourced local groups.

But what factors might have driven increased movement out of Anatolia in the late EBA? New data, particularly from survey and from climate studies, are helping scholars to contextualise east Mediterranean movement (though so far not to imagine it in any depth) in relation to the set of cultural shifts occurring c. 2300 BC. In particular, the data suggest that the south Levantine urban centres which had emerged during the third millennium became unsustainable at this time (Butzer 1997; Dever 1989; Falconer 1994: 312–3; Greenberg 2011; 2014; Joffe 1993; Miroschedji 1989; Prag 2014; Rosen 1989; Weiss 2000; 2012; 2014; Yakar 1989; see Hassan 2007 on the linked fortunes of Egyptian towns: First Intermediate Period documents refer to drought, famine and social upheaval, and there was a short-term fall-off in Egyptian exports to the Levant). Many densely scattered small settlements in the hinterlands of large Levantine sites went out of use. But rather than a total draining of population from urbanised regions, a clustering of small new or continuing sites in the inner valleys of north Syria-Palestine and central Anatolia can be recognised. This suggests complex kinds of economic adaptation, involving development of a more evenly-balanced site distribution/size pattern and wider-ranging land-use strategies than had prevailed in the preceding period (Peltenburg 2000). Some settlement seems to cluster at desert margins during this period – a pattern which was formerly seen as reflecting ‘nomads’ invading from the east, but is now interpreted as movement out of zones where dry farming had become difficult due to increased aridity, and dispersal for the same reason.

These developments point to increased problems in maintaining the newish urban economies in the Levantine ‘fringe’ region, with their relatively small territories and deep involvement in long-distance exchange systems. However, the hiatus ended by MB I (c. 2100 BC) with a resurgence of urban polities on most original sites and a newly increased emphasis on coasts and coastal trade (Kochavi 1989). These facts suggest that a core of complex interactions with and around coastal/maritime zones continued to operate in the region through the crisis and that climatic problems were not directly and straightforwardly determinative of urban decline.

West Anatolian economies had drawn on east Anatolian and north Levantine polities for prestige goods and raw materials through much of the preceding Latest Chalcolithic/EB period (see e.g. Algaze and Matney 2011; Matney 2002). As the parts of this system collapsed or shifted c. 2300 BC, there is evidence to suggest that the relatively small west Anatolian groups could no longer cohere

as prosperous political units. Some major sites were destroyed, with patterns of smaller-scale settlement becoming dominant in many parts of the region (Massa 2014; Massa and Şahoğlu 2011). The close Aegean links of many west Anatolian areas are likely to have encouraged parts of the problem to spill over into maritime parts of this region – potentially via new levels of physical mobility, but more especially through the breakdown/compromise of the procurement systems which had supported Aegean economies. The former economic and political boundaries which had emerged in the Aegean by EB II are likely to have exacerbated the tensions and fragmentation involved. In the next section, taking the above circumstances and updated Aegean scholarship into account, I briefly explore the evidence for sociocultural change in the Aegean at the end of EB II and its possible relationships to long-distance movement.

Movement, culture change and the Aegean: EB II–III

A number of new cultural features in the Aegean, once thought to have appeared following the crisis period (i.e. to date in EB III) and thereby used to adduce a wave of Anatolian migrants which arose from or created the crisis, have now been redated to late EB II. This redating, along with contextual reconsideration suggests these features represent a process of economic and cultural realignment – including a partial downsizing/rebalancing of links with coastal Anatolian areas. The increasingly-recognised lack of uniformity or simultaneity in this process seems very important (Forsen 1992: 249–50). So does the *continuation*, through and beyond the disturbance period, of strong general Aegean links into west Anatolian manufacturing and exchange systems – rather than either an abrupt break-off, or any huge intensification of links potentially equatable to large-scale directional movement and related cultural/political dominance.

The degree of disturbance and cultural realignment looks most dramatic in the Cyclades. A large number of residents here seem to have been involved in major site destructions/relocations, and there was heavy disruption to the finely balanced Cycladic-centred ‘nexus’ economy. In contrast, some Aegean coasts, especially those of Crete, seem to have formed a stronger-than-ever focus and growth area for long-distance exchange/procurement through and following the crisis. At some large southwest Anatolian sites (such as Tarsus), disturbances had occurred at a slightly earlier date, associated with the emergence of some new local economic and symbolic systems and involving cultural shifts and exchange realignments affecting much of the Anatolian coastal network (see Mellink 1986: 146–7; Şahoğlu 2005: 346). New pottery styles seen in the EB II–III Aegean had strong connections to this area and were taken up especially heavily in some small south and east Aegean islands and the eastern mainland – a phenomenon often encapsulated by reference to the ‘Kastri group’ (after the site of Kastri on Syros) or ‘Lefkandi I’ style of pottery (see Angelopoulou 2008; Broodbank 2008: 61; Caskey 1971: 322; Psaraki 2007; Pullen 2008: 25; Renfrew 1972: 150; 172–3; 533–4; Rutter

1979; 1983; 1995: 648–9; Şahoğlu 2005: 353–4; Sotirakopoulou 1993; Wilson 1999: 95; 229–30; Figure 3.27).

The regionality of preceding and contemporary cultural connections in the Aegean is increasingly recognised as crucial to understanding how these

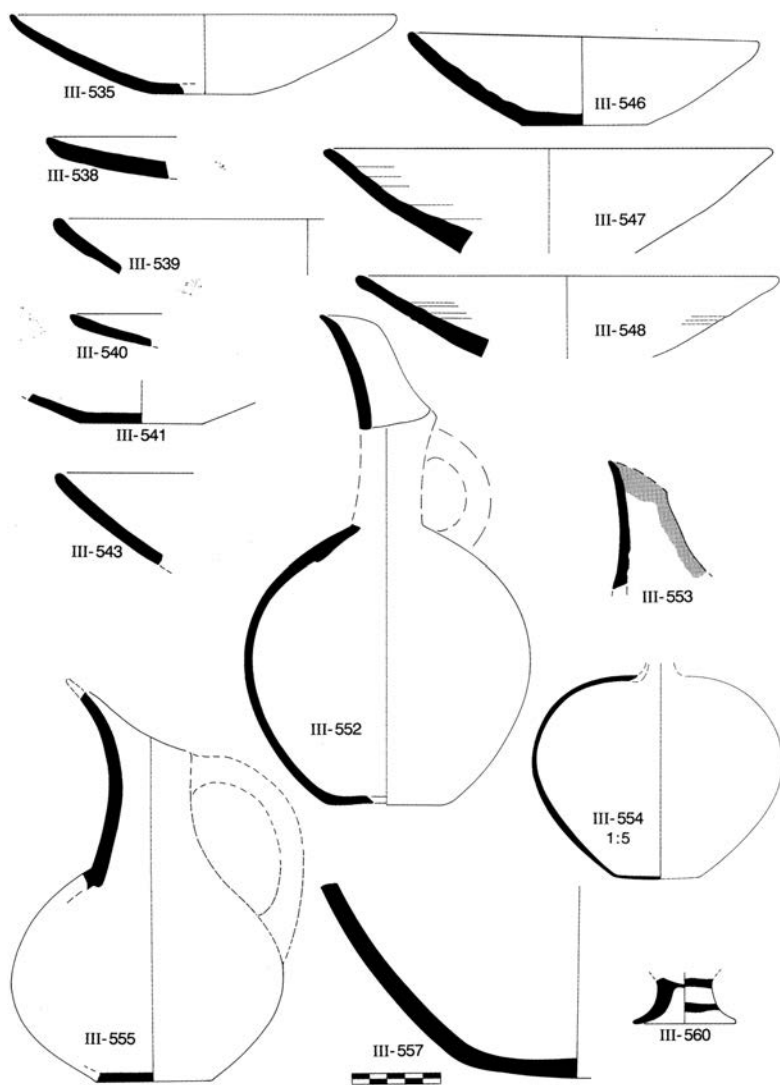


Figure 3.27 'Lefkandi P'-type ceramic forms, Ayia Irini (after D. E. Wilson, 1999. *Keos IX: Ayia Irini Periods I–III. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements. Part 1: the pottery and small finds*. Mainz: von Zabern: pls. 30–1). Scale 2:5.

By permission of D. E. Wilson and the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

reconfigured consumption/procurement systems operated. Especially at first, the majority of the new 'Kastri group' types at Ayia Irini on Kea, for instance, are imports. However, they come from various points *within* the local Cycladic network and thus cannot be straightforwardly associated with mass immigration models centred on Anatolia or anywhere else (Wilson 1999: 232). The nature of the changes in pottery forms/use suggests shifts in ceremonial practice, but within already established structures.¹⁴ Such regionally- and structurally-circumscribed forms of innovation are not well explained either by mass immigration or by a general 'forgetting' or decline of earlier contact routes during this disturbed period (Angelopoulou 2008; see Maran 2007: 6). Instead, they suggest reorientations to new and more strongly-defined/-controlled spheres of long-distance interaction and prestige consumption, including those around metals. Many innovative pottery types in the Aegean from this time seem to imitate or echo higher-value [metal] or larger versions first developed in western Anatolian polities.

In the east mainland/island zone (Kea-Andros-Euboea-Skyros), some innovative pottery forms of this period seem linked to the northwest Anatolian sphere. But in nearby centres of population and developing trade like Kolonna on Aigina, where proximity to the mainland may have offered a different base of economic/political alignment, these kinds of links seem less pronounced (Gauss and Smetana 2010; Pullen 2008: 37). At some mainland sites which continued as sizeable settlements, while clearly being affected by the disruptions in the wider Aegean region (e.g. Lerna in the Argolid) new features of ceremonial/prestige activity by EB III made close reference to Anatolian traditions at a high social level – building on earlier kinds of EB 'peer' emulation in a specific and selective way. The use of special kinds of giant decorated serving and drinking vessels, paralleled at EB III south Anatolian sites such as Karataş, Semeyuk and others, seems totally absent in small Aegean island settlements and argues for a new, close and specific kind of connection with west Anatolian polities (Rutter 2008; Şahoğlu 2005: 353–4; Figure 3.28). In the west mainland, new Anatolianising-type borrowings were highly restricted, while Dalmatian and Italian connections can in contrast be noted from around the disruption period (Rambach 2010; Maran 2007: 14).

Crete is different again. From EB III, communities here show evidence of engagement with the Egyptian/coastal Syrian sphere of contact and commodity exchange, at a level unique in the Aegean context, even while Cretan cultural connections into the Cycladic sphere also continued. Cretan communities used some new Kastri group-type serving products, but there was less intensive or wide-ranging uptake of the latter here than is seen in the eastern Cycladic/mainland zone. Similar patterns may apply on Kythera and on parts of the southwest mainland in contact with and culturally linked to Kythera and Crete (Zerner 2008: 211–4). Crete's large arable areas, its access to multiple maritime networks and its long-established position in the 'nexus' all seem to have contributed to pushing particular kinds of growth and movement on/from the island during EB III (Cadogan 1986: 153).

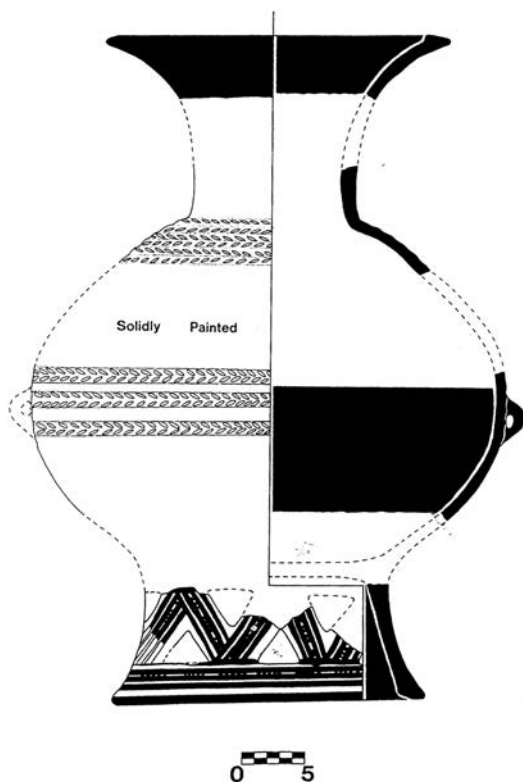


Figure 3.28 Giant serving vessel from EB III Lerna (after J. B. Rutter, 1995. *Lerna: a preclassical site in the Argolid III: The pottery of Lerna IV*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Drawing by S. H. Rutter. By permission of J. B. Rutter.

Through EB II, north Cretan communities had developed their FN-rooted links with the Cycladic cultural and economic sphere with intense continuing interaction. Use of Cycladic cultural forms was highly concentrated and shows intimate knowledge and adaptation of social practices current on the islands – as in the use of outsize obsidian blades as grave goods at Ayia Fotia (Figure 3.29). New types of Anatolianising luxury items, probably often acquired/made within the same connection/alignment, are evidenced throughout the same cemetery (see Betancourt and Davaras 2008; Shank 2005).

Large north Cretan communities with strong economic links to the Cyclades were clearly hit by the changed circumstances of late EB II/III, often witnessing destructions. However, their breadth of resource base seems to have meant they did not share the decline/contraction experienced by Cycladic centres. Following the evident severe reduction in traffic and profit within



Figure 3.29 Outsize obsidian blades, FN IV Petras Kefala (after C. D’Annibale, 2008. *Obsidian in transition: the technological reorganisation of the obsidian industry from Petras Kefala (Siteia) between Final Neolithic IV and Early Minoan I*. In V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, eds., 2008. *Escaping the labyrinth*. Sheffield: Studies in Aegean Archaeology: 177–91: fig. 12.1).

the Cycladic part of the nexus in EB III, sites like Mochlos, Knossos/Poros, Gournia and Petras on Crete actually re-emerged as some of strongest ‘heads of trade’ in the south Aegean between EB III and MM IA, showing social differentiation and related wealth accumulation of a type never achieved in the Cyclades (Watrous 2005). The rich ‘house tombs’ of Mochlos, a new variation on the established collective tomb concept in Crete, seem linked to small family groups or powerful individuals – either or both of the latter perhaps functioning as newly important socioeconomic units in the changing circumstances. The Mochlos tomb goods show a startlingly wide range of procurement links and stylistic borrowing, illustrating the range and power of Crete-centred networks.

People in EB II south-central Crete sourced Cycladic value goods in less intensive concentrations, and probably often in a more indirect fashion, than did groups on the north coast – a pattern again tied into outlooks/connections first developed in the FN period. Like consumers in north central Crete (but unlike those in the Cyclades), inhabitants of this region were extending their gaze southwards to Egypt and the coastal Levant. This was partly affected by environmental factors: prevailing winds meant that a route hugging the Levantine coast was needed for any return voyage from the four-day direct sail south to the Libyan coast/Egyptian Delta (Lambrou-Philipson 1991: 12). Communities in the rich Mesara and north central Cretan areas show a significant level of prestige goods acquisition from these regions (and some occasional Cypriot imports probably acquired via early interactions in Cyprus by north African groups),

during the later EBA (Branigan 1970: 181; Catling and Macgillivray 1983). Features include imported Egyptian seals in soft white stone and their imitation in Crete-sourced stone. These objects were never found within any kind of developed administrative context in Crete (Weingarten 2005). Imported Egyptian button seals are of a rural type, mostly made in the Delta and not connected to Egyptian palatial sites. The use of Egyptian-type animal amulets (but a lack of imported examples and the very free adaptation of forms) also suggests perception of (relatively unfamiliar) Egyptian cultural practices and associated objects as generally prestigious by Cretan communities who accessed them through periodic travel to the region (Figure 3.30).

The above patterns suggest that the Aegean 'nexus' was not able to support the needs and demands of increasingly unequal regional entities developing new, specific types of rewarding long-distance connections (Pullen 2008: 24–5). The limited scope for growth in the smaller island economies, and the vulnerability of their central economic focus to disruptions in wider regional flows of goods/materials, were telling. All Aegean communities realigned their external relations in the changing circumstances of the EB II period, but these smaller units were the least able to maintain their former range. The wider regional context and the specific nature of cultural change in the Cyclades show the islands were not simply taken over as a 'going concern' by Anatolian-based immigrants. Rather, they were left to the winds of change affecting west Anatolian and Aegean economies as a whole. The limited size of the 'nexus', and its base in diverse, interlinked small-scale economic systems, offered little scope for appropriation by ex-urban west Anatolian populations during or after the crisis. Increased political definition in the Aegean by this period suggests that local groups here were in fact more likely to try to proactively repel major new movement into the region now than at any previous time. Local travel and exchange networks in the post-crisis period remained centred around existing sites, suggesting no newly-established centres of economic or political control.

Notwithstanding, the fact that so many sites were destroyed concurrently with the wider regional political and economic readjustments c. 2300 BC confirms that the latter caused serious, permanent and politicised shifts in the outlook and structure of Aegean societies. Large-scale subsistence resources and the generation of agricultural surplus now became central to the growth of those societies. Mainland and Cretan coastal centres with access to generous agricultural resources show especially high growth levels, becoming able to mobilise regional innovations such as the pottery wheel, plough farming and other secondary products in dynamic ways, and to take up tin bronze production. The use of the masted ship, first- and best-evidenced in Crete, seems to have been first supported in this context (Bevan 2004; Branigan 1988: 190–2; Broodbank 2000: 341–47; 653; Pullen 2008: 38; Tzachili 1999; Georgiou 1991).



Figure 3.30 Egyptian-type animal amulets, EM-MM Crete: (a) scarabs from Moni Odigitria cemetery (after K. Sbonias, Regional elite-groups. In I. Schoep, P. Tomkins and J. M. Driessen, eds., 2012. *Back to the beginning: reassessing social and cultural complexity on Crete during the Early and Middle Bronze Age*. Oxbow: Oxbow Books: 273–89; fig. 9.3). By permission of K. Sbonias. (b) Seal in elephant ivory with traces of paint, from the Trapeza cave, Lasithi. EM III–MM IA (after D. Kypraiou, ed., 2000. *Kriti-Aigyptos. Politismikoi desmoi ton xilieton*. Athens: Ministry of Culture: pl. 154).

Conclusions

Some important themes running through this book as a whole are highlighted by the discussion above. I have shown that *diversity* in the history, structure and geography of movement between closely proximate regions (the ‘small Mediterranean’: Broodbank 2014: 25) produced disproportionate and contingent sociocultural effects. I also stressed the importance of large-volume population movements from east to west over a long period as a mover in change at a ‘big Mediterranean’ level. I hope to have shown that neither level of analysis produces a satisfactory stand-alone narrative or explanation of movement.

This book attempts not simply the mapping of past travel patterns, but also the reconstruction of how they were experienced. To achieve this, we clearly need to move away from many older perspectives in movement studies. Narratives attributing inherent, ‘personified’ attitudes/intentions to specific migrant or receiver groups, and viewing large-scale permanent movement as a *de facto* cause of sociocultural change are restrictive, often fitting poorly to the full contextual range of evidence. But as this chapter illustrates, we also need to leave behind processual-type approaches with a tendency to assume a minimal role for movement from the outset and/or to see it mainly in terms of the operation and interaction of standard ‘systems’.

The period examined above, with its huge changes in technology, broader culture, and population, has been especially amenable to my interest in movements with transformative, large-scale impact. Yet I hope to have shown that we cannot understand why specific movement-linked transformations happened except in the context of a range of contemporary and preceding types of movement *without* the same level of transformative effect. I have stressed the importance of a long-rooted ‘endemic’ level of contact between the west Anatolian and Aegean regions through the whole period studied above in framing the way transformative movements took place, including the conceptual boundaries and opportunities which movers encountered. At the same time, the discussion has shown that it is misleading (and neglects the importance of both migrant and ‘receiver’ agency) to try to simply blend big transformative movement episodes into a general background of repeated or ongoing contact.

Is either permanency or scale of movement a crucial factor in sociocultural transformation? On the evidence of the discussion above, the general nature and structure of movement over a defined period seem more important than the permanence of moving groups’ residence in their first arrival destination. In the FN Aegean movements, particular (and diverse) strategies of and investments in relocation across distance over an extended period were vital to how movement was experienced and received. The proportional relationship between the size of the mover group and the receiving territory/local population, alongside various historical and sociocultural factors – rather than any fixed minimum volume of movers – also seems to have been important in determining impact.

Class has entered rather little into my discussion above, since it concerns groups with limited or no stratification. However, it has already become clear that movement could change and/or mask class representation and consciousness in striking ways. I have suggested that initial groups moving at scale into the late FN Aegean tended to include emergent elites and to possess some specialised skills different from those found in Aegean societies. But already by EB I, suggesting and identifying specific classes in movement and contact processes is difficult. The operation of the 'nexus' produced closely interwoven cultural concepts and representations of 'eliteness' across a large area. Consumption and movement patterns were remoulded in various, complex ways as the very different wealth and complexity scales of Aegean and Anatolian polities were exposed by the fragmentation of the nexus from late EB II. Class will be a more detailed focus in the following case studies, where I will show that the status of movers within class frameworks at 'home' and 'abroad', and the cultural symbolism associated with those statuses, could play a role as great as that of scale, intensity or permanency of movement in affecting movement outcomes.

Many influential older narratives of ancient Mediterranean movement (developed in contexts coloured by nationalism or imperialism) presented it as essentially involving conquest of one sort or another – of new lands, of existing inhabitants, or of the culture of those inhabitants. In some cases, emphasis was on immigrants' benign/educating motives, in others on their exploitative drive. The case above undermines the automatic association of transformative movement with 'conquest' in any sense – indicating potential and pressure for various forms of collaboration in the course of movement, even while highlighting striking inequalities, forceful push factors and the likely presence of tension within the movement process. In no part of the period studied above can movement be seen in terms of monolithic conquest, exploitation or dominance, however benign. Rather, it appears highly and diversely embedded in the cross-cutting self-interest and initiative of various small groups.

The possession of advanced technology (and the related pressures created within societies using it) has been shown here to have helped stimulate and facilitate movement, and promote its impact. Yet as we have seen in examining the contrasting effects of Anatolian-based movement in the FN Aegean and late third-millennium Cyprus, the role played by movers possessing such technologies in permanently transforming receiving societies varied hugely. Transformative movements in the FN Aegean clearly involved tension/competition/engagement linked to new cultural practices. We have seen this to be a long way from technologically-driven or technologically-achieved 'conquest' of any sort. Yet as this book goes forward into periods when east Mediterranean contact networks were much denser and more complex, with less pronounced levels of technological and social inequality between societies, we will see that many movement models have in fact tended to assume that the spread of certain packages of culture and technology provided a standard or predictable rationale/support for/effect of movement.

A sense emerges from the discussion above that scholars have seen it as especially useful (or easy) to apply ‘ecological’ and ‘systemic’ models of movement and sociocultural change to the earlier prehistory of the Mediterranean (Dawson 2013: 42–69; Gamble 2003: 7; Leppard 2014: 487; Peltenburg 2007: 154). Despite Manning’s (1994: 243) insistence that ‘the process [of Aegean social complexity emergence in the context of wider east Mediterranean developments] . . . relates to human interactions, desires, and thoughts, and not ecological determinism’, and his plea to ‘repersonalise’ sociocultural change (Manning 2008a) work on Neolithic–Early Bronze Age sociocultural change in the region by many recent scholars centres on ecological factors, treating movement primarily as a systemic driver/outcome (see also Branigan 1995; Knapp 2013; Manning 1997). Contributing factors in this approach include a tendency to view the Neolithic period *as a whole* in terms of the basic human–environment adaptations/movements central in transitions to farming, along with recognition of the seminal changes in technology and subsistence occurring during the EBA (defined as a ‘secondary products revolution’ by Andrew Sherratt (1981). I have shown that we must be careful to avoid favouring ‘ecological’ or evolutionary assumptions about movement in periods characterised by low socioeconomic complexity. Ethnic or other identity boundaries appear to have been fairly weak/small-scale in some of the early periods of Aegean prehistory discussed above. As a result, large-scale movements might have been able to take place in a relatively uncontrolled and unobstructed way, especially where local populations were small. But this does not mean we can view movement as natural, functional, straightforward or unstructured. Recognition of agency and selectivity on the part of migrants, and the long-term effects of diverse responses in receiving communities, are still vital to understanding it.

Some other general contrasts in tone can be noted between scholarly discussions of movement for this period, versus later prehistory. In part because detailed discussion of early Aegean prehistory has developed relatively recently (postcolonially) with a proportionally large amount of evidence being recovered in a systematic and overtly ‘scientific’ environment, embedded, subjective personifications of migrant groups in class terms (e.g. as political or cultural ‘leaders’ or ‘rulers’) are largely lacking. Militarised/conquest terminology around movement are notably missing. Another familiar class trope in later prehistoric and Classical archaeology of the region which is absent in large measure here (though it creeps into accounts of EB II/III crisis in the Levant) is that of generic lawless nomads or barbarians conquering and raiding by force – operating as vectors of innovation, but also of destruction. Early Aegean prehistory has in these ways been left relatively open for debate over how transformative sociocultural change relates to population movement. As we move on to discuss the Bronze Age, we shall see how historic political discourses, agendas and assumptions have combined more intensively to obscure or reorder evidence around movement in controversial, and often confusing, ways.

Notes

- 1 Broodbank's 'long third millennium' (Broodbank 2014).
- 2 I use this compact term, pioneered by Broodbank (2000), throughout this chapter. Intended to describe a phenomenon which strengthened, intensified and extended through the FN-EB II period, its overtones are well summed up by Broodbank (2008: 63) in a way which makes clear that something more than trade networks are involved: 'Networks of inter-community and inter-island relations . . . comprised short-range shifting of foodstuffs, transfer of animals, marriage alliances, gift-giving, access to nonlocal raw materials, and assuredly much else besides.' The term or equivalent has been related by a number of authors to Renfrew's (1972) 'international spirit' with its more ideological connotations.
- 3 Excavated sites are still few, limiting synthetic analysis. See e.g. Pullen's (2008: 20–1) very restricted treatment of this period in his discussion of the Neolithic to EBA Aegean).
- 4 Through the course of the early EBA there is evidence for regionally-distinct cultural practices within the Aegean in some symbolically-laden spheres, such as figurine manufacture and use (e.g. Papadatos 2007a; Renfrew 1972). But these seem too limited as part of the general cultural context to suggest consolidated ethnic/political identity groupings.
- 5 Though they are present at the site in the form of imports from other Cretan regions.
- 6 Tomkins notes possible FN II (early fourth millennium) sherds at Phaistos (2007: 36) and possible Mesara connections in the pottery of east and central Cretan sites during LN (Tomkins 2008: 33–4). See Vagnetti and Belli: 143 for evidence of earlier Neolithic settlement elsewhere in the Mesara; also Broodbank 2008: 282–3; Relaki 2004: 176–7.
- 7 Less pressure in this extensive agricultural and metals-rich area, including less pressure to fragment expanding groups, may help to explain why the Aegean islands, with their chain-like links into the north-central area, were targets of new west-reaching Anatolian activity in this period, while Cyprus, close to the Cilician coast, was not.
- 8 'Staging' models sometimes seem bound up with an indigenist agenda – the need for a metaphorical halfway house (offering an already 'Aegean' identity for incomers) encouraging the reconstruction of a physical one.
- 9 Especially by comparison with southeast Aegean sites from other prehistoric periods (Middle Bronze Age, Early Iron Age) which Nowicki himself has designated as defensible (e.g. Nowicki 1999; 2000).
- 10 Though burial-related material dating from FN IV is present in the Ayios Haralambos cave, the recent excavators see the first and only use of the cave as dating to the late Middle Bronze Age and representing the functional 'cleaning' of an existing town cemetery nearby. However, the evidence for secondary arrangement of many bones and finds in the MBA need not in fact indicate the original interment date of all remains. The context of another large cave in the same locality (Trapeza) with collective burial and ritual use from FN/EB I allow the alternative hypothesis significant credence (Pendlebury et al. 1936). In contrast, utilitarian selection of cave sites with no previous use for one-off deposition (as argued by the Haralambos excavators) has no MBA-LBA parallel in Crete.
- 11 For example, small FN III–IV sites on hillslopes set back from the coast (some using marble-containing pottery fabrics of possible Cycladic origin) did not survive; Hayden 2003: 380; 398.
- 12 Palaikastro, Zakros and Gournia all show traces of walls, and outer walls at small settlements like Myrtos Fournou Korifi are well known (see most recently the site of Aphrodite's Kephali: Betancourt 2013). Mochlos, Knossos and Phaistos are unknown quantities in this respect.

- 13 We can also note Gimbutas's influential concept of fourth- to third-millennium incursions into Europe from the Balkans/Caucasus at the same period, accompanied by a inherent package of social and cultural features (see Gimbutas 1973; Finkelberg 1997: 15; Sakellariou 1986 for critique).
- 14 Other indications that established local ceremonial forms continued in the shifting socioeconomic circumstances include the way residents at Pyrgos, an emerging EB III regional centre near Myrtos in Crete, engaged in established EB II-type ritual drinking ceremonies within new kinds of symbolic architecture (Cadogan 2012).

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4 Crete and Cretans in the Mediterranean, eighteenth to sixteenth centuries BC

Introduction

In Chapter 3, I used the term ‘Anatolianising’ in a neutral sense to describe a long-term Aegean cultural trend rooted in factors including movement out of western Anatolia. In contrast, the terms ‘Minoan’/‘Minoanising’ have often been heavily loaded when used in the literature to characterise Crete-linked movement and consumption practice affecting a number of Mediterranean areas within a much shorter timeframe, late MBA–LB I (c. 1800–1550 BC). Important regional social transformations occurring in the same period – notably the emergence of states on Cyprus and the Aegean mainland – make the phenomenon of interest in the context of this book.¹ Strong directional features in movement and cultural change are certainly evident in this case. But much past reference to ‘Minoans abroad’ or ‘Minoanisation’ to encapsulate or explain them has problematically implied a single ethnocultural identity and agency for the inhabitants of Crete, and assumed straightforward motivations and effects in their movement (for commentary, see Broodbank 2004: 50–1; Hamilakis 2006; Karadimas and Momigliano 2004; Knappett 2016b; Momigliano 2009; 2012; Nikolakopoulou 2007: 31; Papadatos 2007a: 423; Sherratt 2005; Renfrew 1996). The first typing and periodisation of Bronze Age Cretan material as ‘Minoan’ occurred at a time when imperialism, with its embedded assumptions about nation, culture and race, was an influential discourse in European archaeological thought. ‘Minoan’ social attributes (assumed *a priori* in works like those of Arthur Evans to have timeless inherence and coherence) were back-identified from the same material culture. When Crete-linked material culture was found outside Crete, it was used at the same time both to directly reconstruct the map of ‘Minoan’ movement, and to characterise/predict the effects of that movement (Cadogan 2006; Hamilakis 2007: 191; Papadopoulos 2005a: 103). As the largest palatial site in the island, Knossos was assumed to have been permanently pre-eminent in (and culturally representative of) Bronze Age Crete, functioning as a metropolitan centre for all Cretan and Crete-linked territories. Archaic–Classical text sources dating more than a millennium later, referring to the traditional rule of Crete from Knossos by King Minos,

were often cited in support of this assumption (Momigliano 2009: 124). A reference by Thucydides, writing in the fifth century, to a 'thalassocracy [sea-rule] of Minos' in the remote past was especially influential (Thuc. i.4; i.8; see also Herodotus in the sixth century BC (iii.122.5–6) for a reference to Minos 'who may possibly have ruled the sea'; Diodorus Siculus in the first century BC (5.54.4) refers to ancient 'colonies' of Crete in the Aegean). All these references *do* suggest a tradition from at least Archaic times that Crete had once formed a major political/economic focus for Aegean maritime activity. Scholarly readings have differed as to whether something like a Bronze Age colonial empire is suggested by the Thucydides account (the most detailed), or a system more resembling the political league of east Aegean islands under Athenian leadership/control in Thucydides's own time – or something else again (e.g. Branigan 1984; Hood 1984; Preston 2007: 242; Schofield 1984). The ancient authors, of course, could have had no real idea of the nature of any historical reality behind the traditions they referred to. For early Aegean prehistorians like Evans, mainland Aegean states emerging from the early LBA and showing evidence of strong Cretan contacts were straightforwardly interpretable in the context of such traditions (and of his spectacular finds at Knossos) as direct 'plantations' of 'Minoan' settlers (Evans 1912: 282; see Furumark's assumption (1950) of 'rule of the Aegean islands by Crete'). Cretan naval superiority was often seen as lying behind the phenomenon – with late European imperialism directly colouring assumptions about ancient political practice in what has been termed 'an idyllic remake of the British empire' (Broodbank 2004: 50–1; Hamilakis 2006: 170; Sakellarakis 1996: 95).

Later twentieth-century discussion of Bronze Age Cretan movement, informed by processual and post-processual perspectives and new excavation data, became increasingly nuanced. While still tending to accept moving Crete-based agents as directly determining sociocultural change in the early LBA south Aegean, it gave more attention to the possible *modes* of assumed Cretan control/influence. A major conference volume, *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (Hägg and Marinatos 1984)² showed awareness of problems with simple diffusion models and of the rise of anthropologically-informed perspectives in wider archaeology. Contributors tried to identify systemic patterns/practices in the evidence for Crete-linked cultural features overseas, notably by mapping eastern and western 'strings' of sites (in the Dodecanese and Cyclades respectively) with cultural links to Crete. The preoccupations of the volume were reactive: the refining or refutation of direct colonial models in earlier literature built partly on Branigan's (1981) idea of south Aegean 'community colonies' – i.e. groups in the Aegean islands having strongly Crete-related cultural practices and objects and incorporating people of Cretan origin, but not having either political/strategic input at central level from Crete, or fixed kinds of status differentiation for members with origins on Crete.

This conference, and other studies from the 1980s onwards, influenced by the wider popularity of analogy in archaeology, drew frequent analogies with Archaic Greek ‘colonisation’ – a problematic approach, given the very different historical contexts and differently-distributed and -structured sites involved. The influence of process- and systems-focused analysis was reflected in other ways too, with the geographical spread of Cretan culture increasingly seen primarily as a function of economically-driven movement.

De-agentified, depoliticised models of movement, especially those focused on trade, still remain favoured in explaining the data – which has recently increased in volume thanks to the growth of problem-oriented field research and the use of sophisticated scientific methods to explore object provenance and technology (Broodbank 2004: 68; see e.g. Abell and Hilditch 2016; Berg 2007; Cutler 2016; Gorogianni et al. 2014; 2016; papers in Gorogianni et al. 2016; Hilditch et al. 2012; Knappett 2016a). Post-processual interests in class, identity and the social nature of cultural consumption have been pursued only in limited ways in this context: indeed, class relations have until recently been poorly theorised for early palatial Crete itself (Broodbank 2004: 56–8). Work examining this phenomenon in an anthropological vein has been heavily focused on prestige emulation (‘the Versailles effect’: Wiener 1984) to explain cultural change, often construing the latter in a simplified manner. Use of Cretan-type prestige goods abroad has often been straightforwardly seen as local emulation, while ‘functional’ Cretan-type items have been viewed as indicating settled migration from Crete (see e.g. Boulotis 2007: 186; Davis 1979; Schofield 1984). In reaction to earlier diffusionist approaches, there has been a tendency to avoid personifying movers and encounters, and to deal in terms of abstract consumption/interaction mechanisms. Some recent treatments of the phenomenon have turned towards systems-type approaches – while noting that special adaptations of polarised concepts like ‘core and periphery’ are necessary in addressing the small, highly-connected, unevenly-resourced Aegean of this period. The most promising perspectives to date re-engage with aspects of agency by stressing potentially conscious and selective alignments of Aegean communities with Crete-based prestige culture and practice in this period (e.g. Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; 2008; 2013; Macdonald et al. 2009; Momigliano 2009: 137; Preston 2007). Davis and Gorogianni (2008: 380) encapsulate some recent conclusions: ‘the “fashions” prevalent on the island of Crete were the *cultural language of power* that Aegean communities co-opted to serve their symbolic and economic needs.’ In the same kind of departure from a focus on Cretans as unitary, direct and controlling agents in regional change, phenomenological approaches have recognised perceptions of Aegean geography and routes by various different ancient agents/groups as a structuring factor in movement and in concurrent sociocultural shifts (cf. Broodbank 2000: 350–62). Yet many current perspectives still react to earlier models of highly unequal or forceful diffusion by generally negating/downplaying proactive Cretan interest/involvement in such alignments. For example, Broodbank (2004)

suggests that ‘no perceived advantage would accrue to Cretan groups through the [external] imitation of Cretan ways of doing things’. Improved pottery chronologies have also helped move scholars away from the idea of a clear-cut, decisive episode of movement by Cretans into the Aegean during LM IA (seventeenth/sixteenth centuries BC), and encouraged exploration of diverse dates and contexts of contact/movement within the MB–LB I period as a whole. There remain difficulties in establishing the exact date of the eruption of Thera, which marks the end of the LM IA pottery phase – and thus in identifying the nature of Crete-linked movement and cultural change in the Aegean in detailed diachronic terms (see e.g. Bietak 2003; Bronk Ramsey et al. 2010; Manning 1999; 2010; Manning et al. 2002; Warburton 2010).

Angles of approach in this study

Within the now-sophisticated debate on this topic, I want to focus here on what I see as the still-marginalised areas of experience and agency in movement, including in relation to class and other aspects of social identity. In particular, the results of recent investigations into the structure of Cretan palatial societies, placing emphasis on internal social and political diversity, have not yet been fully joined up with thinking on how overseas movement by Cretans (and Crete-related cultural objects) might have been structured and experienced – a link I try to strengthen here.

Though state and regional-level ethnic identities were well defined in the contemporary Levant, and there is evidence that people associated with Cretan palatial culture were seen as a distinct ethnic grouping in that area by LM I, we know little about intra-Aegean identity boundaries in this period. In Chapter 3 I suggested that these became increasingly well defined as EBA polities grew. There are signs (fine pottery and script forms, for example) that new affirmations of identity came into play between and within growing Cretan polities in MM II–LM IA (e.g. Haggis 2007; Karna 2007; Schoep 1999; Schoep et al. 2012). The flagged ships depicted in the LM IA Miniature Fresco at Aktrotiri on Thera suggest that several distinct, self-identified and well-resourced political/economic groups were operating in the south Aegean travel sphere (Wedde 1991). In context, the definitions of these groups seem unlikely to have been straightforwardly congruent with major geographic boundaries (e.g. the coasts of single islands, including Crete). They must also often have become blurred in the context of dynamically-changing opportunities/drivers for prestige consumption, connected to the emergence of institutionalised elites on Crete by MM IB. The regionally diverse contexts of Crete-linked movement and related cultural change will be a major focus here, as I gauge how and why movement contributed to transformative change in some areas, but not others. The tendency heretofore has often been either to link up different regional change phenomena into a single model of ‘Minoan’ movement

overseas, or to undertake very detailed case studies – especially in the insular south Aegean area, which exhibits exceptional earliness, intensity and range in the uptake of Crete-linked cultural practices/objects, which exhibits exceptional earliness, intensity and range (Broodbank 2004: 48). In the Anatolian, Levantine and Italian coastal spheres, evidence for cultural links to Crete has often been analysed in the simple terms of ‘proof’ of Cretan presence or otherwise in these areas. For the Aegean mainland, the social context of the local MBA period was typically neglected in older models of MB–LB I Mycenaean state culture as diffused from Crete. In reaction, recent in-depth studies of MBA mainland social change have put the loaded issue of Crete-based movement on the back burner (Dickinson 2010; Wright 2010); I try to re-integrate it here.

Various methodological issues arise with my treatment of these topics. In contrast with the FN period, the movements discussed here had limited direct or obvious effects on population size, subsistence production or technology; I will be examining examine subtler sociocultural shifts. Given the relatively pronounced cultural distinctions existing by this period between small geographical areas of the Mediterranean, and the already-established nature of long-distance trade, I will need to consistently consider the structured and unstructured roles of intermediaries in moving objects around, the potential for interpreting imported and imitated exotica in terms of locally-driven trade/emulation/adaptation (rather than resident/directing incomers), and the phenomenology/agency of objects. In the south Aegean islands, with their long history of close Cretan contacts and complex internal exchange networks, the problem of defining ‘makers/transporters’ versus ‘receivers’ of ‘Cretan’-type goods is particularly complex – and only partly clarified by provenance analyses.

Long-term history (incorporating historical geography) will once again be a major reference point in my discussion. Movement modes and patterns in this period had roots in the close contacts between Crete and the south Aegean islands built up during the FN–EBA – even though a new balance of relationships had emerged after the EB II crisis. Crete’s economic growth from EB III caused growing inequality with the Cycladic sphere and helped stimulate Cretan state formation from MM IB, in ways drawing on a palatial political model already established in the Near East. Levantine polities supplied prestige goods and materials to Cretans in increasing quantities throughout the period of palatial development. As in earlier periods, Crete’s position on certain favourable maritime routes still seems to have conditioned movement from and around the island, but this now occurred in new ways, related to changing socioeconomic contexts. Iconographic evidence indicates the regular use of masted, steering-oared ships in the Aegean from EB III onwards (Wedde 1991; 2005). By MM III, many such ships seem likely to have been owned on Crete, given the island’s scale and location and the regional economic balance developing after the EB II/III crisis. The ease of movement east from Crete, but difficulty of direct return, encouraged the use of a number of different stopping points for Crete-based travellers in the Levant and Aegean in

this period (Lambrou-Philipson 1991; Mantzourani and Theodorou 1989; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). Returning from Cyprus, for example, Aegean-based ships needed to hug the south Anatolian coast to securely gain the Aegean, pushing many of them towards Crete's south coast. Due to clockwise currents as well as winds, eastern Crete was difficult to enter directly from the east, so could not stay isolated from more northerly Cycladic-linked long-distance routes.

Origin points: multi-centredness on palatial Crete, MM II–LM IA

By EB III, the economic support provided by small island economies to large coastal settlements at the edges of the 'nexus' area, such as Lerna, Asine, and the north Cretan towns, had severely diminished. Growth levels in many of these small economies seem to have reduced during EH III–MH II. Yet solid contact networks of various types continued to operate across the whole Aegean–coastal Anatolian area, moving resources of high intrinsic value, particularly metals, semiprecious stones and obsidian. What changed for smaller island communities was often not their involvement in interregional contact *per se*, but the reach, rewards, interests, direction and balance of that contact. The activities of Cretan and Crete-linked groups – long encountered on the move and *in situ* by insular and coastal Aegean communities – clearly acquired new impetus in the sphere of long-distance goods/materials circulation. This helped in turn to push change in Cretan societies. Multiple emergent elites on the island started to interact and define themselves within a 'palatial' format of ceremonial, manufacturing and consumption by MM IB, c. 1900 BC (Macgillivray 1990; 1994; Rehak and Younger 2001; Schoep 1999; 2002b; Schoep et al. 2012; Figure 4.1).

Notwithstanding this pattern of multi-polity development within a small area (pushing cultural distinction at various levels) elite culture on MM I–LM IA Crete had many shared/standard elements (partly linked to its use of Levantine prestige objects and tropes). This allowed participation in the culture by a significant number of appropriately-resourced groups. At the same time, there are few signs of collaboration in political operations, commodity manufacture, or large-scale exchange partnerships between emerging Cretan polities. Current research suggests these polities may have lacked strongly-defined rulers – having been formed through the alliance of several local elite factions (Schoep 2002b; Schoep and Knappett 2004). The diverse, multilevel identity structures existing within them as a result may have held back large-scale interpolity collaboration. Promotion or distribution of 'Cretan' goods overseas at this period thus cannot be linked back to a ruling class acting in concert – e.g. by controlling production of specific Cretan styles or items.

Some authors have cited this multi-centredness, alongside evidence of interpolity conflict/boundary definition in Crete by late MM II (e.g. Chrysoulaki

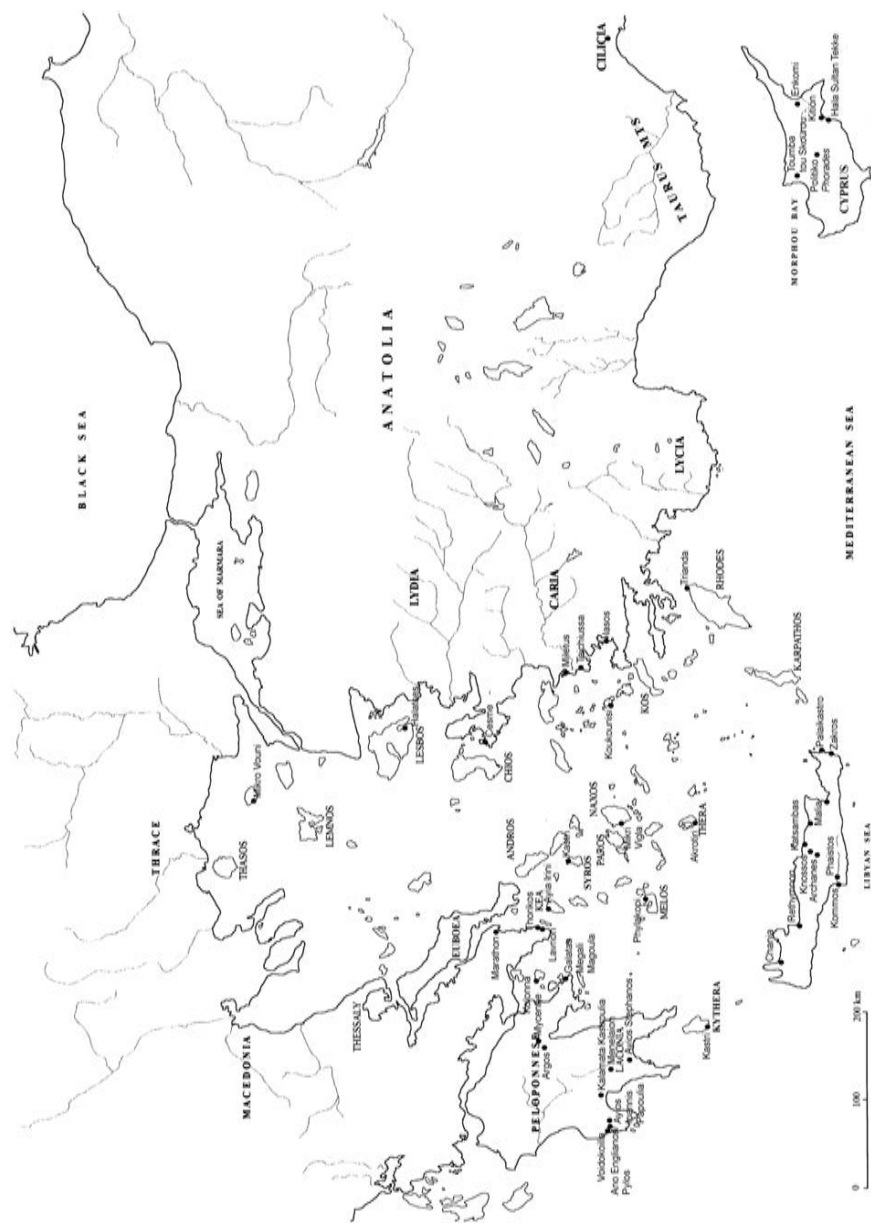


Figure 4.1 Map of central and east Mediterranean with sites/areas mentioned in the text, also showing palatial centres on Crete (by S. Wallace).

1999; Nowicki 1999), when constructing internally *competitive* models for Cretan activity abroad in this period. Given the background discussed above, some external contact/exchange networks might indeed have historically been orientated to particular Cretan regions or groups of polities. Yet the rise of various different Crete-referencing pottery traditions in the south Aegean by MM II suggests a limited degree of control by individual states over these developments. As contact and exchange networks grew in volume and reach, the chances of being able to develop such control were ever smaller. For example, by LM I the southeast Aegean region saw the circulation of a whole ‘Cretan-palatial-type’ range of pottery made on and around Kos, alongside fine wares in local stylistic traditions (Kiriati 2010; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; Momigliano 2005). We can assume these products were distributed mainly by their local makers: they were consumed alongside actual Cretan exports at many nodes in the wider east Aegean area, including Samos, Miletus, Rhodes and Cyprus. The existence of strong locally-based fineware manufacture and trade networks, even in areas close to Crete where communities were engaged in heavy consumption of Cretan exports, is further indicated by the circulation of Thera and Melian ‘white wares’ and by the variety of Cycladic and some mainland imports found at nodal settlements in the islands such as Phylakopi (Melos) and Ayia Irini (Kea) by MM II (Barber 2007; Broodbank 2004: 64; Davis 1979: 149; 1984: 181–2; Davis and Cherry 2007; Marthari 1993). Aegina, which received Cretan imports, had its own distinct pottery export networks, linked to some of the Cyclades and to mainland coasts, as discussed below. Significantly, the products of south Aegean networks are largely absent from Crete itself, suggesting that the exchange relationships involved were not symmetrical in nature (Rehak and Younger 2001: 427). At the same time, the lack of basic conflict/opposition between circulation systems for imitative products and those for the ‘real thing’ made on Crete highlights the diversified outlooks and connections of early palatial polities on Crete, and the lack of a simple framework of interpolity competition over southeast Aegean trade patterns.

Changes in the relationships between Cretan polities and south Aegean networks can be observed by LM I. Higher volumes of Aegean raw materials, including stone for fine stone vessel manufacture, silver and copper, were brought directly into Crete as palatial economies grew – indirectly increasing the range and volume of specialised palatially-manufactured ‘Cretan’ products which south Aegean groups might eventually wish to procure. As the economic gap between such groups and the Cretan polities grew, the latter surely became by far the highest-volume users of/investors in major south Aegean routes. Related changes occurring in the Cretan political environment by MM III–LM IA included greater social stratification at the regional/polity level and the emergence of an especially high degree of economic influence for Knossos and other central Cretan polities. Enlarged Cretan centres,

controlling bigger resource bases, were able to invest in and structure activity abroad in new ways. Some studies argue that intensified traffic in the Aegean networks mostly operated to the direct benefit of Knossos during LM I, and that the latter polity came to act as the main engine/reference point for Aegean consumption of Cretan prestige culture by the end of LM IA.³ Yet as the procurement of external raw materials grew, it clearly continued to be routed through a variety of Cretan centres, with little indication of route dominance by specific polities. The impression from resource-rich Aegean islands like Melos and Kythnos is of diversely-based access to those resources *in situ*, with no trace of centralised recovery or export (Torrence 1982). Powerful Levantine trader groups, and Crete-based groups engaging with them, clearly circulated along routes which were difficult to control politically from any central point. The route along Crete's south coast is a good case (Heltzer 1977; Lambrou-Philipson 1993). The Linear A form of script (becoming standard in Crete, and found in parts of the insular Aegean, by LM IA) appears to have had its earliest base in the south-central part of the island, undermining the picture of a straightforwardly politically ascendant/conquering Knossos (Schoep 1999; 2002a).

Within the increasingly stratified Cretan social environment, an elaborate set of prestige cultural forms and structures developed. Cemeteries at palatial polities by LM IA were exceptionally wealthy. Notably, monumental burial structures were now rarely used to represent large collective groups (except in extremely wealthy and long-established dynastic cemetery/tomb contexts like those of Archanes (Rehak and Younger 2001: 402). Institutionally- embedded social boundaries apparently replaced or altered the identities represented in older burial monuments. Elites around Knossos, with its extreme wealth focus, seem to have engaged in some specialised ritual practices not directly replicated elsewhere (as in the especially elaborate religious and burial complexes at Jouktas, Anemospilia and Archanes). These are nevertheless closely echoed/approached elsewhere on Crete in ways *not* seen in the wider Aegean. The fact that some new cultural features are shared between elites at different Cretan polities, but never fully replicated in south Aegean contexts, partly counters the notion of south Aegean enclaves or routes directly founded by, or mirroring the interests of, specific Cretan groups in this period. For example, the typical form and contents of an emerging subpalatial type of building complex, the Cretan 'villa', are not directly matched anywhere in the south Aegean (Davis and Gorogianni 2008; Figure 4.2). The cult/ceremonial feasting sphere became central to embodying membership of a Cretan polity by late MM/early LM I. Large-scale cult ceremonies were performed within court-plan buildings at regional centres: specialised iconography was used to decorate ritual items used in more restricted social contexts. Neither arena was fully replicated at off-Crete locations. Extensive written archives are also absent from Aegean settlements outside Crete.



Figure 4.2 Cretan ‘villa’: Chondros Viannou in south central Crete. LM IIIA–B town settlement above it.

By permission of K. Nowicki.

This evidence suggests that residents of the south Aegean (whatever their origin) either were unable to access such high-level Cretan codes of practice closely, or consciously adapted elements of them to fit local structures and resources. The size and importance of different nodes within the Aegean settlement/contact network appears to have affected the way this occurred. Through MM III–LM I, residents of the large site at Akrotiri on Thera came closest of all culturally similar south Aegean groups to replicating the highest-level contexts of prestige consumption on Crete (Doumas 1992a; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008; Niemeier 1984). Here, the use even of Crete-imported building materials such as gypsum (confined on Crete only to the highest-level settings) suggests conscious representation of the polity as palatial or palatially-associated (Doumas 1992a; Palyvou 2005). At the same time, the town lacked the territory to support a political/administrative entity of the scale seen on Crete. It could never be ‘palatial’ in its region, in the same economic or material sense as Cretan polities were in theirs. With its distance from Crete and small-island location, it could not function, either, as a normally-controlled part of any Cretan palatial territory, given the typically strong basing of these territories on centralised agricultural production. Reconstructable place-names in the Linear A archives indeed suggest that direct

economic administration of territory by palace centres remained restricted to regions on Crete itself.

Connective relationships among groups on Aegean islands/peninsulas

Crete-linked connections in the south Aegean (as in the case of the pottery networks discussed above) clearly fed back rewardingly into Cretan systems, giving Cretan polities an increasingly strong economic influence. This is unlikely to have been treated passively either by Cretan groups or by islanders. We have to assume, instead, the conscious structuring and manipulation of relationships, in ways which I want to explore below.

A multi-sided extraction, transport and distribution network existed around the Lavrion copper and silver deposits in coastal Attica (forming the main source for Cretan metals into LM I (see Gale and Stos-Gale 1982; 1986; Lo Schiavo et al. 2013; Muhly 1986: 45–63; Stos-Gale and Gale 1984; Soles and Stos-Gale 2004: 57–8). Ayia Irini on Kea, close to Lavrion, had formed a major node in the EBA nexus. It became a significant walled town by MM II, clearly important in Aegean-wide travel and economic systems (Overbeck and Overbeck 1979; Overbeck 1989). Non-coincidentally, the practices of its residents in MM III/LM IA suggest close relationships with Cretans able to access high-rank activities in palatial polities. Prolonged, deep connection with Crete-based groups by MM III is also suggested by evidence at Akrotiri, Phylakopi on Melos, and Kastri on Kythera. Some other south Aegean islands show very frequent Cretan-type pottery and other products at this period, but the above cases still stand out as having some of the widest and deepest ranges of Cretanising features (Davis 2008). The kinds of encounters/relationships with Cretan society likely to have produced these features nonetheless look different in each case (suggesting that no standard kind of colony-founding process or ecologically-driven pattern operated in south Aegean connections with Crete). We should assume these differences were both self-conscious and visible for contemporary agents.

Outside the south Aegean, other small islands also show intensifying connections with Cretan society and culture in this period – again with diverse features. In the northeast Aegean, Mikro Vouni on Samothraki is a small settlement with early, dense and high-quality Cretan imports (Matsas 1991; 1995). Features like the imported MM II–III ivory seals here – a type of object also found at contemporary south Aegean nodal towns – suggest contact with people at high socioeconomic levels in Cretan systems (Pini 2005). Lead weights matching those used on Crete and in the wider south and east Aegean suggest an involvement with Crete-linked/centred systems of exchange (Dumas 2004: 574–1; Karnava 2008: 378–9). Two clay roundels – a written document type normally associated with final archival records at Cretan towns – were also found in the settlement. Made of local clay, these seem likely to

have had a distinctive and prestigious significance overtly linked to Crete and Cretans, and must have been made by persons familiar with administrative equipment and practice on Crete.

This development of Cretanising practices in the north Aegean in connection with wider cultural change and growth was not a one-off. Concentrations of Cretan or Cretanising material, especially pottery (with cultural links both to Troy and to Crete) at Chalatses, south Lesbos and Koukounisi on Leros by MM III suggest the development of an extended routing network as Cretan palatial economies took off. The northeast Aegean (which developed strong east mainland/Cycladic exchange connections from EB III onwards) had hitherto been relatively culturally (as well as physically) distant from Crete. New investment in routes and residence in the area, closely tied into the Cycladic network, would have helped developing palatial elites on Crete engage the prosperous ambit around the Troad (Boulotis 2007; Cultraro 2007; Girella and Pavuk 2016). This strategic opening-up of new export routes for people and goods just as Cretan palaces started to grow highlights the likely strength of Crete-based initiatives (Warren 2007: 265). It seems to have been no passive, accidental or unconscious development, but one built consciously on the attractions and accessibility of palatial products to external groups.

Given the small scale of Aegean island societies, the shifts which had taken place in their cultural/contact alignments by EB III/MB I, and the novelty, proximity and rising wealth of the Cretan palatial system, island inhabitants seem likely to have attached increasing importance to the physical presence of Crete-based/-linked people (whatever the specific nature of their activities) in their localities. Persons able to be in close, direct and regular touch with the Cretan polities seem likely to have acquired local political weight, associated with some conscious and visible aspects of cultural difference. The economic and historical background that suggest this standing was separable from direct Cretan descent – it was permeable and adaptable at a number of levels. The lack of strongly politicised spatio-cultural boundaries in the contemporary south Aegean (other than actual *membership* of a Cretan polity's ruling elite, a status apparently only able to be enacted by residents of Crete itself, as discussed above) is significant. Current scholarship on movement's relationship to culture change at this time increasingly recognises this breadth of social space for personal and object-based encounters. We need to further explore the complex, entwined agency of people and objects in conditioning encounters in order to give movement its full value as a transformative force in the south and east Aegean contact sphere.

In finding out more about who Crete-linked movers and settlers were and how they were encountered by south Aegean residents, an historical perspective is essential. During the Early–Middle Bronze Age transition (EM III–MM IA; c. 2100–1900 BC), notwithstanding the recent Aegean-wide shifts in exchange alignments, we can imagine Cretans in the south Aegean as

of similar standing/interests to those who had operated within the EB I–II nexus – that is, people generally specialised and experienced in sailing, trading and metallurgy, based in various established Cretan communities (often north coast ones) and travelling in order to access known raw materials, finished products and the contacts leading to them. They must have crossed paths with and worked alongside various other (increasingly streamlined/identified) groups of Cycladic/Cretan/mainland/Anatolian origin engaged in similar activities (Nikolakopoulou 2007). From MM II (c. 1900 BC) onwards, a range of evidence suggests that the participation of Crete-based groups increased in relative frequency, scope and weight within this context. In south and southeast Aegean coastal/ island communities, awareness of the changing social environment on Crete must have grown. Throughout the region's contact and exchange networks, people increasingly witnessed representations of status and power different from anything known previously. The increasing specialisation and scale of Cretan palatial craftworking, and related goods/materials procurement and consumption, must have required larger groups of Crete-based movers (with more diverse skills and specialisms, and holding the authority/resources to procure and trade in substantial quantities of goods and materials) to move between, and sometimes settle at, extraction and trade points in the south central Aegean. Island residents seem to have engaged with these groups not only by acquiring Cretan imports and taking up related prestige practices, but also by developing, surely in close association with these practices, local versions of specialised Crete-originating manufacturing practice, such as the use of the pottery wheel.

Various rates and contexts of wheel takeup are seen (e.g. at Ayia irini on Kea takeup was early and focused on exotic-type prestige vessels, but was built deeply into existing manufacture techniques and coexisted with alternative fashioning methods for a long subsequent time, while at Phylakopi takeup seems more highly targeted on prestigious vessels and occurs from a slightly later date). In general, the use of wheel or wheel-connected methods occurred rapidly (in contrast to the gradual development and consolidation of wheel use in the context of palatial emergence on Crete itself early in the MBA [by MM I: Knappett and Crewe 2013; Gorogianni et al. 2016]). At Akrotiri, takeup is late and pronounced: a cultural 'step change' in MM III, including the adoption of the wheel, accompanies a new peak in Cretan imports (from 2.5% to 11%) and a new, maximal diversity of import forms (e.g. storage jars), suggesting significant new investment in Crete-linked travel and consumption activity. Akrotiri's wider historical context and character, as discussed above, points up the fact that contact with and takeup of this technology cannot easily be directly equated to number, importance, force or permanence of Cretan settlers (Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; Nikolakopoulou 2007). As in other south Aegean cases, wheel uptake here had a clear main aim – to make prestigious Crete-referencing fine wares (e.g. ledge-rimmed bowls; handleless cups) in large numbers to serve a rising, complex local demand not satisfiable even by expanded import systems. Informed locals with access

to palatial production contexts on Crete *could* potentially have developed wheel-potting on their own or adopted it based on tangential contact in each area, but the south Aegean island network's deep entanglement with Cretan society and culture of this period, as discussed above, as well as the nature of wheel-potting, which requires direct apprenticeship, makes this unlikely.

My stress on the consciousness and agency behind increased Crete-linked travel, cultural take-up, and social standing at this time applies to a variety of participants in cultural and social change. Co-residence and other personal contacts with Crete-based people on the move offered island groups opportunities to build new kinds of presence in both intra-island and Crete-based procurement networks, and to participate in new widely-recognised forms of prestige practice, enhancing their social mobility. The south Aegean context of proximity, long social/cultural familiarity, and diverse ongoing interaction suggest that whole Cretan families, at a variety of social levels (but usually polity-based), were able to relocate permanently to island nodes, probably most often in pursuance of exchange/procurement interests, given the wider context and the limited arable land on most islands compared to Crete. Notwithstanding the special status surely attached to such groups in their new settings, the long historical background of non-alienised interaction is likely to have allowed their relatively easy mixing into south Aegean communities. In the circumstances suggested above, many were probably able to claim some kind of permanent 'belonging' within Cretan polities, even while based off Crete. However, the lack of replication of the very highest-level Cretan elite practices outside Crete, and the scale of movement overall, suggests there were restrictions on the ability of permanent Cretan out-migrants and their families (especially over multiple generations) to access high-level political activity and territorial holdings on Crete itself. Alongside such groups, the residents of some nodal island communities by LM IA probably included specialised procurement/investment handlers working on behalf of highest-level Cretan elites – able to interact locally in a solid context of social and political support/recognition while remaining physically mobile and firmly embedded in Cretan polity structures. Cretan palatial elite members, including groups such as scribes, might also have visited island nodes for short periods or have had familial links into them, but seem unlikely to have been able to maintain these roles if settled off Crete on a permanent basis (notably, there are no indications of developed literacy centres in the south Aegean). Even if many emigrant Cretans came to lack full status in palatial polities and did not act as directly empowered agents of the latter abroad, they were apparently not prohibited in many ways from pursuing activities which traded directly on their associations with/experience on Crete.⁴ The variety of specialised goods and raw materials moving in the palatial orbit offered scope for both locals and Cretan emigrants at south Aegean nodes to develop production for onward or local trade, while *also* being involved in Crete-based procurement and export systems. Evidence for the constant updating of Cretanising stylistic elements and technologies in the south Aegean

pottery networks supports this notion. Thus, a potentially wide range of class and identity distinctions and relationships is likely to have existed by LM IA among those involved in Cretanising practice in the south Aegean.

Case studies

Below, I illustrate diversity in size, structure and outlook between the south Aegean communities engaged with Cretanising culture at newly intense levels – while suggesting that all these communities probably incorporated people recently moved from/connected to Crete or descended from recent Cretan emigrants. I have already noted that takeup of Cretan-type technology and culture in these settings is not easily equatable to the volume or force of residents with Cretan descent/links. Distance and history are also nuancing factors. The most visible hotspots of association with Cretan culture notably do *not* match up neatly with areas best placed for ‘endemic’ contact, those possessing the richest natural resources, *or* those which had had the greatest levels of Early Bronze Age prosperity/centrality. Both Crete-based movement of people and the generally related uptake of Crete-linked items and practices were evidently mediated, agent-driven and selective processes.

Route position partly affected awareness of and access to Cretan culture, but in non-predictable ways.⁵ Thera, the nearest of the Cyclades to Crete, was regularly reached by people sailing between Crete and the central Cyclades as early as the EBA (Sotirakopoulou 2008). However, large-volume Cretan sailing would need to be directed here: the island is too far for ‘endemic’ contact from Crete, though a natural layover for many Cycladic-based routes into and near Crete, given prevailing westerly winds. The transformation of wealth levels at Akrotiri from the later MBA – mostly visible in the consumption of Crete-associated prestige goods – and the site’s expansion as a major settlement centre (covering 20 ha, about a third to a quarter of the size of Knossos, by LM IA) suggest strong links to Crete-based interest, residence and investment (Broodbank 2004: 71; Doulas and Puchelt 1978; Doulas 1980; 1992a; 1992b; 2004; Sherratt ed. 2000; Figure 4.3).

Crete-linked cultural features here are especially pronounced at elite level. They include a large zone of wealthy houses of the early Late Bronze (Late Minoan IA) period (1750–1620 BC), built following an MM III restructuring phase. These have wall frescoes which use iconography and techniques identical to those in Cretan elite settings (Nikolakopoulou 2013). Signet rings with Linear A inscriptions were used to seal perishable documents or goods at a number of Cretan sites. Though replicated for use in different regions, they were clearly used at a restricted-scale, highly personal level of authority. This same kind of ring sealed a number of items found in the Block Delta area of the Akrotiri town of this period, linking the practice closely into high-level contemporary transactions made at/between various Cretan centres (Betts 1967; Hallager 1996: 207–13; Rehak and Younger 2001: 412; Schoep 1999: 217).

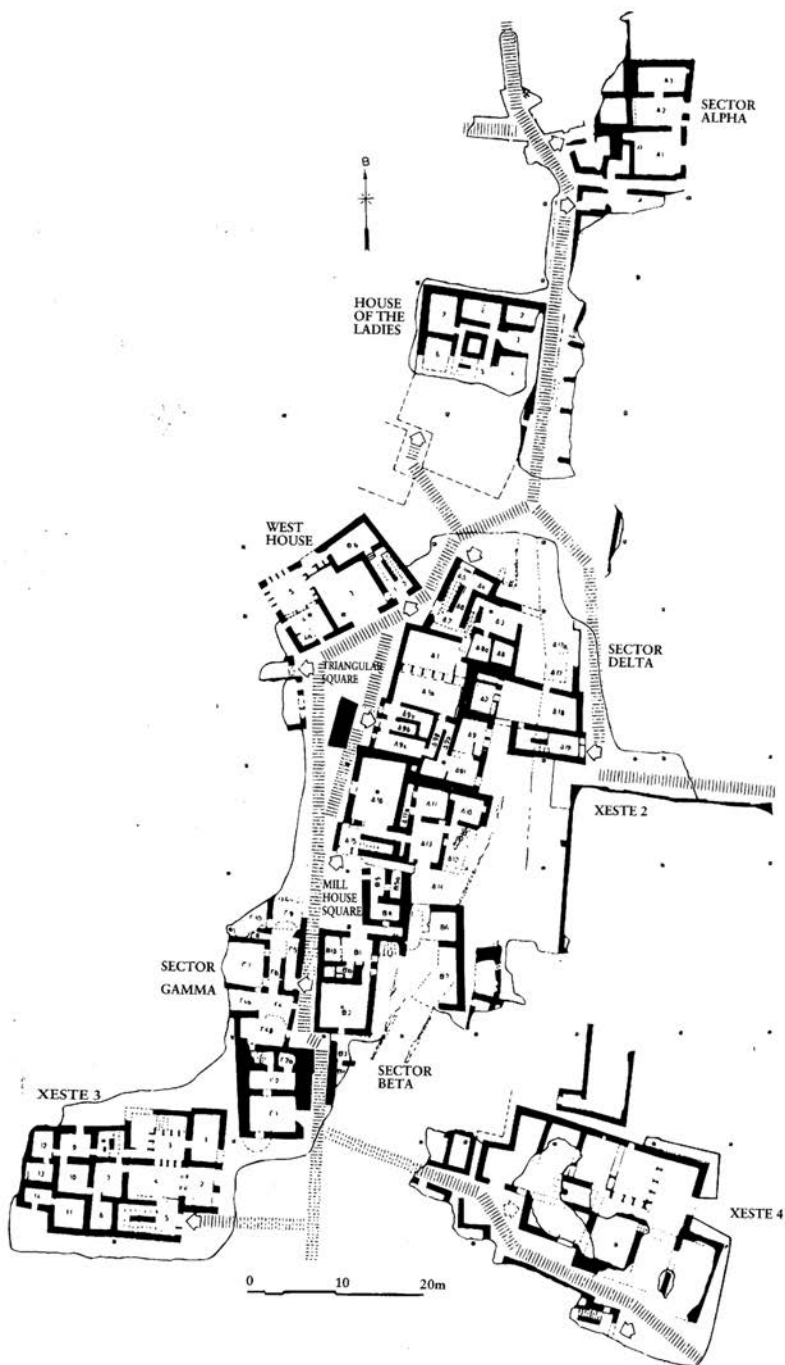


Figure 4.3 Akrotiri: site plan (after A. Karnava, 2008. Written and stamped records in the LBA Cyclades: the sea journeys of an administration. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 377–86: fig. 36.2).

By permission of A. Karnava and the McDonald Institute.

A high concentration of other Linear A inscribed or sealed items is also found in the town (Figures 4.4; 4.5). The weights system coming into use in Akrotiri at this time matches that of other growth centres of the coastal and insular Aegean, including Crete (Doumas 2004: 575–51; Karnava 2008: 378–9). The role of the town's harbour and shipping in elite imagery reinforces the impression of a community which placed high importance on its identification as a major (Crete-linked) port and gateway (Figure 4.6). The data suggests some groups here had close experience of the highest level of palatial living on Crete: it seems likely that north Cretan polities had particularly strong and direct attachments or influence at the site, building on EB relationships. The provenance of many Cretan pottery imports from MM III onwards supports this.

Despite the above features, numbers of permanent Crete-originating residents on Thera seem likely to have been relatively small, given the capacity of the island and its particular level of accessibility to Crete and Cretan routes.

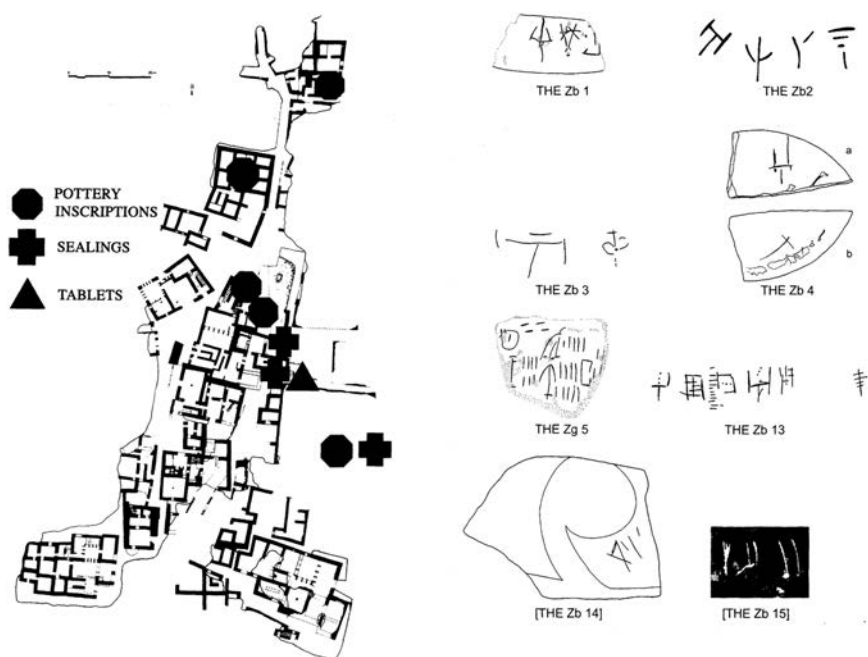


Figure 4.4 Akrotiri: plan showing inscribed finds and examples of inscribed objects (after A. Karnava, 2008. Written and stamped records in the LBA Cyclades: the sea journeys of an administration. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 377–86: fig. 36.4).

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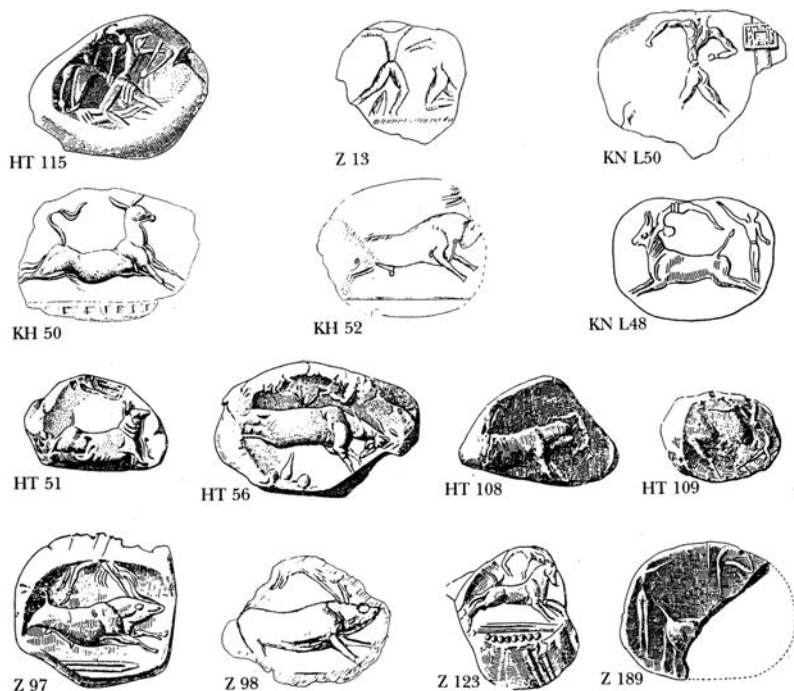


Figure 4.5 Crete-linked 'replica rings' from Akrotiri (after E. Hallager, 1996. *The Minoan roundel and other sealed documents in the Minoan Neopalatial Linear A administration*. Leuven: Peeters: fig. 78).

By permission of E. Hallager.

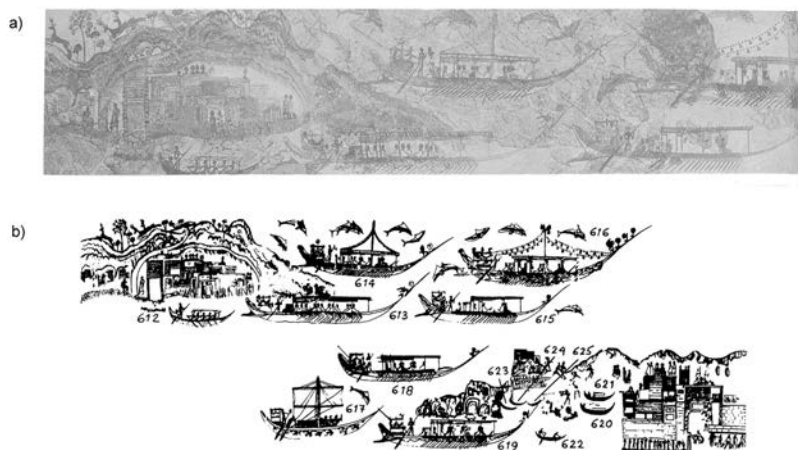


Figure 4.6 Akrotiri: (a) fresco with shipping scenes from west house Room 5, south wall (after C. Doumas, 1983. *Thera: Pompeii of the ancient Aegean*. London: Thames and Hudson: pl. X). By permission of C. Doumas. (b) Drawings of fresco fragments from west house Room 5, south wall, showing shipping scenes (after M. Wedde, *Towards a hermeneutics of Aegean Bronze Age ship imagery*. Mannheim/Mohndsee: Bibliopolis: figs. 612–25).

By permission of M. Wedde.

I argued above that Akrotiri is unlikely ever to have functioned fully as a Cretan polity. Yet it *was* a kind of hothouse, strongly distinguished from any other Cycladic settlement of the time – as well as from its local area – in self-conscious and selective ways. It is notable that in Theran settlements outside Akrotiri, endemic-type links – such as fishing, local trade and barter arrangements – seem to have brought residents into closer contact with peers on other Cycladic islands than with Cretan palatial elites. Without close involvement in prestige circulation systems, these groups exhibited different rates and kinds of cultural change during the period – including rising access to generalised prestige products from the node at Akrotiri.

Within the same broad context of uptake of Cretan cultural elements, the record on Kythera shows a striking set of contrasts. Kastri, on Kythera's east coast, was the main settlement on a route-strategic island from a Cretan point of view (Figure 4.7). Kythera lies within the endemic contact range of both west Crete and the southern Aegean mainland. Unsurprisingly in this context, the Kastri site has evidence of early and well-embedded cultural connections with Crete, as well as a variety of ongoing connections with the Cyclades and nearby mainland coasts. Yet by LM IA, a much smaller and more modest main settlement had developed at Kastri than at Akrotiri, suggesting that generation of wealth through links into Cretan palatial centres was restricted here. Early studies of Kastri used 'colonisation' as a standard/catchall template to explain its concentrations of Cretan-type goods and practices (Cadogan 1986: 158; Huxley 1972; Huxley and Coldstream 1972: 67). But recent treatments, including analysis of new survey and excavation data from the island of Kythera as a whole, have started to break down the evidence in more nuanced ways. New features appearing as early as MM I echoed practices specific to contemporary Crete. Pitthos burial, accompanied by 'Cretanising' forms of local pottery, replaced cist burials, still in use on most other islands (Bevan 2002). By MM III, the use of rock-cut multichambered tombs, most with short entrance corridors, recalls higher-status burials at Cretan centres (Figure 4.8).

This pattern suggests knowledgeable, selective, socially-differentiative use of Cretanising tropes, (clearly familiar and understood here in ways which suggest direct close contact with Cretan communities) over time. The built tombs are found in individual small cemetery clusters with room for spread planned from the start, indicating family groups. They incorporate child burials, another practice new to the Cycladic arena but well-established on Crete – again pointing to closely-maintained contact with Cretan practice (Preston 2007). Elements of borrowing from Crete are also notable in the grave goods. The ways this occurs also suggests close familiarity with practice on Crete but at a relatively modest emulative level rather than one of direct peer-type access to Crete-based prestige practice, goods and materials (Bevan 2002; Coldstream 1972a; Huxley 1972; Preston 2004: 249–50). Skeuomorphs (exact shape imitations of Cretan-type objects usually made in higher-value materials), a limited imitative ceramic repertoire, and the absence of the specialised, high-investment larnax (coffin-type) burial vessels becoming popular

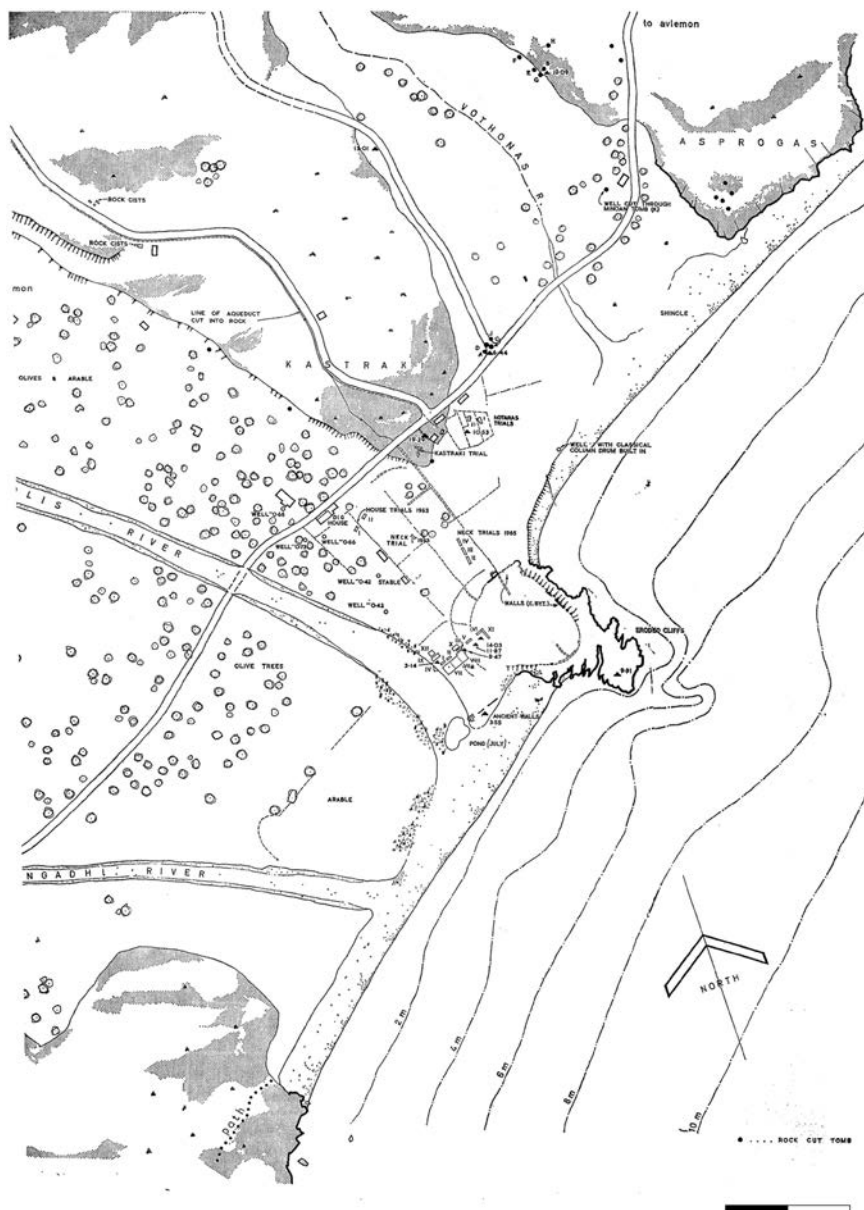


Figure 4.7 Location map: Kastri site, Kythera, and its surroundings (after J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, 1972. *Kythera: excavations and studies*. London: Faber and Faber: fig. 1).

By permission of Nicola Coldstream and G. Huxley.

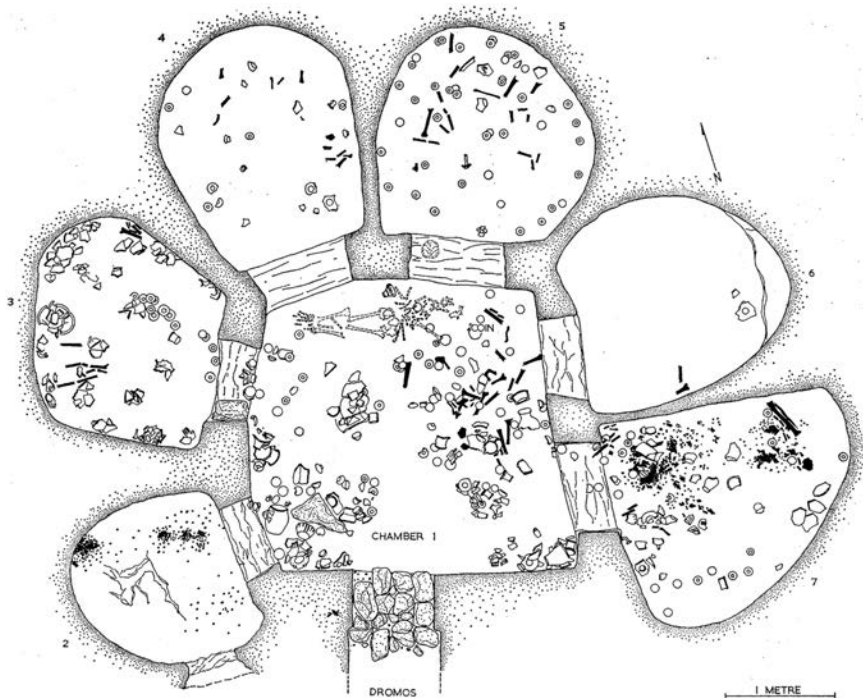


Figure 4.8 Kastri, Kythera: plan of multichambered MM III/LM I tomb (Tomb E) (after J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, 1972. *Kythera: excavations and studies*. London: Faber and Faber: fig. 73).

By permission of Nicola Coldstream and George Huxley.

on contemporary Crete stand out, even though use of the wheel to produce pottery types recalling contemporary ('Kamares') Cretan fine wares is seen early (from MM IB) pointing to close continued contact with developments at Cretan centres (Coldstream 1972b: 248). At the same time, the Kastri community could clearly access – perhaps through partly separate tropes/routes – the prestige-goods trade ultimately focused on Cretan centres. Imported wealth items (small faience, rock-crystal, gold, amethyst objects) in settlement and tomb contexts suggest that these generic value products were obtainable by residents, though individual, more substantial items of the types owned/used by Cretan elite members were not.

By LM IA, a major extension of small settlements out into the landscape appears around Kastri, suggesting economic growth (Bevan 2002); there are indications of contemporary rural expansion in other parts of the island too (Georgiades 2012b). A hilltop cult place at Ayios Giorgios sto Vouno, close to Kastri, came into use by the same period (it is currently dated MM IB/II through LM IB (Banou 2003; Coldstream 1984b; Sakellarakis 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2012; Tournavitou 2011; Figure 4.9).

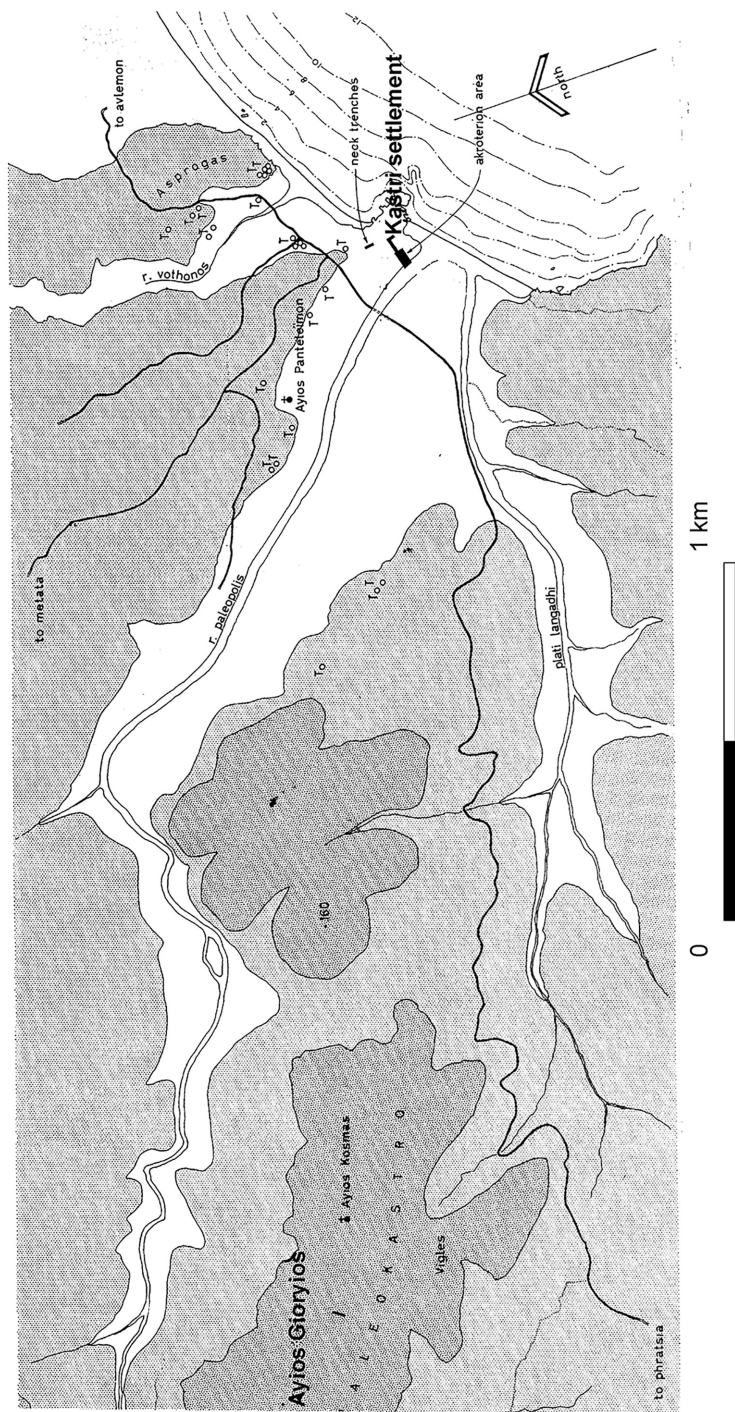


Figure 4.9 Location map: Ayios Giorgios hill near Kastri, Kythera (after J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, 1972. *Kythera: excavations and studies*. London: Faber and Faber: fig. 1).

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In some of its features, especially the use of clay animal figurines, this site recalls the peak sanctuaries/hilltop shrines established across Crete as political territories consolidated by MM II, which declined in use by LM IA. Other features seen at Ayios Giorgios, such as extensive deposition of bronze figurines and the presence of objects including clay building models, a potter's wheel and a loomweight, alongside metalworking residue and unworked lumps of semiprecious stone, are not characteristic of Cretan peak sanctuaries – though the figurine types parallel those found in bronze and other precious materials in some highest-level palatial cult contexts on Crete. The diverse/changing political status of hilltop sanctuaries in Crete⁶ over the course of the EM III–LM I periods is still not fully understood. Older conceptions of them as straightforwardly symbolising direct links between an individual palatial town/regional centre and its territory are being superseded (Nowicki 2007; 2012). In this context, the Ayios Giorgios site need not directly indicate the development of centralised 'palace'-type territorial control of the surrounding landscape from Kastri or say much about the region's relationship with contemporary Cretan centres. It does, however, seem to indicate some Kastri residents' close and regular experience of ritual practice within the Cretan landscape (not necessarily at high levels), and the reconfiguration of that practice in local terms as an elite/luxury activity. Rather than a straightforward Cretan package or template, I suggest the site constitutes a distinctive 'third space' or 'middle ground' – i.e. a practice involving new concepts of identity, community and status, linked consciously to external practices and emerging in a growth context closely linked to local groups' contact with/knowledge of these (Malkin 2004: 356–8; White 2010: 30–1).⁷

Other signs of movement-related growth at Kastri by early LM IA include a boost in local pottery trade networks, drawing heavily on Cretanising vessel forms/styles and taking in the wider Cycladic-south mainland area (Coldstream 1972b: 284; Zerner 1993). As early as MM IB, the establishment of a murex dye industry of a type paralleled in Crete seems to respond to demand for Crete-associated textile products in the island and its wider area. Like many of the other features above, the industry suggests close *in situ* experience of practice in Cretan polities by Kastri inhabitants, and the related building of economic capital, without necessarily very close/parallel connections with the most powerful groups on Crete.

Phylakopi on Melos and Ayia Irini on Keos were both fairly small settlements, well outside the range of endemic contact from Crete, but on important resource routes. Though they are often cited together in the literature as 'Cretanised' sites, each actually shows a different kind of interaction with the Crete-linked movement/cultural uptake phenomenon of the period. As on Kythera, close access to/replication of the activities of leading groups in Cretan polities is not indicated by the evidence at either site. But thanks to adjacent natural resources (obsidian and copper respectively), both locations do seem likely to have held some direct strategic interest for the people

running Cretan palatial procurement systems. Evidence for direct control over local resources by groups based on Crete is lacking, but there were good opportunities for the accumulation of material or social capital by local elites in ways tied into, and overtly referencing, Cretan prestige culture. Phylakopi (long the main settlement on Melos) developed as a wealthy port node in precisely the period of palatial consolidation on Crete (Renfrew et al. 2007; Figure 4.10). Cretan fine pottery imports (mostly of Knossian origin) were already coming through the site from MM IA, and their forms and technologies began to be taken up in local production by MM II; by LM IA, a wide range of fine Cretan, as well Cycladic and some mainland, imports were in use (Barber 2007; Davis and Cherry 2007: 303; Hood 2007: 252). The inhabitants, who mostly lived in fairly modest dwellings (with no parallel to the richly residential area at Akrotiri) fortified the site and developed at least one public/institutional location there by LM IA (Renfrew et al. 2007: 53–64). As with the ritual site of Ayios Giorgios sto Vouno on Kythera, this space drew on Cretan prestige forms and activities in ways which show direct experience of developing Cretan practice. Built in the ‘pillar-crypt’ form associated with Cretan palatial structures from their emergence in MM IB onwards, the construction was differentiated from other buildings zonally, and by wall frescoes. Another large building – the ‘Mansion’ – has a plan recalling those of town houses on Crete. A Linear A tablet, a conscious sign of linkage/claimed linkage with high-level Cretan palatial culture, seems to have been associated with it (Davis and Cherry 2007: 301; Renfrew 1977; Renfrew et al. 2007: 12; Figure 4.11).

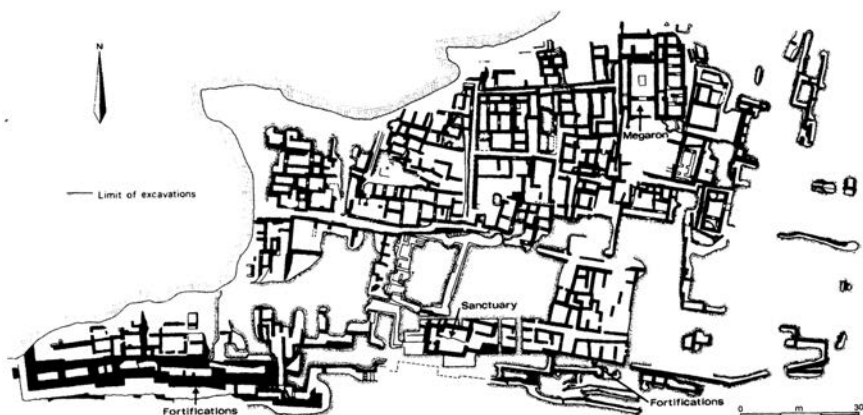


Figure 4.10 Phylakopi, Melos: site plan (after P. A. Mountjoy, 2008. *The Cyclades during the Mycenaean period*. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 467–79: fig. 42.3).

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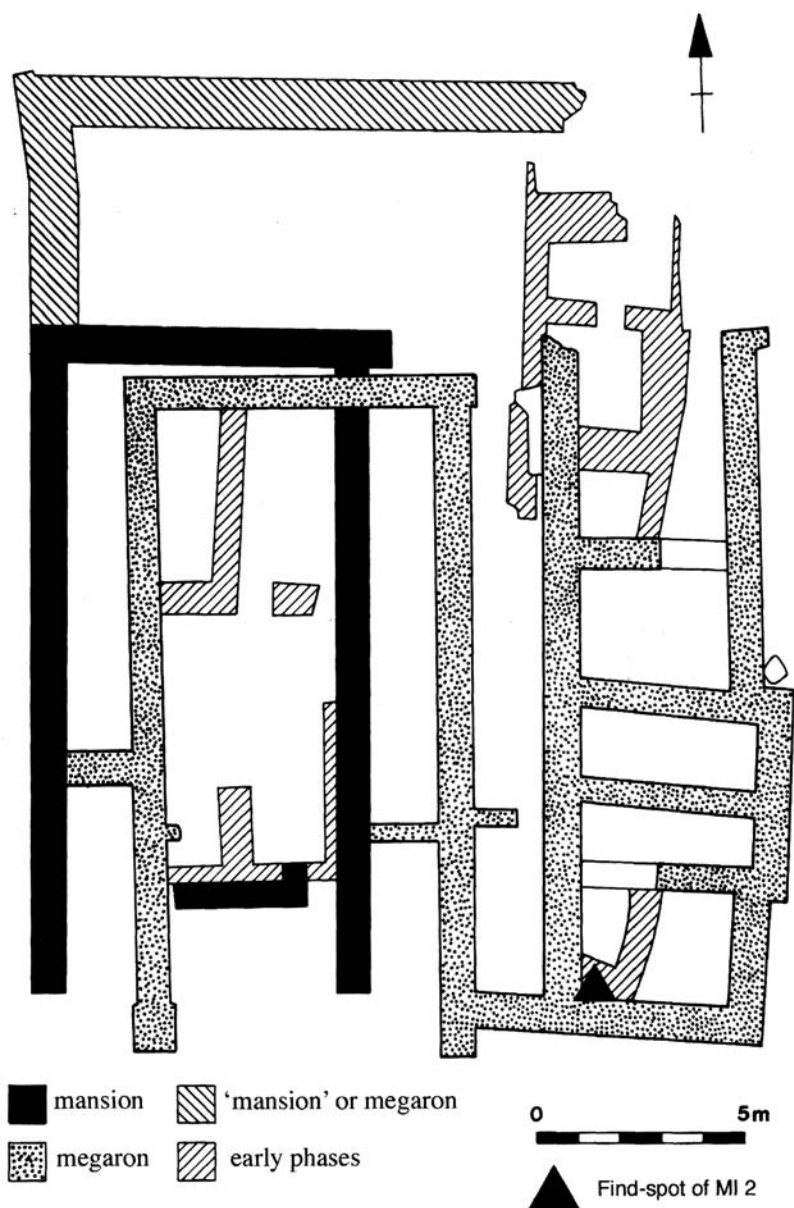


Figure 4.11 Phylakopi: plan of the 'Mansion' and superimposed (LH III) megaron: find-spots of Linear A tablet (MI 2) and other Linear A-inscribed finds (after A. Karnava, 2008. *Written and stamped records in the LBA Cyclades: the sea journeys of an administration*. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 377–86: fig. 36.6).

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The specific range of Cretanising features seen at Phylakopi indicates the way the site figured on the political radar of Cretan centres, as well as local perceptions of Cretan prestige. Wheelmade or wheel-assisted local pottery forms suggest the residence here of some specialists trained on Crete or in Crete-linked workshops, e.g. on Thera. But there are no other industries suggesting investment in manufacturing Cretan-type specialised products for local consumption or onward trade. Context may play a role here, with the obsidian industry forming a traditional and continuing major focus of specialisation and export.

Ayia Irini, adjacent to the main copper source for Crete's burgeoning bronze industry, was clearly involved with significant Crete-based/-linked movement in the late MM-early LM I period. From MM III, the inhabitants had close and ongoing awareness of high-level practice on Crete. Though reference to the latter occurred in a generally less intensively wealthy context than at Akrotiri, there was perhaps an earlier uptake of the potter's wheel and certainly more diversity of techniques and types in fine pottery production than at Phylakopi, suggesting more complex markets and uptakes. Developing public institutions/locales were distinguished by links to Cretan culture in a high-profile and resonant way (Cherry and Davis 2007: 403–5; Cummer and Schofield 1984; Davis 1986). As at Phylakopi, Akrotiri and Mikro Vouni, Linear A documents (a tablet and fragment) were found (along with an inscribed lamp, suggesting the general prizing of script-linked items) in a highly limited context – the north part of the site's core area, in an MM III deposit (Hallager 1996: 37; Karnava 2008: 381–2; Figure 4.12).

By LM IA, a central building complex (A) included a weaving area with a concentration of Cretan-type ovoid loomweights (Abell 2014; Gorogianni et al. 2014; Cutler 2016; Tzachili 2007; Figure 4.13). The latter are also seen at Akrotiri and Phylakopi, but are not present universally through the islands in this period. Their presence in this context suggests informed reference to Cretan-type textile production techniques and a viewing of the latter as prestigious. Similar loomweights are also scattered through some more ordinary buildings in this sector. In a recent movement and intermarriage model, Gorogianni et al. suggest dowry goods of women originating in Crete as the likely context of origin for these objects but say little about class relationships, leaving much about the suggested context of movement unclear. There was also evidence for cult practice in the central building, including a rhyton and clay figurines recalling those seen in various palatial cult locales. The presence of standard-sized conical cups in large concentrations suggests close contact/familiarity with practice at Cretan centres and a deliberate attempt to reference the latter in local public settings, at a completely different scale (Berg 2004).

There was also a separate shrine building at the site. Constructed in MM II, its core room contained thirty-two large clay female figurines of local manufacture. These had strong parallels in form and use to figurines in various materials found in elite/ritual contexts in Crete palatial towns; however, the Ayia Irini figurines have unique proportions and features and appear in an unusual concentration. The context appears to have lacked some other kinds

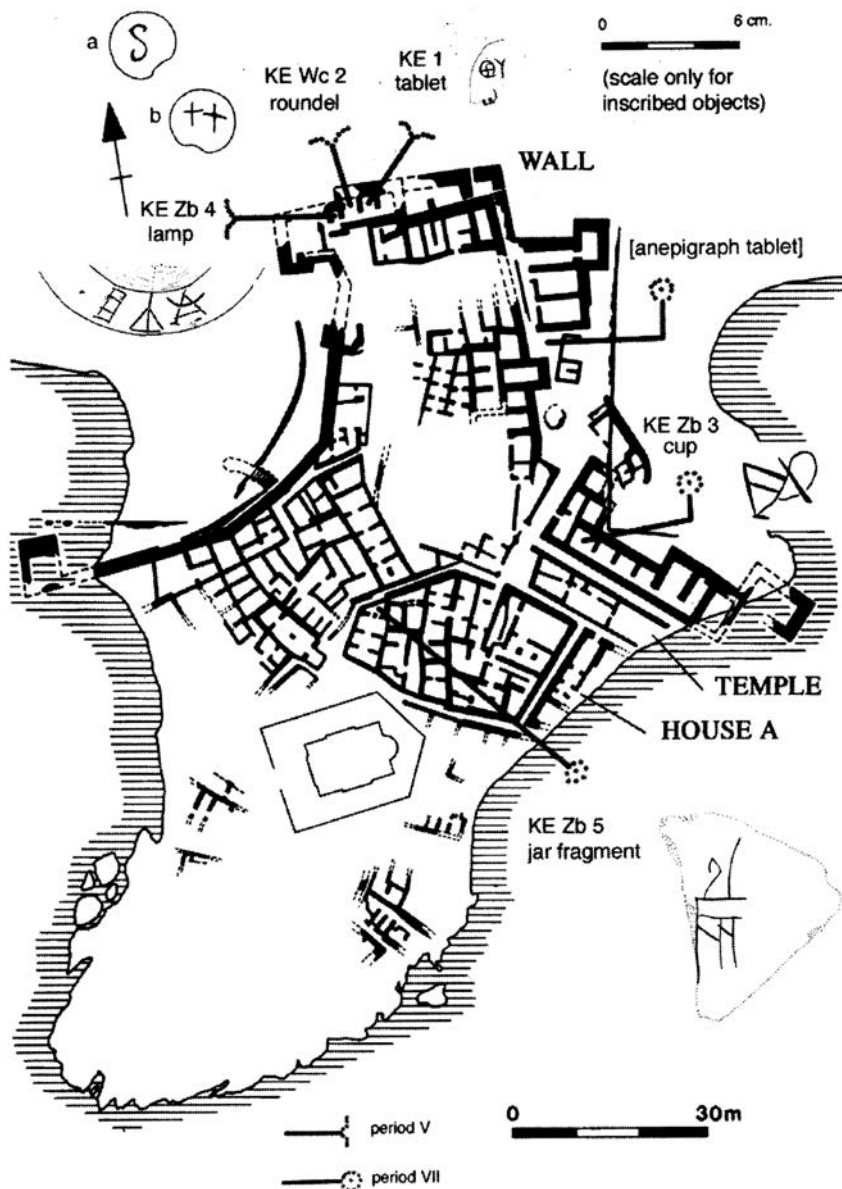


Figure 4.12 Plan of Ayia Irini, Kea (after A. Karnava, 2008. Written and stamped records in the LBA Cyclades: the sea journeys of an administration. In N. Brodie, J. Doole and G. Gavalas, eds., 2008. *Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute: 377–86: fig. 36.5).

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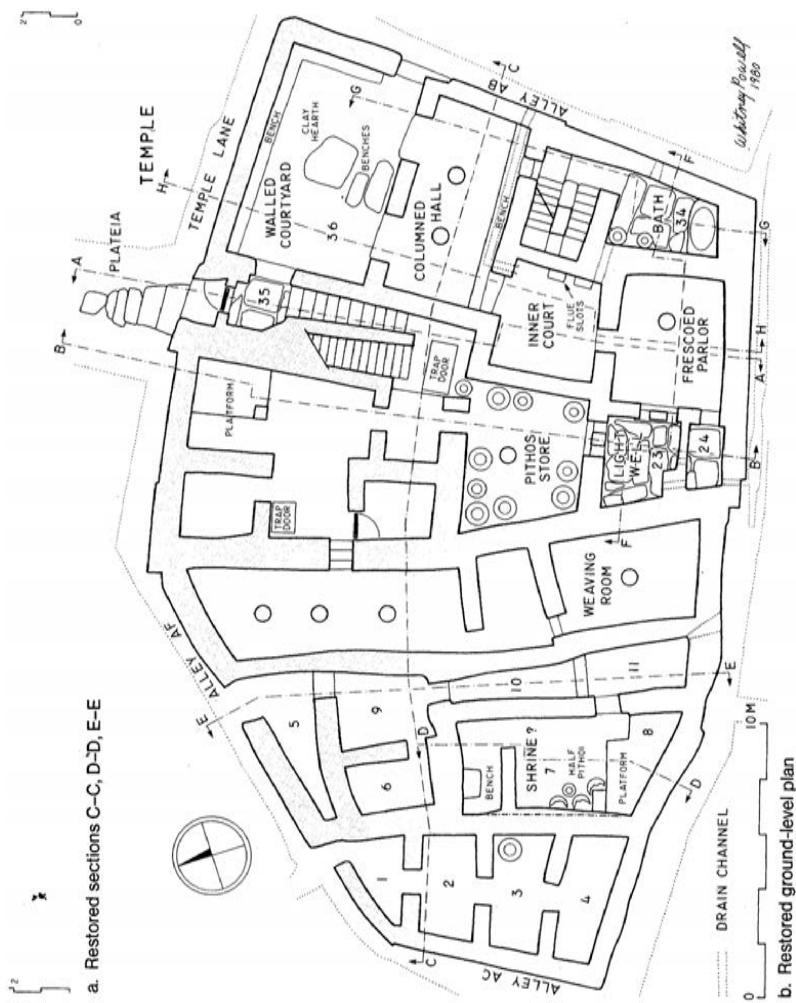




Figure 4.14 Ayia Irini: goddess figurine from the ‘temple’: room 1; period IV (after M. E. Caskey, with the collaboration of John L. Caskey and with contributions by S. Bouzaki and Y. Maniatis, 1986. *Keos, Volume II, Part I. The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies: pl. 4).

Photograph by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen. By permission of M. E. Caskey and the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

of objects typically associated with palatial shrines in Crete (Caskey 1986: 35; Gorogianni 2011; Figure 4.14).

A hilltop near the town (Troullos) has a building of unclear (possibly EBA) date. Conical cup and figurine deposition here partly recall practices seen at MM–LM I Cretan hilltop sanctuaries (but appear alongside evidence of metallurgical work in the form of crucibles, never paralleled at these Cretan locations, though notably seen at Ayios Giorgios on Kythera, as described above: Caskey 1971: 392–5). This evident concentration of interest in Cretanising forms at the site by late MM–early LM chimes with the fact that by LM IA, all houses in this relatively wealthy settlement contain Cretan fine pottery imports (Figure 4.15). A variety of distinctive tropes (beyond the simple consumption of Cretanising pottery) seem to have been needed to define special groups or institutions by this time, and it is noteworthy that all of these made reference to Cretan culture. In keeping with its generally high level of wealth, complexity and connectedness, the community also developed non-pottery industries with close links to Cretan elite-level consumption practice, such as a stone vase workshop.

I will deal with the southeast Aegean only briefly here, focusing on the islands and discussing the Anatolian coast later below. Many parts of the region show the same kind of ‘step change’ in Crete-linked cultural uptake

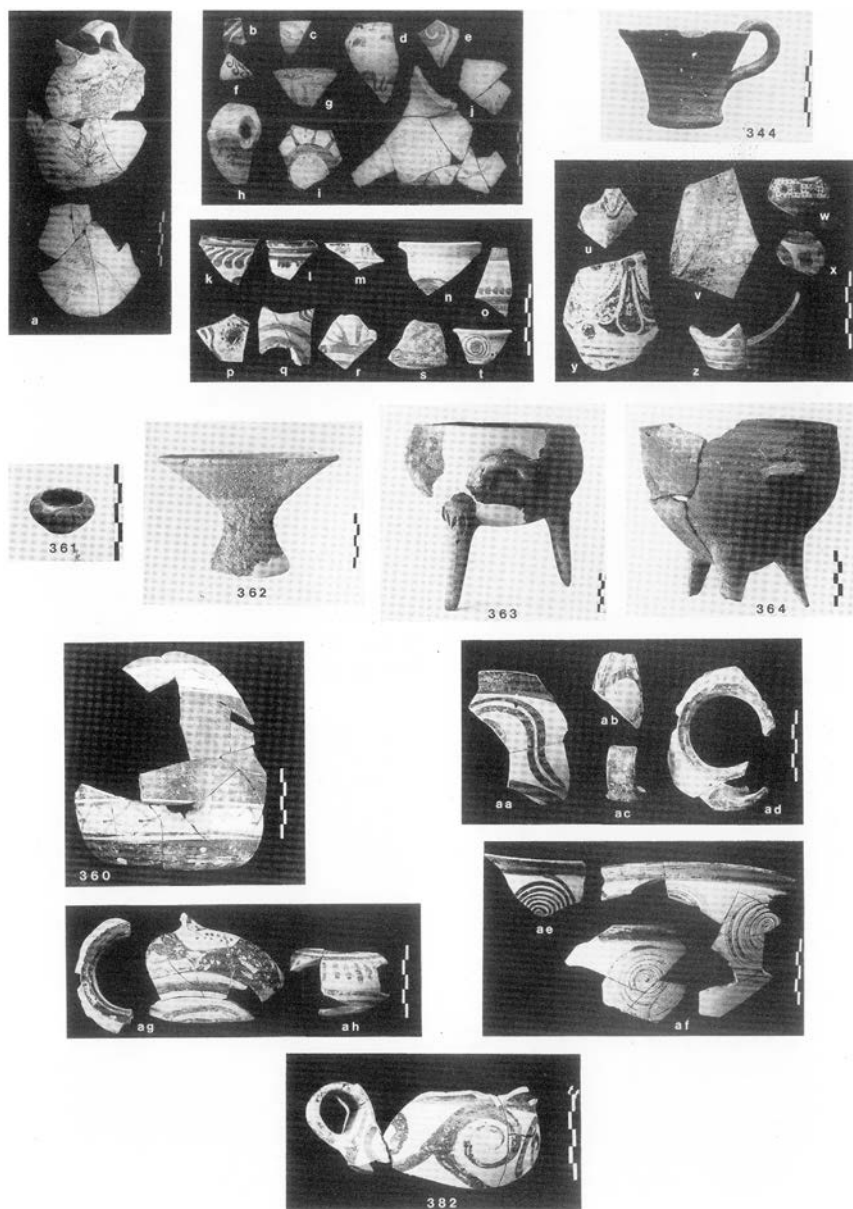


Figure 4.15 Ayia Irini: Cretan pottery imports among finds from room 16 (after W. W. Cummer and E. Schofield, with contributions by S. Andreou. *Keos III. Ayia Irini: House A*. Mainz: von Zabern: pl. 53).

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visible in the Cyclades by MM III/LM IA. The development of the FN-EBA Anatolian 'hot' zone, with its diverse backflows of people and goods, formed a vital grounding for this. I have noted the economic importance of local distribution networks for Cretanising pottery, such as that centred on Kos, by MM II (see recently Vitale 2016). Their pattern of operation indicates strong endemic-type links with coastal Anatolian groups. These networks brought Anatolian pottery imports into the MM III/LM IA cemetery at Ialysos/Trianda on Rhodes, where Cretan imports and local fine wares referencing Cretan styles were also consumed (Girella 2005). Most burials at the large site of Trianda were in pithoi, an ordinary interment form current in MM-LM IA Crete. Yet the graves are placed close to/intermingled with houses, in a pattern never seen on Crete and most reminiscent of the EB III-MB II southern Aegean mainland and parts of coastal Anatolia. Such diverse sets of connections partly mark off the southeast from the south-central Aegean, notwithstanding the regions' clearly related sorts of interest in, and contacts with, Cretan prestige culture. Recent excavation at the Trianda settlement shows a marked growth in size by LM IA (with hints of a typical site-wide cultural shift in the late MBA, including a rise in Cretan imports: Marketou 2014: 18). A central building with many features paralleled in Cretan elite architecture is dated MM II-III. The rest of the wealthy LM IA town had numerous and high-level Crete-associated wealth features recalling those at Akrotiri, including extensive use of fresco painting. The central zone contained concentrated materials for specialised gold jewellery-/ornament-making and the working of boars-tusk ivory in Crete-associated fashions (Marketou 2007; 2014; citing 195 boars' tusks and thousands of gold foil fragments). Nearby, LB I deposition of bronze figurines on a hilltop suggests reference to elements of Cretan cult practice, while departing creatively from the actual details of that practice, particularly in the stressing of the wealth dimension (which also occurred in the other island cases discussed above).

The above review highlights strong contrasts in Crete-linked cultural practice even within the small south Aegean area. Yet it also points up strongly- (and surely consciously) shared features, suggesting that the new movement relationships involved were partly similar in nature. Both a local contextual *and* a systemic view seem vital to understanding the reception and impact of movement at this time. For example, though much importance has traditionally been attached to architectural forms as a travelling/imposed ethnocultural trait (see Barber 1984: 181; Branigan 1984), the existence of spatial/functional zoning within relevant sites, as well as contrasts between sites, suggest that architecture cannot be separated meaningfully from wider site context and history. The personal connections and economic drivers/effects associated with uptake of Crete-linked innovations like the potter's wheel and stone vase-making stress the good access and high receptivity of south Aegean communities to Cretan practice. Yet we can also recognise strong selectivity in uptake and the inability/unwillingness of local elites (or Cretan elites themselves) to maintain absolute control over

Cretanising consumption or to replicate highest-level Cretan practice. These aspects of cultural experience and change linked to recently intensified movement are often sidelined, both in traditional models of direct control of the islands from Crete and recent ones focused on depersonalised, arm's-length emulation of Cretan culture by island communities. I suggest the evidence requires us to attribute agency in the important changes of this period to people with a diversity of origins, including Cretan ones, and to recognise the force of change as embedded in certain kinds of objects/object flows more than others, with no smooth, standard or equal process of cultural shift.

Movement in the south Aegean at this time was not necessarily deeply socially transformative *per se*, though it did facilitate significant opportunities for growth. Factors of scale and historical background worked against state-type transformations in island settings. This contrasts markedly with the scenario on the Aegean mainland in the same period, discussed below. In Crete itself, social and political change was pushed by the south Aegean growth phenomenon, but we can assume neither a smooth island-wide trajectory of change, nor a straightforward route by which Knossos became the main beneficiary of, or directly dominated, the south Aegean sphere of movement. Though Knossos' exceptional resourcing and stability surely helped to extend the reach and ambition of Cretan procurement over time, this need not have translated directly into an increasing proportion of Knossians in south Aegean communities. The history of multiply-centred overseas activity based on Crete, and the likely integration of diverse Crete-linked groups within island settlements, surely restricted the practicability of/rewards from major 'injections' of Knossian settlers in the south Aegean from LM IA.⁸ Inequalities of power/influence did clearly harden over time, however. In LM IA, there was very little chance (or reason) for groups on the south Aegean islands to opt completely out of the Cretan prestige consumption sphere, with its established strong Knossian reference points and links.

Crete-linked movement and the Aegean mainland

The MH I–II mainland was a context of limited political and economic complexity. Centralised organisation of agriculture, raw materials supply or specialised/long-distance commodity procurement and manufacture were all lacking. We see marked changes in this regard from MH III (c. 1800–1700 BC). State emergence occurred in several south mainland regions, in a context of growing consumption of exotic cultural practices and goods with wide links – to Crete, the Near East and further afield. Cretan-type features and practices are especially prominent. Yet through the entire preceding EB–MB period, the large and well-resourced south mainland zone, closely adjacent to and accessible from Crete and the actively Crete-linked south Aegean islands, had *lacked* takeup of Cretan or Near Eastern palatial culture in any context of significant growth. This lack of contemporaneous sociocultural change in

closely proximate regions connected by 'endemic' kinds of movement challenges models of movement as a constantly/inevitably transformative force. Older diffusion-centred models recognised movement as important in socio-cultural change on the mainland from late MH, but could only frame it in terms of a one-off period of conquest/dominance of MH mainland groups by Cretan state bodies on the move (Evans 1921: 721; 192 8: 571; 1935: 283; Wace and Blegen 1918; 1939; see also recently Bouzek 1996; Watrous 1993). Models reacting to these diffusionist perspectives have, conversely, stressed internal factors behind the generation of mainland complexity, minimising any role for movement in transformative change. In the current wider context of available data, these accounts often seem incomplete (Broodbank 2004: 48). Some recent narratives of change do recognise a transformative role for population movement, but remain tangled up with the issue of using movement as a straightforward/comprehensive explanation, rather than going on to develop nuanced models of agency and experience in movement (e.g. Broodbank and Kiriatzi 2007).

Recent scholarship's focus on mainland social processes means the MH–LH period can now be examined as an active context of change, rather than viewed as a generically undeveloped background for the inherently transformative arrival of immigrants (see e.g. Philippa-Touchais et al. 2010). The EB I–II record shows no regular/intense pattern of direct contact between mainland communities and Crete – the Cycladic network apparently acted as the main interface in this regard. In EB III, many mainland coastal communities developed specific cultural and trade alignments tending away from those seen on Crete, and further adapted established practices (e.g. in burial), which had characterised the EB nexus area (including some coastal parts of Anatolia) and had little to do with Crete. Recent work on pottery chronology and provenance suggest new levels of Crete-linked contacts and related consumption in the south Peloponnese as early as MM IA, just as emergent palatial states on Crete were developing (Rutter and Zerner 1984). The first main takeup of Cretan and Crete-linked pottery imports on the mainland appears at a slightly later date, mainly at formerly nexus-linked sites which had endemic-type movement connections into the south Aegean network. The large site of Lerna, with its early Kythera-made Cretanising imports, is a prime example. The actual Cretan imports appearing here include both fine wares and transport vessels, as well as loomweights, suggesting a range of goods directly accessible by this sizeable community, rather than trickle-down from a Cycladic core. MM II–III ivory seals found in burials at other southern mainland settlements like Midea and Ayios Stephanos match those in high-intensity nodes of contact in the south Aegean islands and further afield (Pini 2005). The Attic coasts, and those as far north as Thessaly, also see new Cretan prestige imports, including stone vases, by MM IB–II.

New patterns of Crete-linked practice, linked to various social changes, become visible by MH III – again especially at southern mainland. These include Ayios Stephanos, a large hilltop settlement c. 2 km from the Laconian coast, already linked in to Cretan fineware import systems from MM IA, probably often via Kythera (Zerner 2008; Figures 4.16; 4.17).

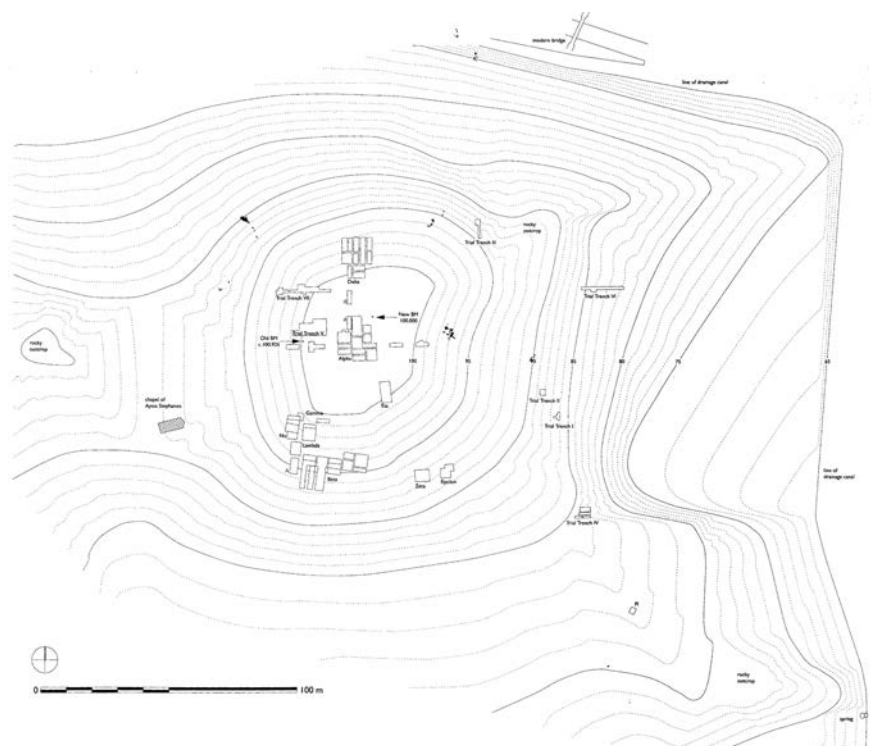


Figure 4.16 Ayios Stephanos summit: site plan showing excavation trenches 1959–77 (after W. Taylour and R. Janko, 2008. *Ayios Stephanos: excavations at a Bronze Age and medieval settlement in southern Laconia*. London: British School at Athens: fig. iii).

Drawing by C. K. Williams III and Diane Fortenberry. By permission of R. Janko and the British School at Athens.

The site had an MH tradition of intra-settlement cist burial (with some differentiative practices, including distinguished child burials and elements of funerary feasting (Taylour and Janko 2008a). A new type of approach to burial for a very small number of residents becomes evident in MH III (as in contemporary south Messenia, at settlements like Voidokoilia and Ano Englianos [Blegen et al. 1973; Korres 1978]). This involved individual interment in a new kind of small, spatially discrete and usually partially rock-cut circular domed tomb with entrance corridor (dromos). These tombs recall the large communal tholoi of EM–MM Crete in parts of their form. In other parts, such as the dromos, the contemporary MM–LM rock-cut chamber and tunnel tombs of Crete and parts of the south Aegean are echoed.

At emerging major settlements like Mycenae in the Argolid and Ano Englianos in Messenia, another form of locally-embedded, highly visible differentiative practice, with a strongly male-focused and extremely wealthy emphasis,

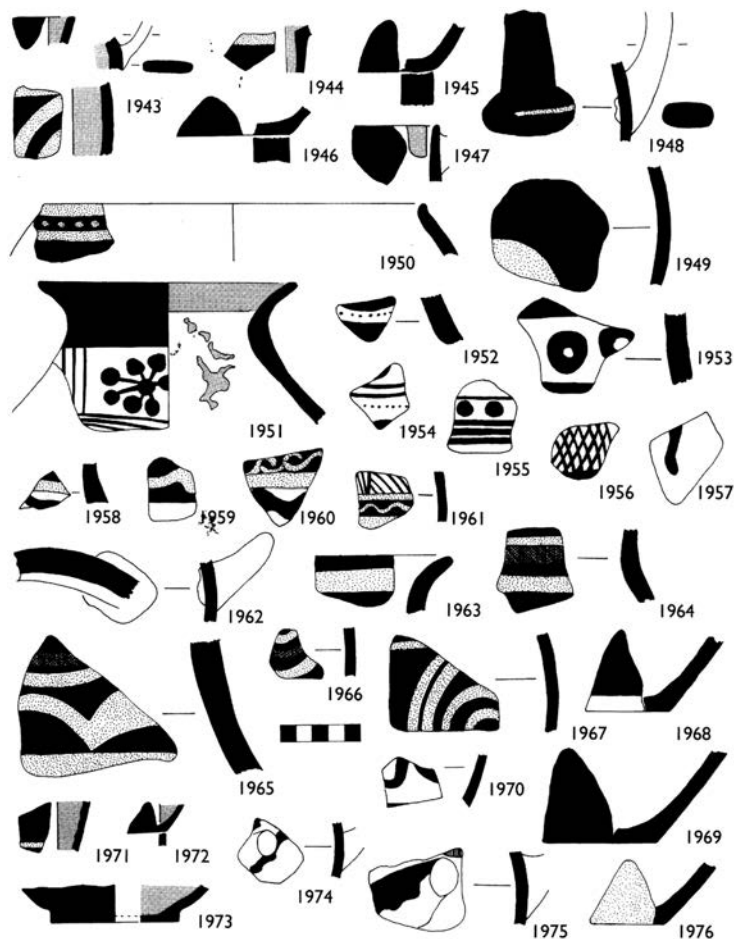


Figure 4.17 Fine pottery assemblages, showing the advent of Cretan imports and styles, from (a) MH I late and (b) MH II–III Ayios Stephanos, Area Nu (after W. Taylour and R. Janko, 2008. *Ayios Stephanos: excavations at a Bronze Age and medieval settlement in southern Laconia*. London: British School at Athens: figs. 5.37; 5.43).

Drawing by C. Zerner. By permission of R. Janko and the British School at Athens.

emerged by MH III. This was the use of shaft graves in a circular formation with above-ground markers/enclosures. In making a strong statement about group identity in the landscape the practice recalled aspects of the locally-established pattern of placing distinctive burials under a round tumulus, as well as echoing the monumental qualities of the *tholos* tomb type). In some cases these burials were adjacent to, or overlapped in use with, early tholoi (see Blegen et al. 1973: 95–134; Figures 4.18; 4.19). Sometimes, *tholos*-form tombs were built over shafts (Dickinson 1989; Iakovidis 1981; Petrakis 2010).

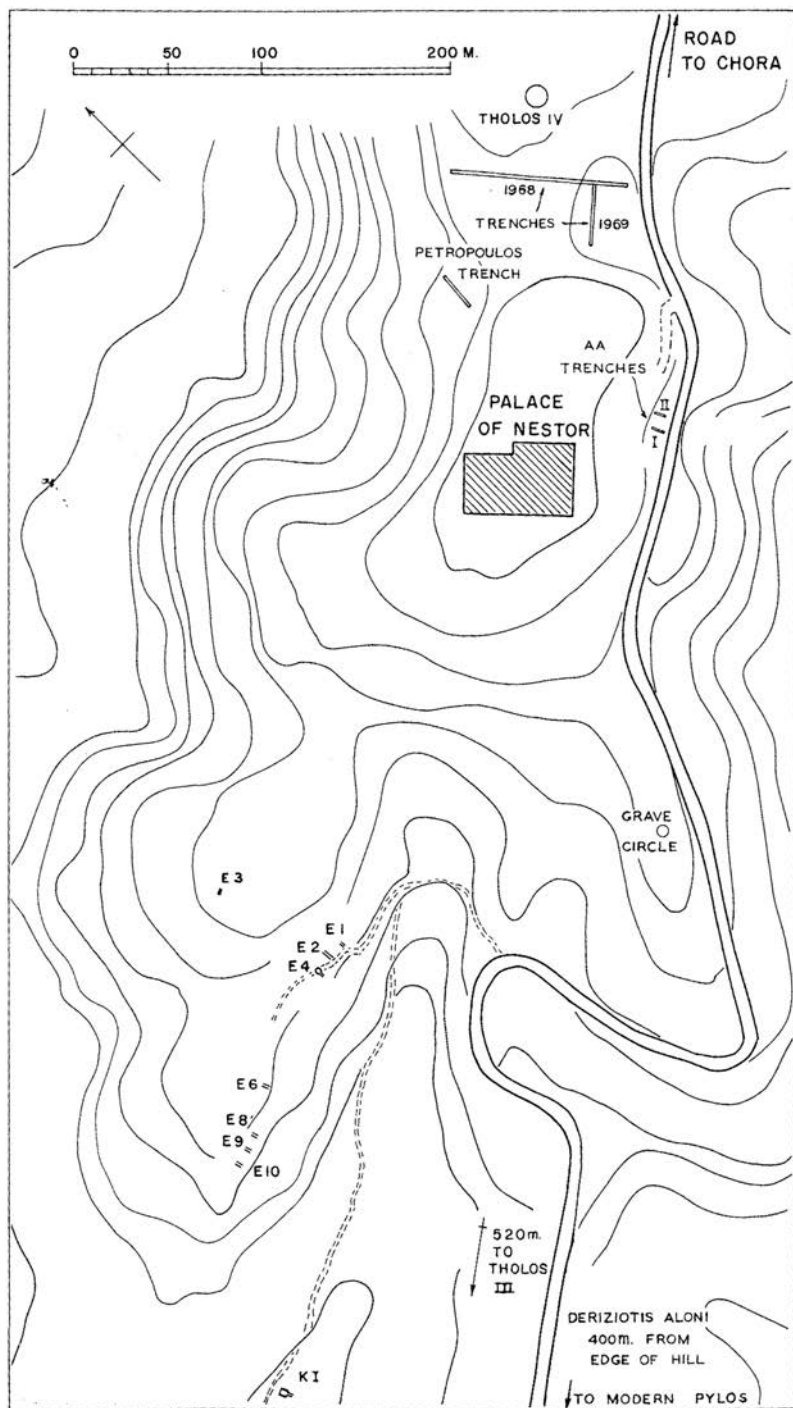


Figure 4.18 Ano Englianos: map of palace site and surrounding area (after C. Blegen, M. Rawson and M. L. Lang, 1973. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in western Messenia. Volume III*: Princeton: Princeton University Press: fig. 301).

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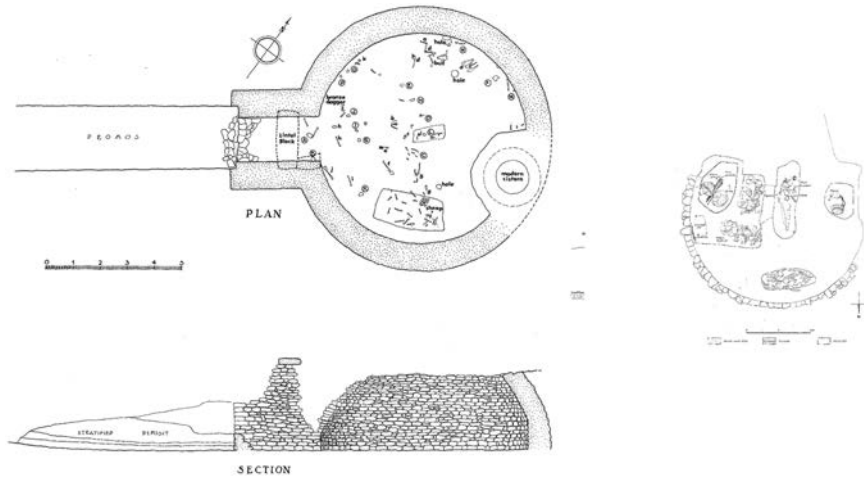


Figure 4.19 Early mainland grave circles and tholoi: plans of Tholos III and grave circle at Ano Englianios, site of the LBA palace of Pylos (after C. Blegen, M. Rawson and M. L. Lang, 1973. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in western Messenia. Volume III*: Princeton: Princeton University Press: figs. 319–20; 327).

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Associated locally-embedded practices include the making of a *tholos* at Voidokoilia, Messenia, into a tumulus-like mound over time (Figure 4.20). Several tholoi, like those at Galatas Megali Magoula and Vagenas in Messenia, continued existing burial traditions in their grave goods, such as the use of local Matt-Painted pottery, while *also* making new levels of use of metal items, many of new types (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010: 70–1). Similar new departures in the use of metal occur elsewhere in the burial record – for example, at the MH III Tomb A23, Ayios Stephanos, in conjunction with deposition of Cretan and Cretanising value goods (Janko 2008). A late MH rock-cut tomb with unusual built superstructure placed under a tumulus at Lavrion (Thorikos) contains a new range of metal wealth, as do prominent tumuli at Marathon and other Attic sites (Dickinson 1989: 133). New scales of exploitation of the fine stone resources in the Peloponnese are suggested by the deposition of Cretanising vessels made in these luxury materials in a number of south mainland graves. We see new levels of funerary systemisation at many mainland sites by MH III (e.g. the emergence of large cemeteries at Argos: see Papadimitriou 2010; Shelton 2010).

A new degree of social differentiation was clearly operating at a number of levels: spatially, but also in terms of group definition – with males the main focus – and in wealth terms. The burial changes occurred within existing



a)



b)

Figure 4.20 Aerial views of Tumulus A at Voidokoilia and Ayios Ioannis tumulus at Papoulia (after G. Korres, 2012. Middle Helladic tumuli in Messenia: ethnological conclusions. In *Proceedings of the International Conference held in Udine, May 15th–18th 2008*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux. Paris: Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée: 585–96: figs. 1 and 2).

settlements or in their close vicinity, rather than in a new settlement pattern. Positioning, well-grounded in local knowledge, was used to give the new social statements local resonance. The first Mycenae grave circle was located in an established burial zone dating back to MH I. At Voidokoilia, where the *tholos* was built over part of the earlier MH settlement, local embedding was literal.

There is little or no indication in all this that the new burials were those of incomers from other parts of the Aegean, or that the new burial modes were introduced from outside as complete packages. Yet these changes have in the past been the subject of strong Crete-based diffusionist/culture-historical models (and as such have elicited strong later reaction: e.g. Dickinson 1977; 1984: 117; 1989; Hood 1984; Voutsaki 1999). The *tholos* has been posited as a direct import from Crete – its association with new kinds and amounts of grave goods with exotic (often Cretanising) associations being adduced in support. Yet there are clearly other ways of exploring the connection between the new practices and the contemporary intensification of Cretan contacts – whether through the notion of the ‘middle ground’/‘third space’ (Bhabha 1990; 1994; Fahlander 2007; White 2010) or by reference to ‘ontological politics’ – where the existing conceptual meanings/attributes of a cultural form are re-materialised and shifted in new kinds of practice (Law 2010; Martin 2005). As many anti-diffusionist accounts have pointed out, tholoi were no longer being built in Crete in this period. However, some existing EB tholoi in the island were used until at least MM III for ritual activity partly separated from burial, suggesting they retained a strong mnemonic and authoritative profile. In the context of increased interest in and access to Cretan prestige culture in the south Aegean at this time, we can see the *tholos* and related forms as potentially resonant in mainland social contexts at several levels: visibility, separation, monumentality, exoticness, *and* Cretanness. The mobilisation of any or all of these aspects of resonance could be extremely powerful in both the contemporary local context and the wider context of Crete-linked movement and prestige. Bundling the relationship as ‘hybridisation’ can wrongly suggest the accepted priority/direct imitation by mainland residents of a straightforward ‘original’ Cretan type. In fact, what seems to have been being materialised and circulated through local practice was a *new*, highly contextualised and fissile concept, able to be viewed and engaged with by groups of various statuses/origins. Local shifts in social outlook appear to have been *enacted partly through new understandings or receptions* of Crete-linked goods and practices. Change in the general volume of movement of people to and from Crete was implicit in this process, but is not an explanation in itself.

Envisaging encounters

What, then, was the nature of interactions between Cretan and mainland groups in this period of change? Many mainland sites at which ‘exoticising’ kinds of differentiative practice appear by MH III/LH I adjoin small islands which were dynamically involved in the contemporary Crete-based growth and travel phenomenon (e.g. south Messenia – Kythera; Lavrion/

Thorikos – Kea; Attica – Aigina). Others are located on, or near, long southern coastlines easily accessible from the islands (e.g. Ayios Stephanos, Ano Englianos). In many such areas, regular interaction between island and mainland groups was well-established by the late MH period. Offshore communities thus potentially formed important arenas for intensified contact between Crete-based and mainland groups. Yet they show limited evidence for newly intensive and specific links with mainland communities by MH III. The limited scale of contemporary growth on the islands (partly due to their size and scattering) may be part of the explanation. A related factor may be the conceptual gulf across which island groups, with their closely shared histories and various networked linkages through the EB II/III crisis, looked at south mainland communities by this period. The size and setting of mainland coastal or near-coastal sites had allowed territorial growth following regional economic rebalancing in EB II/III: related, specific kinds of exchange and cultural alignments grew up between them during the MH period, as I discuss later in this chapter. These circumstances suggest that most small island communities (whether or not including people of Cretan descent/association) had no very clear social path for the development of mainland contacts.

By contrast, for groups based at the palatial Cretan polities, approaches to the mainland were more structurally secure/manageable, and potentially more rewarding. I will argue that Crete-based initiatives lay at the core of changes in movement affecting the mainland by MH III. The kinds of uptake of Cretanising goods and practices seen in mainland communities at this time point not only to strong local embedding and impetus, but also to close contact with very high-level Crete-based groups. However, as with other aspects of Crete-linked activity abroad, evidence for large-scale concerted/uniform action undertaken from Cretan centres is lacking. Indications of direct settlement on the mainland by Crete-linked groups of the likely socially mixed/integrated type seen on south Aegean islands are also absent. I think in this light that we should visualise smallish well-resourced, highly targeted groups, based at Cretan palatial centres, as pushing the frontiers of engagement with mainland societies – the latter being highly aware of the contemporary Aegean social discourse which put Cretan palatial elites at the top of the contemporary social tree. There is certainly no evidence for unmanageable competition in Crete likely to have pushed socially marginal groups to these kinds of risky enterprises.

If Crete-based travellers on the mainland acted in highly targeted, structured ways, we should also recognise the potential channelling of interactions by mainland communities. Recent research highlights remarkably stable and sophisticated mainland-based procurement systems during MH. The community on the island of Aegina, between Attica and the Argolid, circulated Cretan goods (but was much less exclusively orientated to the Cretanising goods circulation/consumption sphere than some Cycladic settlements). The group peaked in wealth and complexity in late MH III (Figure 4.21). Its fortunes seem to have been closely linked to engagement with high-level

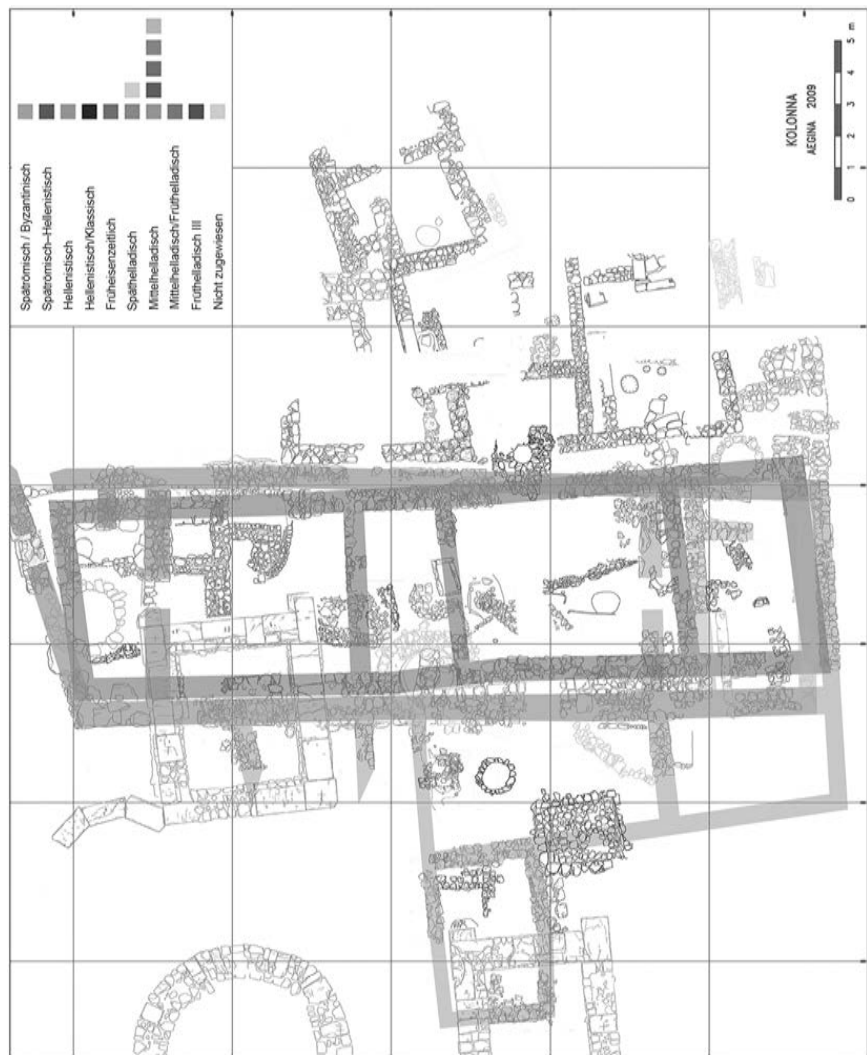


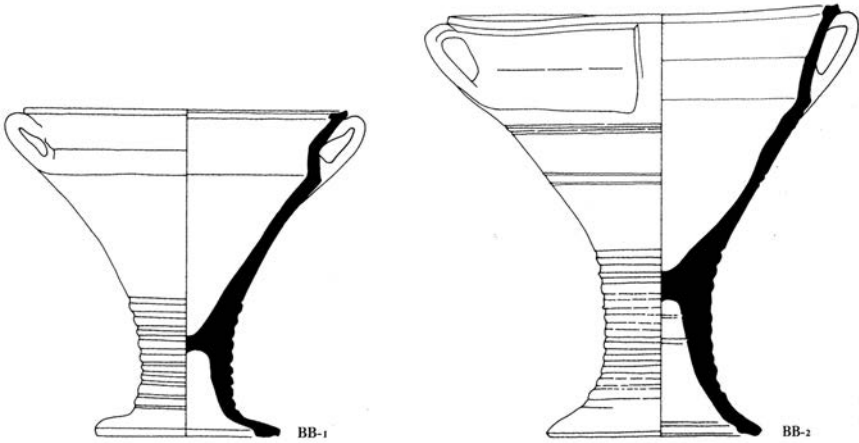
Figure 4.21 Aegina Kolonna: plan of large Middle Bronze Age building (after W. Gauss, M. Lindblom and R. Smetana, 2011. The Middle Helladic large building complex at Kolonna. A preliminary view. In W. Gauss, M. Lindblom, R.A.K. Smith and J. C. Wright, eds., *Our cups are full: pottery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the occasion of his 65th birthday*. Oxford: Oxbow Books; 76–87; fig 2).

By permission of W. Gauss.

mainland groups. At the major settlement of Kolonna, animal bones suggest the inhabitants apparently undertook prestigious hunting activities in nearby Attica: they used a mainland-type shaft form for a wealthy burial during MH II. Finds from recent excavations suggest active and ambitious mainland-linked trade here through the MH period, without heavy Cretan or wide Cycladic involvement (Felten et al. 2003; 2007; Forstenpointner et al. 2010; Gauss and Kiriati 2011; Gauss and Smetana 2010; Gauss et al. 2011; Lindblom 2007; Niemeier 1995). During MH, fine Aeginetan wares exported to other parts of the mainland were often accompanied by pots from the Argolid and Attica, showing the extended, intermediarised engagement of Aeginetan groups with a number of mainland regions. Aeginetan wares quite often accompanied early Cretan imports on the mainland, though alternative Crete-linked routes and procurement networks for these clearly operated.⁹ By MH III, various fine drinking/dining-related pottery forms were produced in and moving regularly through mainland-centred networks, alongside Cycladic and Cretan imports and local versions of Cretanising styles: e.g. Grey Minyan ware from Boeotia (not found in the south Aegean) appears in the Argolid (Crouwel 2010; Demakopoulou and Divari-Volakou 2010: 37; Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010; Sarri 2007; Figure 4.22). MH mainland products could also be accessed at some remoter centres in the wider region, such as Troy. Shared references in ceremonial drinking practices and equipment surely supported such connections, which had links back into EB III alignments. Mainland metals (mainly from Lavrion) were regularly moved through central and south Aegean routes in EB–MB III, and Cycladic copper got to mainland sites. In sharp contrast to the Cretan sphere, though, metals and their exchange were *not* at the forefront of any social differentiation system in the mainland for most of the MH period. They are rare in MH contexts generally (notably in the Peloponnese) and seem to have had a limited social role (see Kayafa 2010).

These circumstances suggest that Cretan ‘ways in’ to closer relations with mainland elites by MH III were not based straightforwardly on the supply of fine pottery, the opening up of new interaction routes, or the development of specialist resources/technologies. Rather, very high-level prestige items and practices circulated in a developing *new social/political context of contact*. Cretan polities had something close to state dynasties by this time; by contrast, the evidence on the MH mainland is for tribal societies with no institutionalised framework of rulership. Voutsaki suggests the increasing differentiation of mainland wealth/status groups after MH I; the general expansion of house size at Asine, for example, may indicate the consolidation of clan power (Voutsaki 2004; 2010). But clear patterns of wealth- or storage-based differentiation are lacking until MH III. Several extended kin groups may have held power within large communities, with a hereditary component. Tombs were the main area of social display, at a fairly low-key level. Tumuli were used (mostly at larger sites) to highlight groups of

MH IIB



LH IA



Figure 4.22 MB/LB I mainland pottery of distinctive regional types, moving in complex mainland-centred networks: Grey Minyan ware. Scale 1:6 (after S. Dietz, 1991. *The Argolid at the transition to the Mycenaean Age*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark: fig. 61).

By permission of S. Dietz.

extended kin-type burials as early as MH I, but the EBA tradition of cist and jar burials in or near settlements was standard for most of the population. Kalamata Kastroulia in Messenia illustrates the tumulus pattern well: a 4–5 m high mound, 10 m in diameter, was associated with disturbed EH material and thus linked into a long-established community (Rambach 2010).

The inclusion of a child burial points to some kind of inherited-rank system. At MH II Lerna and Asine, some cist graves and pithoi (often set apart for children by MH II) received wealth-distinctive treatment and coexisted with tumuli (Voutsaki 1999; 2004; 2010). The overall lack of intensive metals consumption supports this picture of social power-building as not based heavily on the circulation of value resources – though the rich shaft grave on Aegina shows that the ability and desire to concentrate wealth goods did exist in some special economic and social contexts. Voutsaki (2010) suggests that the lack of concentrated wealth deposition in the mainland sphere reflects strong social rules about power representation – with the strongest social emphasis being placed on clan belonging. The fine wares appearing regularly in MH tombs seem likely to have been used to emphasise/enact belonging in small higher-level groups through a drinking ceremony. There is marked regional variation in such practice through most of MH, with no standard model of ceremonial activity or standard associated equipment (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 33–6; Rutter 2001: 134).

As a wide range of imported or exoticising goods, styles and practices referencing Crete and the east Mediterranean appeared on the mainland by MH III, *all* seem to have been taken up at the top end of the social spectrum and in highly specific contexts, especially burial display. This allowed mainland elites to define and represent themselves very rapidly and starkly during MH III–LH I, as discussed further below, and is in marked contrast to the patterns we have seen in the insular south Aegean. I suggest in context that the main pattern supporting this development (working in conjunction with direct and indirect access to the developing Aegean trade sphere) was selective, high-level contact with Cretans, probably focused around relatively short-length visits by small groups and the ceremonialised exchange of high-value moveable items. Already-prominent locals with a range of resources at their disposal apparently built consumption of a rich ‘slice’ of Cretan prestige culture in rapid and exclusive ways, rather than being equipped (or pressured) to share that culture or associated wealth in a downward social direction. During the earlier MH period southern mainland communities had not been cut off from Cretan prestige systems, nor had they been inherently unable to build economically on contact with them. Potentially self-aggrandising power groups on the mainland seem to have been aware of wider engagement opportunities, but to have seen no need/useful way to directly plug into them (e.g. through imitative pottery distribution networks) in the way island communities did. The targeted kind of interaction I have reconstructed, apparently rooted in Cretan elite initiatives, offered new and special opportunities in this regard.

The *rapidity* of change from MH III appears to have been tied strongly into the context and nature of mainland social systems, rather than being a straightforward result of the new movement/contact types affecting the area. Elites in MH mainland Greece were well-prepared for incipient stratification – sitting at a multidirectionally accessible location, with large populations and known raw materials sources at their disposal. They had

some stable differentiative structures in place and engaged with established, diverse contact/exchange routes over a large region (Shelmerdine 2001: 340). As they entered at the highest levels into the contemporary regional prestige consumption/generation sphere, their opportunities for growth gathered quickly. At the same time, their local historical background, which had involved limited development of social mobility, meant they could exercise considerable control over social access to value goods from the very beginning of the process (see Voutsaki 1999). This is highlighted by the fact that mainland procurement links started to reach beyond Crete into the wider Mediterranean (often apparently through separate networks) at the very same time that Cretan-mainland links were intensifying, and in general connection with the wealth/power-generating process this stimulated. Deliberate and early choices were apparently being made by mainland elites – to represent and aggrandise themselves in some *contrasting/enhanced* ways to those on Crete – even as they accessed many new goods and practices through movement in Crete-linked networks and direct interaction with Cretan elites.

The evidence for this is well known. Deposits in the Mycenae shaft graves, reflecting the extreme and rapid shifts in south mainland elites' procurement, manufacturing, consolidation and self-representation, show features and techniques unknown in contemporary Crete, such as bronze weapons inlaid with silver and gold in the niello technique (best-paralleled in rich Levantine centres like Byblos from the nineteenth century BC), alongside numerous Cretan prestige imports in various materials, and early local products indicating close relationships with specialists based/trained in Cretan polities (Dickinson 1977: 67; Foster 1981; Hood 1980; Muhly 1980; Rehak and Younger 2001: 431–2; Figures 4.23; 4.24). Balkan connections are indicated in the appearance of amber jewellery consumption (the first possible trade of Baltic amber into the east Mediterranean, perhaps via Aegean mainland exchange contexts, is indicated at this period: cf. Mukherjee et al. 2008). The display of Balkan-type metal horse-harness in rich graves, enhancing/representing masculine power associations in conjunction with a variety of weapons, lacks any Cretan parallel (Harding 2005). The fortified cities depicted on the silver Siege Rhyton recall imagery from the MBA southern Levant, with no parallel on Crete or in Cretan art, even while the form of the vessel derives from one well-established in Crete (Evans 1930: 89–106; Laffneur 1985; Hooker 1967). Emerging direct connections between mainland groups and Levantine and Balkan/Anatolian trade systems and centres help to explain this new and consciously, creatively hybridised range of practice.

Mainland elites' rapid wealth accumulation seems significantly powered by a new volume of (local) metals extraction and use: some of the above-mentioned prestige items highlight this. This was evidently pushed not by any major new technology/resource awareness, but by the growth of new consumption and procurement arenas, bringing mainland elites quickly to the 'big table' of interregional relations (Dickinson 1984: 116; Shelmerdine 2001). In this newly widened sphere of interaction, mainland elites' relationships with Crete-based groups and systems developed in very specific ways. Gold signet rings of the type used in the very highest-level Cretan palatial



Figure 4.23 Niello daggers from Mycenae and Pylos, part of the National Archaeological Museum collection in Athens (after an image in the University of Minnesota online image database (<http://dcl.elevator.umn.edu>)).



Figure 4.24 Silver 'Siege Rhyton' from the Mycenae shaft graves, showing an attack on a walled town: photograph and detail drawing. Part of the National Archaeological Museum collection in Athens (after an image from <http://brewminate.com/the-shaft-graves-of-mycenae>).

contexts are found in the Mycenae Shaft Graves and in tombs at Elateia, Vapheio and Kalapodi (Figure 4.25). Such objects, never seen in the south Aegean insular network, confirm peer-type contact with very high-ranking Cretans and early interest on the part of mainland groups in using such symbolic items in a context of closely shared understanding and reference – even as other seal forms reflect developing local traditions (Krzyszkowska 2005).



Figure 4.25 Gold signet rings from Mycenae (after G. E. Mylonas, 1966. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: fig. 206).

Visits to Crete, developing familiarity with Cretan practice on the part of mainland power groups, also seem indicated by activities such as the foundation by LH I of a mountaintop cult site at Epidavros (the later sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas) over an older (EH) settlement on the Saronic Gulf coast. This site shows a notably large deposition of metal objects, including a rhyton and sword (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 63; Watrous 1993). The ceremonial mode seems to adapt aspects of Cretan peak sanctuary practice (deposition of animal figurines and animal sacrifice/consumption) in a special kind of wealth/prestige-focused environment. Partly similar sites on the contemporary Aegean islands, already discussed, are similarly distinguished from Cretan hilltop sanctuaries by the deposition of bronze objects, but lack large wealth items of the type seen here.

As mainland states consolidated, there are unique indications of direct access to Cretan practice at palatial elite level: 'mason's marks' (deliberately incised identification signs carved on cut blocks used in prestige architecture) found on early monumental tombs and buildings at major sites are exactly matched on Crete. These suggest direct and detailed experience of the practice of palatial Cretan/Crete-trained craftspeople, including, perhaps, the latter's advice on/involvement in these projects in person (Hood 1984: 36–7; Nelson 2001: 180–205). The plan of one of the earliest monumental buildings at an emerging south mainland centre (the Menelaion near Sparta) has no parallel in the small Aegean islands. It seems to build on long-established mainland regional traditions like the EH 'corridor' buildings, while many aspects of the plan and construction features also reference Cretan prestige architecture (Shelmerdine 2001: 351).

Across the Aegean, 'peer' receptions of travellers at this time often seem likely to have involved ceremonial drinking, with the vessels used becoming highly evocative signifiers of sociopolitical status and alignment: variants of the practice date back to EB or even FN. In MH, the limited evidence (mostly from graves) suggests that mainland drinking ceremonies had relatively intimate contexts: early Cretan elite visitors received in this mode seem likely to have been symbolically included in a small pre-eminent group. High-status mainlanders visiting MM–LM I Crete, in contrast, were exposed to collective versions of formal drinking, such as the conical cup ceremony (which impressively stressed membership of a large institutional unit, often in large public spaces), as well as to more intimate/elite-focused ceremonial settings (Girella 2007; 2008: 167–72; Hatzaki 2011; Letesson and Vansteenhuyse 2006; Letesson and Driessen 2008; Rutter 2004).

As intensified mainland–Cretan interaction stimulated new kinds of prestige consumption, the forms of the objects used in these socially potent spheres are likely to have developed their own powerful agency – irrespective of who made, used or transported them. By LH I, both Cretan and mainland rich graves often contained versions of the large mainland-type stemmed, two-handled drinking vessel – a form which had long been exchanged over distance in the mainland zone. Such vessels are shown as being used in elite ceremonial on the LM IA Campstool Fresco from the palace of

Knossos (Hood 2000: 205; Shelmerdine 2001: 355). In the newly developing economic context, the material of such vessels was often shifted into the emerging mainland-centred prestige realm of solid silver or gold, or given prestigious Cretan-type complex painted decoration. Established Cretan cup and jug forms, with their own identity/prestige associations, were replicated and adapted in the same context; for example, precious-metal versions of conical cups and of an adapted ('Vapheio') type of handled cup were notable inclusions in the high-status mainland burials of MH III–LH I (Davis 1977; Rutter 2012: 80; Figures 4.26–4.28).

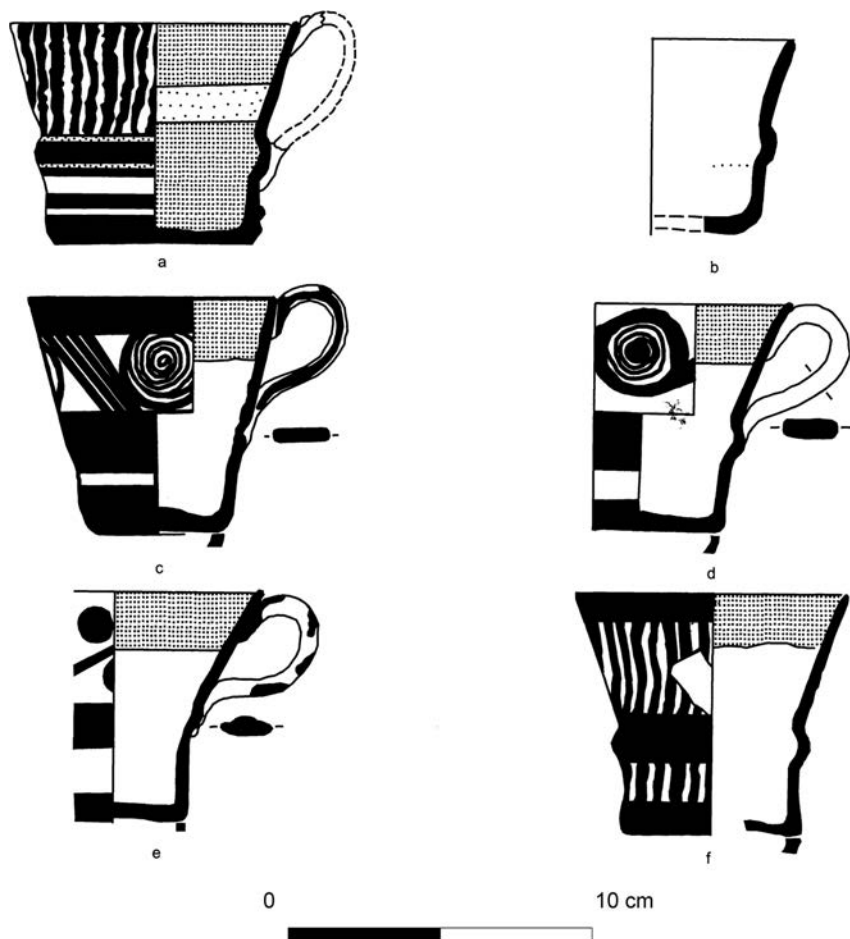


Figure 4.26 Fine cup types of Cretan, Kytheran and mainland manufacture, showing development of the 'Vaphcio' form: example (a) is from MM IIIB Knossos (after O.T.P.K. Dickinson, 2014. Revisited: the Kytheran connection. In D. Nakassis, J. Gulizio and S. A. James, eds., 2014. *Ke-ra-me-ja. Studies presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press: 3–14: fig. 1.1).

By permission of O.T.P.K. Dickinson.

MH IIIB



LH IA



LH IB



Figure 4.27 Metal goods, including new cup types, from male graves in Mycenae Grave Circle B (after S. Dietz, 1991. *The Argolid at the transition to the Mycenaean Age*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark: fig. 81).

By permission of S. Dietz.



Figure 4.28 Early kylikes in Crete (LM II tombs at Katsambas) (after S. Alexiou, 1967. *Ysterominoiki tafoi limenos Knossou (Katsamba)*. Athens: Archaialogikis Etaireias: pl. 25).

By permission of the Archaeological Society of Athens.

The fact that the new directions of growth in precious metals consumption remained strongly mainland-focused, despite these stylistic and conceptual crossovers, is illustrated by the large amounts of solid gold used in mainland vessels, contrasting with the regular use of tinned clay versions of the vessel forms discussed above (and of other luxury types) in LM I–II Crete (Alberti 2004: 133; Gillis 1997).

As complexity developed in mainland societies, no attempt was ever made to create a replica of Cretan social environments at mainland sites. Local growth followed its own distinct patterns, including the building of new strong economic links between different emerging mainland centres (visible, for example, in the late MH–LH I ceramic assemblage at Ayios Stephanos: Zerner 2008: 214). The cemetery of rock-cut chamber tombs for small family or individual burials, making various kinds of reference to preceding kinds of local cist cemeteries, as well as Cretan and island-developed tomb forms, was a rapidly-emerging and socially-adaptable feature of developing mainland polities (easily scalable up or down according to wealth; see Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 41–57). Site sizes increased, and settlement planning developed rapidly at emergent centres (see Demakopoulou and Divari-Volakou 2010; Shelmerdine 2001: 342–3; Shelton 2010). There was a spread of new small settlement around these locations, but nucleation also occurred, with small villages going out of use and re-zoning seen within existing large settlements (e.g. old burial/settlement areas at Mycenae and Tiryns became used solely for burials [Crouwel 2010; Maran 1995; Shelmerdine 2001: 342–4; Shelton 2010]). New sites also developed in ‘hot’ areas of interaction with the south Aegean network, indicating the strong interests of emergent mainland states in this sphere. Some (like Galatas Megali Magoula, near the offshore island of Poros in the Argolid) seem to have been fortified, suggesting new political assertion/preparedness for tension in this arena (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010; Maran 1995; Figure 4.29).

Language, script, ethnicity, movement

The interrelationship of the above factors is worth addressing at this point, given the nature of past scholarship on mainland cultural change at this period. Without engagement with and review of this debate, the legacies it has left to perspectives on the archaeological data will remain obscure – and sometimes obstructive. Older models often explained cultural change on the mainland at this period as the result of the arrival of a ‘Greek’ or ‘proto-Greek’ group from *outside* the Aegean (see for review Hall 2007b: 38–45; Renfrew 1987: 175). The idea of the MBA mainland as inherently culturally isolated/stagnant – which is now being significantly revised, as discussed above – bolstered the idea that immigration was a necessary factor in change. Various examples of the cultural shifts I have discussed above – from changes in fine pottery to the development of chariotry (as indicated by the deposition of horse equipment in burials) – were adduced in support (Blegen 1928; Childe 1915; Forsdyke 1914; Wace and Blegen 1918; for the assumed fixed association between horse/chariot introduction and moving Indo-European language groups, see Coleman 2000; Drews 1994; Renfrew 1987: 11–12; 57–8).¹⁰

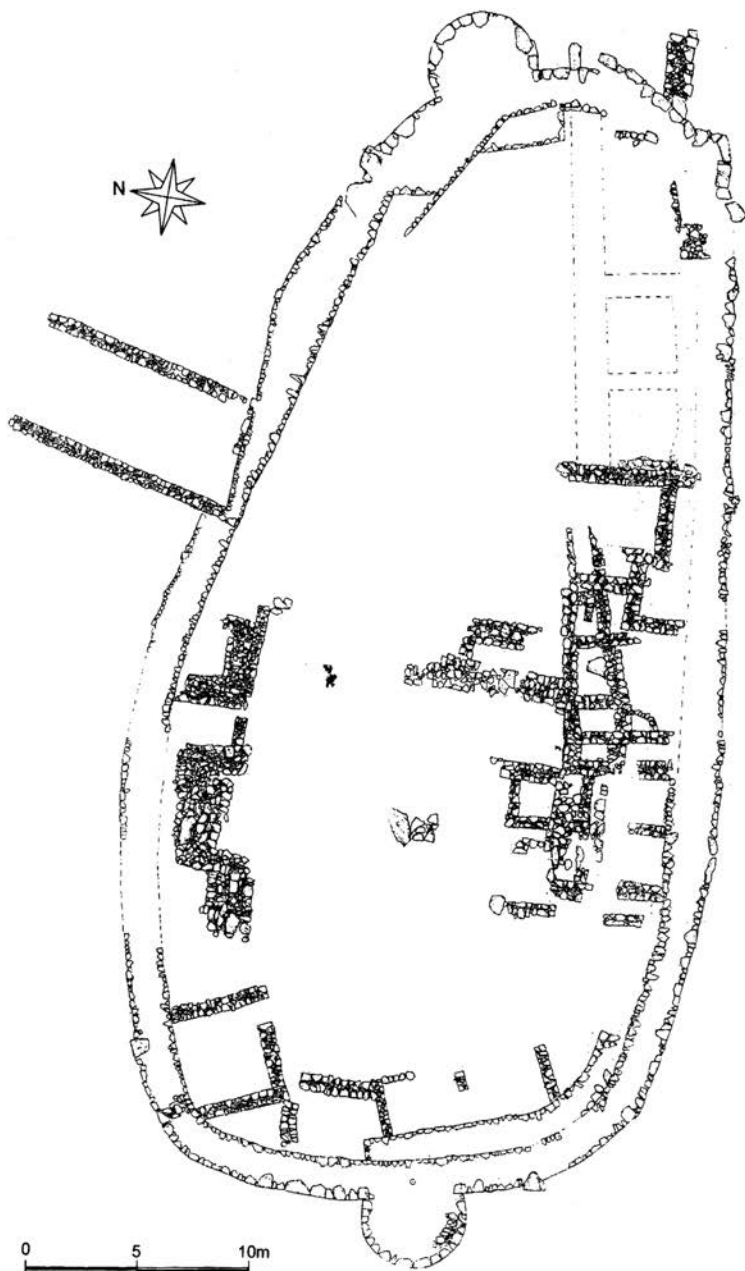


Figure 4.29 Galatas Megali Magoula: site plan (after E. Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou, 2010. The Middle Helladic establishment at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troezenia). In A. Philippa-Touchais, et al., 2010. *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'école française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes 8–12 mars 2006. BCH Supplements 52. Athènes: École française d'Athènes: 67–76: fig. 2).*

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Such models are usually at odds with the idea of Crete-linked movement as a straightforward driving factor in change. Some, indeed, react directly to assumptions of a Cretan 'origin' for mainland states. Yet the same culture-historical modes of reasoning have often been applied in both cases. A need is felt to supply a physical/ethnic origin point for the 'Mycenaean' civilisational package – which is seen as including both the development of mainland complex societies and the speaking of the Greek language first written down in the Linear B script in Cretan and mainland state contexts from the mid-fifteenth century BC [see Best 1973; Ventrìs and Chadwick 1957; Finkelberg 1997; 2005; Mallory 1997; Renfrew 1998: 240; Sarri 2010: 604; Wright 2010: 804]. The first known Aegean writers (Linear A/Hieroglyphic script users on MM–LM I Crete) used a non-Greek language (which belonged, like Greek, to the Indo-European group; Brown 1990; 1993; Duhoux 1998; 2004; Rehak and Younger 2001: 425).¹¹

One problem here is that like other kinds of culture history, language history cannot be straightforwardly equated to the history of movement (Sherratt and Sherratt 1988: 584). Decontextualised study of ancient language and script change can by its nature detect only a tiny proportion of the cultural and social shifts potentially associated with movement. Yet for reasons connected with the history of Classical archaeology in particular (as discussed in Chapter 2), language and script studies have been highly privileged in narratives of the ancient Aegean past. Another problem is that even if we were to accept certain selected other cultural change features of this period – like pottery, chariots and language – as reflecting the singular ethnic attributes of a new population moving into the mainland at this time, the arrival of incomers cannot on its own explain the nature of cultural and social change there as contextually analysed in the discussion above – change with strong local roots and involving a fully-articulated state formation trajectory. On top of this, it is difficult to imagine where the origins of an already complex Indo-European-speaking immigrant group might lie, if the south Levantine region (dominated at this period by non-Indo-European languages) and coastal Anatolia (with its partly Indo-European-speaking population, but continuous strong cultural and social links to Crete and the islands) are excluded. Though the Caucasus/Pontus/Caspian regions have in the past been suggested for the origins of 'the Greeks', such arguments are predicated on problematic assumptions, including the notion of a single original 'homeland' for all Indo-European languages; the equation of a single newly archaeologically-indicated feature (horse/chariot use) with immigration from regions where the use of horses is documented at earlier periods; and specific lines of reasoning about the relationship between language and other aspects of culture (Gimbutas 1973; Mallory 1992; 1994; 1997; Renfrew 1987: 14–15; 75–86 for discussion). The idea that an original 'Proto-Indo-European' language, and a homeland from which its speakers disseminated, is needed to explain the relationship of similar linguistic terms/practices/technologies adopted or documented at various times in regions where Indo-European languages are or have been spoken is increasingly seen as questionable (Anthony 1991; Renfrew 1987: 75–99).

Sociolinguistic and anthropological studies indicate that internally- or externally-borrowed linguistic terms (and adaptations of those terms) can be used to specify new cultural objects/concepts *at any point* in the latter's adoption process, and that such terms may shift in their application over time (Renfrew 1987: 80). Thus, for example, the fact that horse use is undocumented in the Aegean mainland until the early LBA but seen earlier in the Caucasus, and that the terms used for 'horse' are cognate within the Indo-European languages documented as spoken in both these areas at widely different periods, need not at all imply an original or prior 'homeland' for the language group in the former area over the latter; the terms could be first shared/adopted/transferred at any point in the history of horse use in each area. Much more/wider-ranging contextual evidence would be needed to prove any specific link.

Direct equation of spoken with written language when characterising regional populations is especially problematic in the present context. The first Aegean use of writing is closely linked to, and directly contemporary with, other aspects of prestige and palatial culture in MM IB–II Crete and their conscious relationships with forms and practices in the contemporary Near East. Linear A texts include a high number of Semitic loanwords: Renfrew (1998: 268) notes that foreign (mostly Semitic) loan words in Linear B, many apparently continuing directly from Linear A, often refer to high-prestige areas such as metalworking, music and bathing (Renfrew 1987: 112; Shelmerdine 2001: 354). In this context, it may not be valid to assume that either of the first Cretan scripts (Linear A and Cretan hieroglyphic) directly or fully transcribe the languages widely spoken in early palatial Crete, which I have previously suggested (Chapter 3) are most likely to have been rooted in early Anatolian language forms. The two scripts, showing a broadly north–south regional division but otherwise unpredictably scattered in use among palatial centres (with evidence for inter-readability), suggest either that somewhat different languages/dialects, scattered and replicated in an unusually discontinuous mosaic, were being transcribed (Finkelberg 2001; Morpurgo-Davies 1986; Olivier 1986: 387; Schoep 1999)¹² and/or that script was something partly separate from/layered on top of spoken language, and thus potentially highly manipulable (e.g. to underscore/define local political divisions). We can note, in this context, 1) the relatively easy and rapid decline of Cretan hieroglyphic as Linear A became the sole script used in Cretan administration during LM I, and 2) some use of Linear A in specialised funerary/ritual contexts at times after, or concurrent with, the adoption of Linear B (Schoep 1999: 273; 2002a: 20).

A partial analogy for the adoption of nonlocal script/language forms in administrative or elite contexts is the use of the (Semitic) Akkadian language and cuneiform script in late Bronze Age palatial documents across much of the Near East, including in non-Semitic language areas (Gzella 2014: 25–6). Another is the case of emerging elites in sixteenth-century BC Cyprus, who engaged with a number of Crete-linked goods and practices during the period of Linear A use (see below). These groups, whose own language is unlikely to have resembled that of contemporary Crete, developed a

syllabic script (Cypro-Minoan) with startling parallels to Linear A (twenty of twenty-two signs resemble those of Linear A: Chadwick 1979; Knapp 2013: 423; Masson 1973; Figure 4.30). The adoption of script at a limited social level in a period of emerging complexity helps to explain potentially

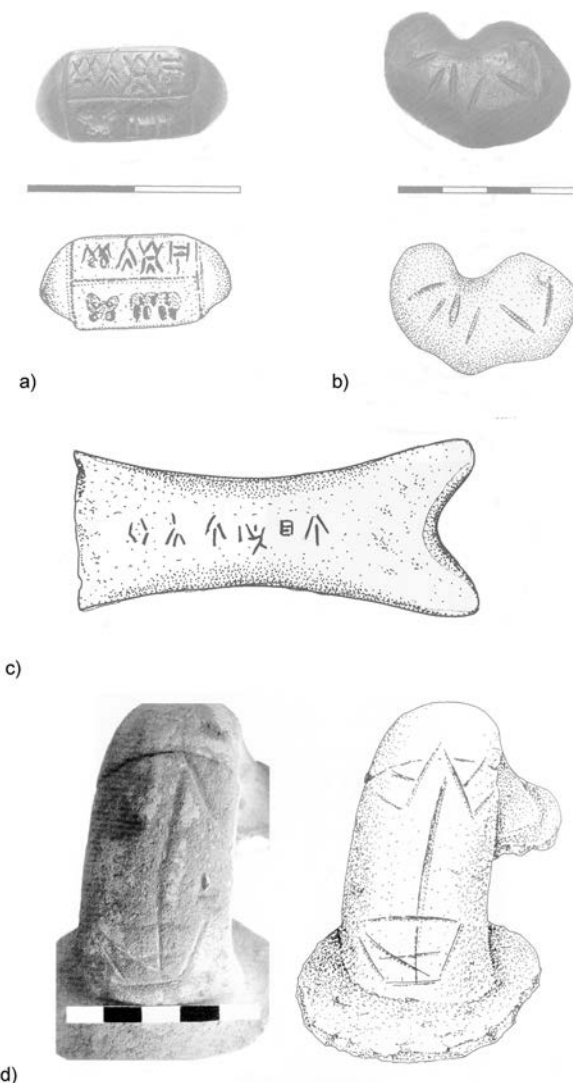


Figure 4.30 Cypro-Minoan signs inscribed on different objects, LC IIA–III A, c. 1450–1200 BC: (a) gold ring from a tomb, LC IIA Kalavasos Ayios Dimitrios; (b) bronze votive object ('kidney') from temple 2, LC IIC Kition; (c) bronze object from ritual/specialised context, LC IIC–III A Enkomi; (d) jar handle from LC IIIA Maa Palaeokastro (after S. Ferrara, 2013. *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions. Volume II: Catalogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 153–4; figs. 166–8).

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large gulfs between written language and the local language base (see Ehret 1988: 571 for the power of prestige associations to influence both written and spoken language change).

Recent discussions, taking into account the kinds of genetic and archaeological evidence reviewed at the beginning of Chapter 3, suggest that Indo-European spoken languages in the Aegean may date back at least as early as the arrival in the area of farming groups from Anatolia around 7000 BC (Renfrew 1987; 1991; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1985; see Sherratt and Sherratt 1988; Zvelebil and Zvelebil 1988: 582). The language spoken widely in Crete by the MBA–LBA may thus have belonged to a broad Aegean group with wide links/variations developed over millennia – and to be ultimately linked in this way to the Greek speech first written down in Linear B during the fifteenth century (Driessen and Langohr 2007: 188). The hypothesis is strongly supported by the appearance in Linear B Greek of irregular prefixes and suffixes (e.g. the ‘-ssos and ‘-unthos’ forms). Used in Linear B place-names on Crete as well as the mainland and seen in some contemporary west Anatolian placenames, these have been agreed to indicate a shared or inter-borrowed regional predecessor language to Linear B-period Greek, with strong west Anatolian links (Coleman 2000: 139–42; Finkelberg 1997; 2014; Mallory 1994: 67–9; Morpurgo-Davies 1986: 110–11; Palmer 1980: 3–26; Renfrew 1998).

In Chapter 5 I discuss the circumstances around the development of Linear B as a trans-Aegean script, used exclusively to write Greek. It clearly layers on, borrows from and adapts Linear A, in a manner impossible without close, intensive and politically-loaded collaboration with Cretan residents. Use of Linear B helped later Bronze Age Aegean elites to achieve a smooth political and economic interface. Yet the very smoothness and speed of spread (we can note the standard character of Linear B Greek across all regions from the fourteenth century, with relatively few variations) highlights the point that script retained a partly superficial and artificial quality during the whole Late Bronze period – and cautions against equation of it, or the language form it represented, with any one contemporary ethnic or dialect group.

I hope to have shown here simply that the linguistic evidence on its own is not strong enough to necessitate models of mass long-distance movement into the Aegean region from outside it as a central transformative force at the MBA/LBA transition – nor does the wider cultural context support this model.

Mainland state trajectories and movement: LH II/LM IB

The lack of evidence for large-scale Crete-originating settlement in the MH III–LH I mainland, and the indications that the main boost in mainland communities’ external engagement was concentrated at elite level, are important when discussing how intra-Aegean relations developed in LH II/LM IB. The growth of mainland states seems to have been a much less socially-extended and organic process than Cretan palatial development and expansion (in part

due to the compressed timeframe and complex regional political environment in which it occurred: see Sherratt 2001). These factors seem to have made the outreach strategies of emergent mainland polities especially fast-moving and potentially competitive in nature.

Notable shifts in Aegean ceramic exchange patterns occur by LM IB/LH II. The movement of mainland products increases in volume and takes on new directions, suggesting significant numbers of mainland-based people were moving both in the south Aegean exchange sphere and across a number of regions where Crete-linked products had previously been taken up – coastal Anatolia and the east Aegean; the Cyclades; Cyprus; Italy; Egypt (all covered in the rest of this chapter). Given the Crete-linked history of mainland state emergence, Crete-linked/-centred trips and persons seem likely to have moved some of these increased amounts of mainland goods and materials, for mutual rewards of direct and indirect kinds. Recent research shows in turn that mainland groups built on and manipulated the established associations of Crete-linked movement and consumption in the islands during LM IB, including through exported Cretanising forms. Using inductive emission spectroscopy, Mountjoy and Ponting (2000) showed that despite the still strongly Cretanising forms and styles of imports consumed at Ayia Irini and Phylakopi in LH IIA (LM IB), many of these now had mainland origins. Attica and the Argolid, with their well-established supply and contact lines to Crete and the south Aegean, were especially frequent manufacturing points. Attic origins for Cretan-style pots found at Knossos itself were revealed by the same study, suggesting that the mainland ceramic export sphere now held very considerable prestige and reach in its own right.

Past interpretations of these trends shows again how often culture-historical explanation remains a first point of reference in studies of the LBA Aegean. The quantity of pots having externally-linked origins/styles have been routinely equated to the volume of people of extraneous origin present at the find-spot. For example, in trying to interpret the pottery provenance results described above within some kind of historical narrative, Mountjoy and Ponting suggest that the disturbing effect of the Thera eruption on Crete's economy left a gap in the decorated pottery supply, which mainland-based producers rushed to exploit by getting/supporting Cretan potters to produce 'their' types of pot on the mainland, in mainland clays, for local consumption and export. The encounter framework and social history of this kind of scenario is little-addressed by models of this kind. In the context of social transformation and its historical background discussed above, I suggest we can explore movement, agency and encounter to explain these types of cultural shifts in a more nuanced fashion. In the changing socioeconomic environment, it seems possible to envisage Crete-based groups drawing in new, selective ways on mainland production (both in home consumption and in trade) *alongside* the conscious growth of newly-orientated and -structured mainland production and exchange

systems involving newly large numbers of people and covering a large area. The fact that even Kythera, with its proximity to Crete and its residents' deep, long-term familiarity and integration with Cretan practice, saw rapidly increasing imports of generically Cretanising types of pots (many made on the mainland) from LM IB suggests that the forces affecting pottery circulation went well beyond a straightforward 'need' for fine ceramics/availability of their supply in any area (Coldstream 1972b). Although Cretanising pottery forms and styles remained a major linking medium in trade, newly-distinctive mainland iconography was also starting to travel through south Aegean networks – and not just on pots. A developing (and cultivated) ability to read and consume diverse imagery is apparent in south Aegean societies.¹³

The eruption of Thera at the end of LM IA certainly did have an impact on the balance of movement in the region. North coastal Cretan settlements were partly destroyed or damaged by a tsunami wave; ash falls on east and north Crete produced long-term damage to livestock and crops (Betancourt et al. 1990; Bruins et al. 2008; McCoy and Heiken 2000). The volume of resources to support specialised craft and procurement activities may thus have been temporarily reduced at north Cretan centres, and valuable shipping and cargo destroyed. North Crete's role as a staging-post and production/innovation source point for the standard south Aegean routes was surely hampered for a while, with both the overall volume of movement and the scale of direct exports reduced. But complex processes of change on the mainland were already well underway by this time, as we have seen, and cannot have been caused by the eruption's effects on movement. These in any case seem unlikely to include a large exodus from Crete. Crete's LM IB record on balance fails to indicate the desertion or major downsizing of most existing centres on the island (*contra* Driessen and Macdonald 1997; see Chapter 5). Crete-linked groups in the small Aegean islands were surely also affected by the systemic disruption. Yet their integrated status, diverse production systems and multi-branched economic orientations/alignments were unlikely to have been wiped out, or the majority of their populations pushed elsewhere.

Conclusions: movement and transformation in the MB–early LB Aegean

Movement – again – proves in this case to be an unpredictable factor in sociocultural transformation, even when occurring within a small region, along established routes and in a circumscribed timeframe. The fact that striking contrasts in structure and outlook existed between contemporary Aegean societies before late MB–LB I was not due to intrinsic limitations on intra-Aegean movement. Rather, new *kinds and structures* of movement in the latter period stimulated change in specific local contexts, with distinctive

outcomes. The historical and geographical background of movement were crucial. Without the secure and rewarding contact base already available to Crete-based groups in the south Aegean, targeted moves into the mainland orbit might not have been undertaken at such a significant scale, or have had such an impact. Yet new kinds of Crete-based/-linked movement lacked either an 'island-hopping' or 'staged' character. Targeted, personal and extended encounters by moving groups – not just the movement of objects/people within regular networks – were central to the role of movement in changing mainland societies. At the same time, elements of sociocultural inequality between contact regions, combined with the short travel distances between them, allowed objects, and concepts of objects, to take on dynamic 'agency' with long-term social effects.

Crete-linked movement and the east Mediterranean: regional case studies

Introduction

Crete-linked movement in the east Mediterranean during this period was much more limited in scale and effect than in the Aegean. Yet in a number of eastern regions long-rooted and growing interest clearly did exist in consuming Crete-based exports and practices and serving Cretan markets (as Mesopotamian texts recording Crete-linked tin transactions at Ugarit already attest from c. 1900 BC; Cline 1994: 26; 126; Merrill 2003; Heltzer 1977; 1988; Strange 1980).¹⁴ The nature of Cretanising finds abroad, of the exotic features in contemporary Cretan material culture, and of the wider historical context all suggest that increased numbers of Crete-based people travelled in the east Mediterranean in this connection. As I discuss below, the data cannot be explained mainly by reference to travellers from the south Aegean area as a whole carrying 'Cretanising' goods, or by eastern visitors to Crete taking practices and goods home. People deeply involved in palatially-centred prestige culture on Crete itself seem to have been central in driving and supporting what often looks like high-investment travel. The scattered nature and limited scope of eastern contacts apparently produced interactions less intensive and embedded than those seen in the Aegean, and a need for longer-term, niched types of visit. No close supportive interface paralleling the south Aegean network was present in the Levant (except, apparently, on parts of the Anatolian coast/nearby islands); thus, particular kinds of effort were needed to develop existing eastern contact routes and to consolidate new ones.

Here, at last, we see a potential need for the planning and structuring beloved of traditional migration models. Yet there are no clear traces of colony/enclave formation by Cretans in most eastern areas – nor would this approach have fitted contemporary practice in the region. The outreach strategies of most east Mediterranean palatial systems consisted of (a) trade through state-linked

merchants and/or (b) diplomacy at high levels. Large-scale, spatially-distinct and culturally-alienised settlement as part of procurement activity – as occurred in the case of the Middle Bronze Age Assyrian merchant enclave at Kültepe in central Anatolia – was an exceptional, inland-based strategy (see Kemp 1978; Liverani 2002; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010).¹⁵ Sizeable merchant classes and investment resources of the type seen in the Kültepe case were certainly lacking in Crete's multiple small states. The latter developed eastern connections at much smaller-scale, niched levels – yet in ways specially enabled by the recognised parameters and tropes of palatial society. I will illustrate these points below with three short regional case studies.

Coastal Anatolia

Increased movement of Cretan-type pottery through the coastal Anatolian area and offshore islands clearly occurred from MM IB onwards (Rutter and Zerner 1984). Alongside direct Cretan imports, we see growth in consumption of Cretanising products (mostly pottery) made and transported in local networks covering Kos, Kasos and Karpathos, as discussed above (Benzi 1984; Hood in Hägg and Marinatos 1984: 112; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; Laviosa 1984; Momigliano 2005; 2009). Such links offered Crete-based groups diverse kinds of access into Anatolian coastal exchange/procurement networks. We see intense and wide-ranging links to Cretan consumption and practice at some large sites on the coast. At Miletus (a large settlement which had already been well-linked into Cycladic and Cretan networks during the EBA) and on the nearby Iasos peninsula with its excellent natural harbour, the kind of 'step change' familiar from the south-central Aegean – i.e. a greatly increased concentration both of Cretan imports and of locally-made Cretan-type pottery – is visible from early MM III, with a slightly later (LM IA) date for full diversification of the pottery repertoire (see Hilditch et al. 2012; Hilditch and Knappett 2015; in press; Kaiser 2005; Raymond 2005; 2007; Raymond et al. 2016; Momigliano 2012; Figures 4.31–4.34). This pattern links the region firmly to contemporary Crete-linked travel contexts and strategies in the south-central Aegean, the new close personal encounters/co-residences these involved, and the ongoing feedback from them. However, the relatively complex local socioeconomic context, involving large settlements and territories with connections to complex Anatolian polities further inland, apparently gave intensive Cretan contact here a different, restricted kind of impact on local economic and social systems (see e.g. Warren 2007).

A strong interest in consuming Cretan palatial culture is also documented at Çesme, north along the coast from Miletus (Şahoğlu 2000; in press; Figure 4.35). This was an extensive planned town with evidence of centralised storage and a concentration of prestige pottery (imported and local) found in one large building. Here (and at the site of Teichiussa in the same area), the evidence from ordinary housing shows the well-embedded use of local



Figure 4.31 Iasos: fine cups of Cretan type, some of Milesian manufacture (after N. Momigliano, 2009. *Minoans at Iasos?* In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 121–40: fig. 18).

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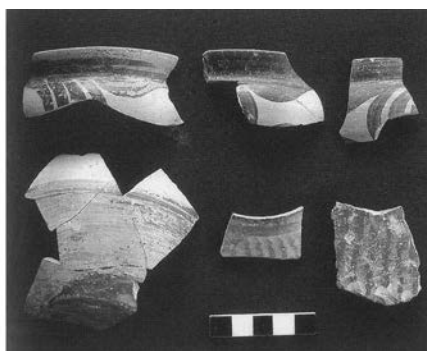
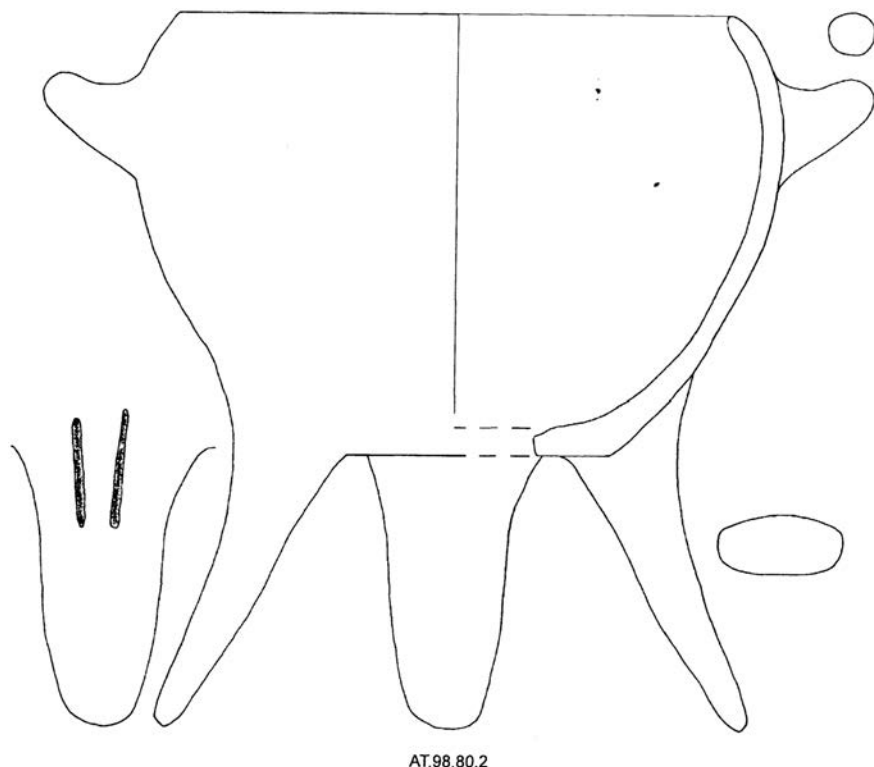


Figure 4.32 Miletus: imported fine Cretan vessels from period III; Miletus catalogue numbers AT.99.264.1; AT.99.633.1; AT.98.347.3; AT.99.913.1; AT.99.84.12; AT.98.137.1; AT.98.160.1; AT.99.597.1 (after A. Raymond, 2009. *Miletus in the Middle Bronze Age: an overview of the characteristic features and ceramics*. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 143–156: fig. 6).

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AT.98.80.2

Figure 4.33 Miletus, period III: Cretan-type cooking pot, catalogue number AT.98.80.2, Scale 1:3 (after A. Raymond, 2009. Miletus in the Middle Bronze Age: an overview of the characteristic features and ceramics. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 143–156: fig. 8).

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architectural forms (Niemeier 2007: 11; Voigtlander 2007). Again, a ‘step change’ is seen in the pottery record during MM III–LMI, with a relative rise in imports and the advent of wheelmade Cretanising products in local wares. However, the proportion of (multi-sourced) Cretan and Cretanising items remains relatively small here: local-tradition production consistently dominates fine wares. Strong uptake of Aeginetan and Cycladic pottery products, as well as local east Aegean ones (Chian; Koan) suggests that connections to south Aegean trade and contact networks were not very exclusively targeted on Crete (Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005: 181; Momigliano 2009: 137). Linear A inscriptions and potter’s marks on locally-made Cretanising

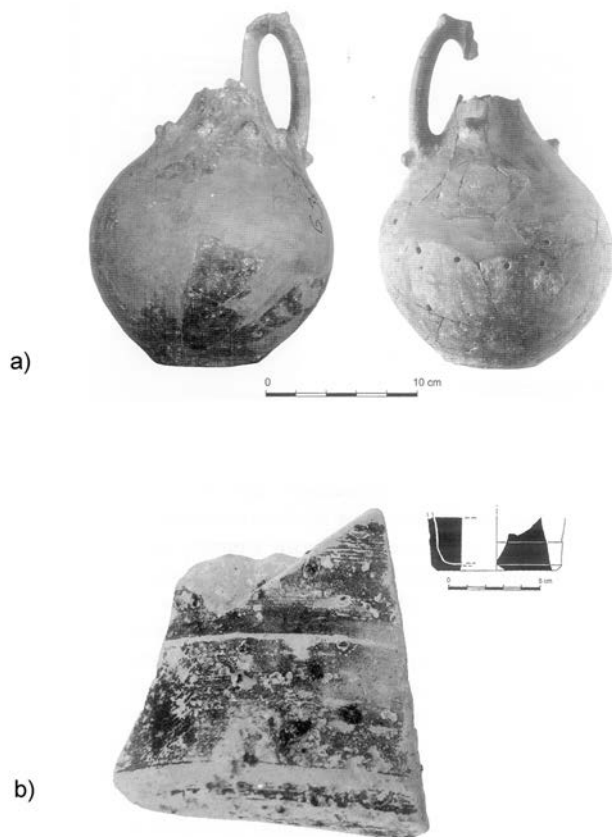


Figure 4.34 Iasos: (a) Anatolian-type jug (Iasos inventory no. 2041/Milas Museum 638); (b) Cretan fineware import, probably from north central Crete (Iasos AG/NM/20) (MM IIB–IIIB) (after N. Momigliano, with contributions by P. Belli, M. Bichler, J. Hilditch, C. J. Knappett, D. Pirrie, M. Power and J. H. Sterba, 2012. *Bronze Age Carian Iasos: structures and finds from the area of the Roman Agora (c. 3000–1500 BC)*. Rome: Bretschneider: 64a; 152c).

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vessels suggest knowledge and valuing of Cretan administrative practice, developed through regular contact with current practice on Crete. At both Česme and Miletus, sealings (as well as seals) with parallel forms in Crete appear in some densities, suggesting the existence of local transaction systems involving Crete-linked individuals. At Miletus, distinctively Cretan-type ritual vessels (not clearly used in local ritual until after the step-change period) were concentrated in a special building, which also held a locally made Linear A-inscribed pot (Niemeier 2005).



Figure 4.35 Česme: excavation photograph (after H. Erkanal and L. Keskin, 2009. The relations between the Urla peninsula and the Minoan world. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: fig. 2).

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Connections directly into Crete-centred practice, as well as imagery, are suggested by use of established Cretan techniques and materials in fresco painting, including wet-painted lime plaster as seen extensively at Akrotiri (by contrast, most contemporary Near Eastern contexts used *fresco secco* techniques based on gypsum), and riebeckite blue pigment (typically restricted to the south Aegean area; Brysbaert 2010: 134–9; 141–6). In the case of these west Anatolian frescoes, as in those of Near Eastern examples discussed below, Cretan imagery was apparently becoming valid/accessible in a form very closely informed by forms on Crete itself. This again suggests close familiarity with Cretan prestige contexts and the influential involvement of Crete-based or Crete-trained makers in local communities. Some intra-regional contrasts suggest that deliberate decisions may have emerged by LM IA (whether at local or incomer level, or both) to develop interaction most intensively at specific coastal Anatolian centres. For example, Miletus had proportionally much higher volumes of Cretanising material than Česme, and a notably wider range of forms by LM IA. By Level IV,

belonging to this period, Cretan-type cooking pots formed 85–95% of the total cooking assemblage, a fact sometimes used to interpret the settlement as fully ‘Cretan’ (or even as a Cretan colony: see Raymond 2005). We should not, however, fall into the trap of reading transformations in notionally ‘ordinary’ types of product as straightforward indications of settler volume, simultaneously equating prestige imports with ‘trade’. Cretan and Cretanising cooking pots notably form new parts of Cycladic burial assemblages at this time, apparently as part of ritual meal equipment (Marthari 2007: 52; Figure 4.36); cooking pot use may also have involved other kinds of structured and symbolic consumption practices. That specific forms/qualities of cooking wares could be independently prized and sourced (i.e. that such ‘ordinary’ forms could operate in contexts of object agency) is indicated by the contemporary long-range procurement of Aeginetan cooking pots. Many LM IA cooking pots made in Miletus in fact show subtle elements of borrowing from both Cretan and local traditions: Miletus inhabitants used a variety of other, fully local-tradition cooking equipment, such as fire stands and horned stands, throughout LM I, suggesting no unidirectional shift in cooking practice (Kaiser 2005: Figure 4.37).

Cretan prestige culture was thus increasingly valued and consumed by large coastal Anatolian/Doedcanesian communities (see the example of Trianda, below), but always as part of a wider package of externally-linked consumption – even in cases where Cretanising uptake was very intensive and diverse, like that of Miletus. These communities, though relatively large, complex entities, lacked the centralisation and prestige apparatus which marked out palatial

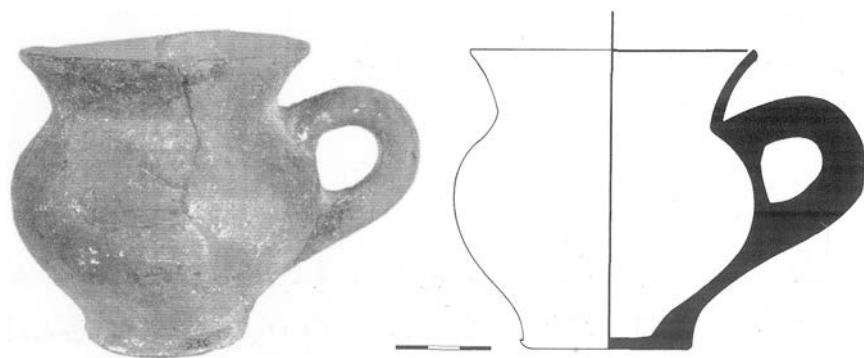


Figure 4.36 Cemetery of Skarkos, Ios: Cretan-type cooking pot in grave (after M. Marthari, 2009. Middle Cycladic and early Late Cycladic cemeteries and their Minoan elements: the case of the cemetery at Skarkos on Ios. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 41–58: fig. 19).

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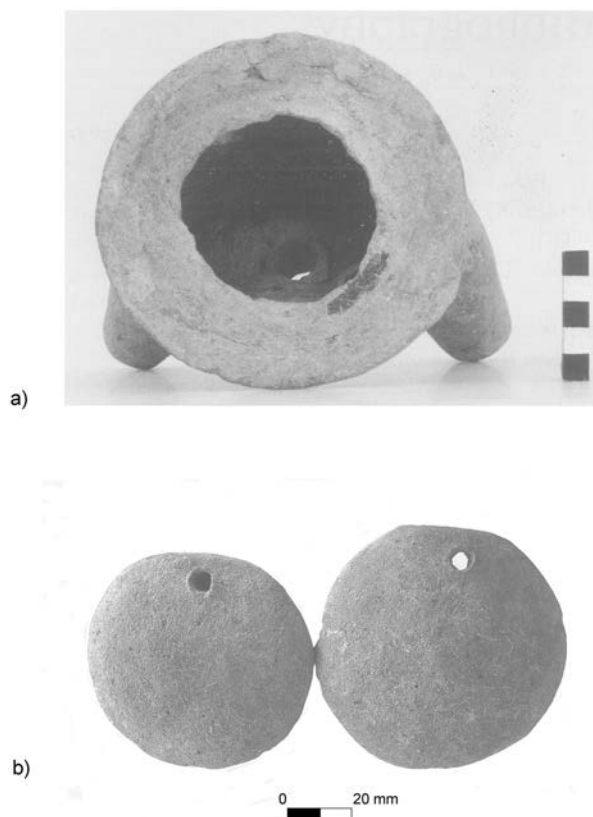


Figure 4.37 Non-pot Cretan-type artefacts in western Anatolia: (a) Miletus: horned stand, Miletus catalogue number AT97.404.12 (after A. Raymond, *Miletus in the Middle Bronze Age: an overview of the characteristic features and ceramics*. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 143–156: fig. 6). By permission of A. Raymond; (b) Limantepe: loomweights (after H. Erkanal and L. Keskin, 2009. *Relations between the Urla peninsula and the Minoan world*. In C. Macdonald, E. Hallager and W.-D. Niemeier, eds. *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean: new evidence*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens: 97–110: fig. 15).

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polities on Crete and clearly did not form replicas of or parallels to them. They had scope for growth in a number of directions lacking in Crete – including ties into large-scale inland economic systems. Yet they lacked the hothoused connections with nearby peers and with the Levantine/Egyptian zone which had pushed palatial development in Crete itself. The simple arrival of more

Cretans and/or intensification of contact with Crete-linked economic systems evidently could not, on its own, change this profile. Recent models like those of Knappett and Nikolakopoulou (2005), show how strong pro-active alignment with the Cretanising prestige sphere, membership of dynamic endemic-type contact/exchange networks in the east Aegean islands, and Crete-based initiatives, *all* played strong roles in promoting the uptake of Crete-associated practices and forms in this area. But more reductive models, rooted in culture history and the discourse of colonialism, also remain current. Some assume a ‘need’ for Anatolian metals as the driver for assumed large-scale Crete-initiated settlement (and assumed automatic deep cultural change) at coastal Anatolian towns in this period. The direct equation of volumes of ‘Cretan’ object forms with numbers of Cretan immigrants, and an unwillingness to dissect ‘Minoan’ style in terms of its prestige connotations and multi-layered variations in form, use and origin is notable in these models (Niemeier 2005; 2007: 17).¹⁶ I shall note below that the notion of a ‘search for metals’ to index affects many other models of Aegean-based movement overseas in the LBA and beyond. Metals transactions did figure prominently in Near Eastern interregional contacts at this time, and we have proof that Cretans were involved in them, as discussed above. However, few movement models citing ‘metals search’ as a driver have explored in any detail how increased needs for metals in the growing LB international economy might be experienced and managed, through movement and otherwise, in particular regional contexts (Davis 1984: 169).

Cyprus

This brings us to an area at the very centre of the expanding metals trade (see Figure 4.38 for a map of the broader Levantine region). Late MB–LB I Cyprus differed from much of the contemporary Near East, and from Crete, in its type of political and economic development between the EBA and LBA. Palatial state polities with central building complexes and large territories were absent during the period in question. The island’s huge metal resources were just starting to be intensively exploited and available to external players (Knapp 1993; 1994; 2012). I will argue in this context that an absence of experienced/represented ‘palatiality’ on the island produced crucial distinctions *and* connections between Cypriot and Aegean (especially Cretan) elites’ operation in the contemporary Levantine world, and that of Aegean elites, especially Crete-linked ones.

The growth in the scale and intensity of Cypriot external contacts by late MB/LB I is striking. Knapp (2013: 310–11; 344–9; 418–19) stresses the breadth of connections, rapidity of socioeconomic change, and distinctive local conditions of change, by reference to a broad period (his ‘Prehistoric BA2–early Protohistoric BA’, c. 2000–1450 BC). New features appearing in Cyprus in this timeframe include concentrations of Cretan, Egyptian and Levantine luxury imports; significant volumes of ceramic exports to the southern Levant and Egypt for the first time; wealthy, formally distinguished small-group burials; and a focus on/expansion of coastal settlement. Major copper extraction and

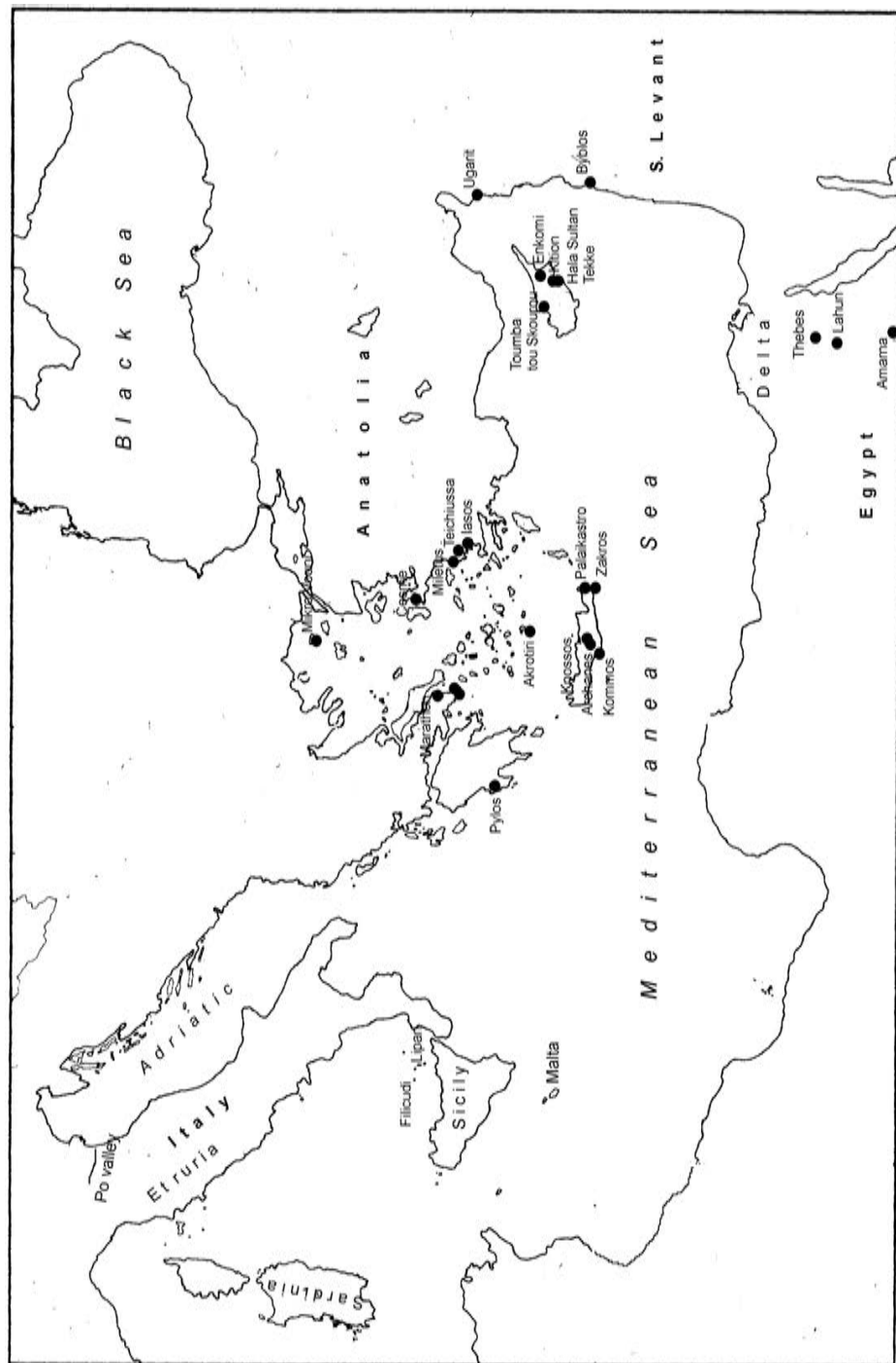


Figure 4.38 Map showing sites in the east Mediterranean mentioned on the text but not indicated in Figure 4.1 (by S. Wallace).

refining sites using new technology, such as Politiko-Phorades, also emerge (by c. 1650–1500 on radiocarbon dates: Kassianidou 2012; Knapp and Kassianidou 2008). Chronological resolution is often problematic due to the long-term regionality of Cypriot pottery production, making Knapp's broad kind of periodisation a useful guide to when change occurred. However, we should not fail to note the *specific* importance of Middle Cypriot III/early Late Cypriot I (c. 18th–17th centuries BC) as a turning point in the emergence of Cypriot complexity. In this context, changes in island society can be seen not as simply broadly coincidental with new forms and effects of movement (including Cretan movement) in the wider region but as directly *connected* to them through encounters in specific periods and locations. Below, I try to explore some of these in connection to the Aegean.

Cypriot copper was being procured by inland Levantine centres from at least MB I (Knapp 2013: 307–8). We see the substantial export of diverse Cypriot pottery forms for drinking/dining, and new kinds of specialised unguent containers, to polities in the Egyptian Delta and Levant by the mid-eighteenth century (MC III). The variety and volume of these exports – their production areas concentrated in the south and east areas of the island – suggest deliberate and regular procurement by Levantine groups and the building of specific interregional relationships (Bietak and Hein 2001; Forstner-Miller et al. 2011; Hein 2005; 2009; Hulin 2009; Manning et al. 2002: 106; Merrilllees 2007). Various types of archaising/conservative features, apparently 'made to order', appear in these export pottery assemblages, and there are traces of differential distribution of various Cypriot export forms in Egypt versus the Levant, pointing to specific bases of consumption for Cypriot products abroad. Yet despite these indications of structured pattern, the context does not suggest very highly centralised practice on the Cypriot side. Near Eastern imports into the island largely appear in elite, personal contexts such as tombs, and Cyprus seems to have formed a relatively open, responsive space for east Mediterranean exchange/contact at this time.

In this context, Aegeans travelling to the island as an increasingly regular port of call on current Egypt- and Levant-connected routes could form their own specific types of connections, meeting diverse and unequal 'peers' from Near Eastern societies at a fairly neutral level. Aegean imports to Cyprus at this stage (all of Cretan origin) seem both too rare and too frequent to simply represent part of the regular Cypriot trade with Egypt or the coastal Levant, where Cretan pottery imports also appear (see below). There are other signs of direct Aegean encounters. Aegean ceramic imports – documented sporadically in Cyprus as early as EM III, as Cretan groups intensified connections with both the Levant and Egypt – rise notably from MM III/LM IA, especially in the north coastal and Morphou Bay areas (Knapp 2013: 309–10; 315–25; Mantzourani and Theodorou 1989), again suggesting a direct supply. They also appear quickly at emerging large south/east coast sites like Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition, probably through internal exchange systems. Some copper used in Crete was sourced from Cyprus, as well as Anatolia, by

MM III; the earlier text references to Cretans acquiring tin through Ugarit suggest these new kinds of procurement could easily have occurred via direct transactions in Cyprus itself (Soles and Stos-Gale 2004). Closed fine ceramic containers from Cyprus were reaching Crete in quantity in LM IA through burgeoning ports like Katsambas, Kommos and Pseira (as well as getting to linked areas of the south Aegean like Akrotiri, Phylakopi and Trianda – sometimes alongside Levantine and Egyptian products, including large transport jars [Catling and Macgillivray 1983; Mantzourani and Theodorou 1989; Merlilles 2001; Shaw et al. 2006; Watrous 1992: 155–7; 170–2]).

The Morphou Bay area, close to important and early exploited sources of copper in the Troodos Mountains, saw a shift of economic focus away from small inland sites and the development of coastal nucleations just as these connections took off, and forms a useful case study of movement-linked change in Cyprus. Sites such as Toumba tou Skourou show a marked growth in size (and the emergence of specialised metalworking locales) in LC IA. Rich tombs here contained both south Levantine and Aegean pottery, imported metalwork from both areas, and various other Levantine prestige objects. A locally-rooted elite was clearly able to consume and manufacture a range of luxury items, feeding increasing local social differentiation (Keswani 2004: 154–6; Picorella 1977; Vermeule 1980; Vermeule and Wolsky 1978; Webb 2009: 35; Figure 4.39). By about 1650 BC, the potter's wheel was being used to manufacture fine ceramics in the region. As on the Cyclades at an earlier date, this change was strongly linked to increased consumption of, and familiarity with, specifically *Cretan* pottery imports. Yet the Cypriot record shows marked patchiness and selectivity in wheel use (even in manufacturing the same types of pottery forms) in comparison to the various south Aegean wheel uptake patterns (Crewe 2007; Knappett and Crewe 2012: 179). This seems connected to the volatile and complex local socioeconomic context. Cypriot elites were consolidating themselves rapidly, and in multiple cross-cutting alignments, in a large resource-rich area where numerous distinctive (and potentially politicised) fineware styles already circulated over distance. Other cultural innovations also drew heavily on Cretan palatial culture. The emergence of the Cypro-Minoan script, with its strong references to Linear A, as the core, permanent writing system of emerging Cypriot polities (first seen at the expanding polity of Enkomi; see Vermeule 1980) suggests a particular and strong kind of connection into developing powerful, complex and wealthy Cypriot societies for Crete-based groups with links to palatial contexts.

In the context of growing engagement with multiple Near Eastern entities, these distinctive kinds of cultural uptakes could help define and establish an identity for Cypriot elites/polities in the wider region. A recognised international identity for the island of Cyprus, or groups within it, was indeed emerging by this period: the name 'Alasia' appears in nineteenth- to seventeenth-century texts from Mari, Al-Alakh and Babylon, often in connection with copper procurement (Kitchen 2009; Knapp 2013: 51–61). Cyprus's special proximity, resources and connections seem to have made the more powerful

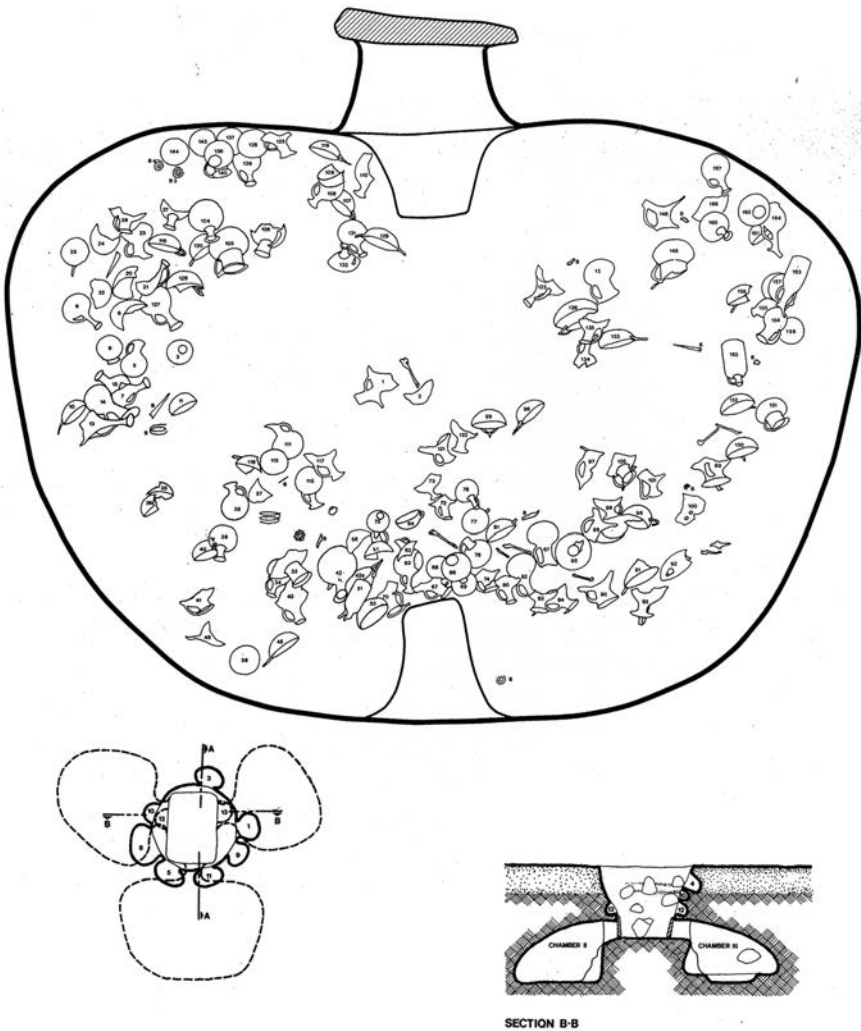


Figure 4.39 Toumba tou Skourou: plan and section of Tomb 1 (after E. Vermeule and F. Z. Wolsky, 1990. *Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze age potter's quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*. Boston: Harvard University Press: fig. 18).

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of its inhabitants into important contacts for Levantine groups. Groups from the Cretan palatial polities, with their distance, limited resource and investment base and comparatively restricted political profile within the Near Eastern region, may thus have gained new and rapid rewards in the eastern sphere via their links to Cypriot economy and society. I suggest they were able to find special early niches within the latter as a result of the relatively small scale at which they operated, their highly visible and recognised palatial/state

associations, and their especially diverse concurrent experiences of external engagement. The absence in Crete of large and well-defined merchant classes of the type undertaking trade/diplomacy in much of the MB–LB Levant, and the direct involvement of elites in many high-value long-distance transactions (especially those involving metals) may have set Cretan encounters in Cyprus noticeably apart. The limited entrenchment of state institutions in Cyprus provided useful space in which Cretans operating at this level could engage directly and influentially with local communities (as well as indirectly with Levantine entities operating in the Cypriot arena: Cypriot pottery exports east are regularly associated with small amounts of Cretan wares during this period).

Crete-based/linked groups seem to have recognised these opportunities as important: the kind of elite investment seen in Crete-based contacts with the Aegean mainland at the same period may often have applied here. However, the geographical positioning of Cyprus, its political structure, and the diversity of access it provided to other external players probably encouraged extended stays by scattered high-level Cretan agents, producing types of connections into Cypriot society which were not replicated in Aegean mainland contexts. The differences in the patterns of Aegean mainland and Cypriot state formation in late MB/LB I (despite chronological and contextual connections to each other, including a role for Crete-linked movement) show that the movement *per se* of Crete-based groups in the relevant areas played no predictable role in these transformations.

Egypt and the southern Levant

Cretans had long been in regular touch with the Delta (the focus of political power in Egypt and strongly connected to the coastal Levant during and after the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1570 BC). In the MBA Cretan luxury goods consumption became tied directly into Levantine trade systems through some strongly Egypt-connected Levantine ports, such as Byblos, on the coast-hugging route back into the Aegean. These contacts allowed Cretan palatial polities to acquire a range of Egyptian finished products and raw materials, especially stone (usually in the form of finished vessels), ivory and gold. There was a steady rise in the volume and variety of such items on Crete as palatial consumption and specialised production took off. Direct imports were concentrated in highest-level elite/ceremonial contexts, such as the Archanes royal cemetery (Watrous 1998). Products/practices of high-value, exoticising type, such as frescoes making strong reference to Egyptian iconography and conventions (but using adapted and innovative technology) appear in Crete the late MM period. These suggest direct and prolonged exposure to Egyptian art *in situ* and use of skills learnt directly in Egypt or from resident Egyptians, though distinctive, adapted local techniques are seen even in the earliest cases (Chapin 2010; Rehak and Younger 2001: 412).

Though it accessed a unique concentration of Egyptian imports and contacts in the Aegean context, MM III–LM IA Crete had no strong role as

a resource supplier to the Egyptian sphere. Cretan fine wares, so widely consumed on the Aegean coasts and making a significant impact in Cyprus, appear only in very small amounts in the Levant and in Egypt (often probably arriving indirectly by Levantine/Cypriot routes). Most were apparently consumed on the level of singular curiosities by rich individuals (though not all are found in tombs); some finds are locally-made versions of distinctive Cretan decorated forms, suggesting a well-embedded if limited demand (Betancourt 1998; Cline 1999: 123; Edel 1981; Kantor 1997; Kemp and Merrillees 1981: 282–5; Macgillivray 1995; Figure 4.40).

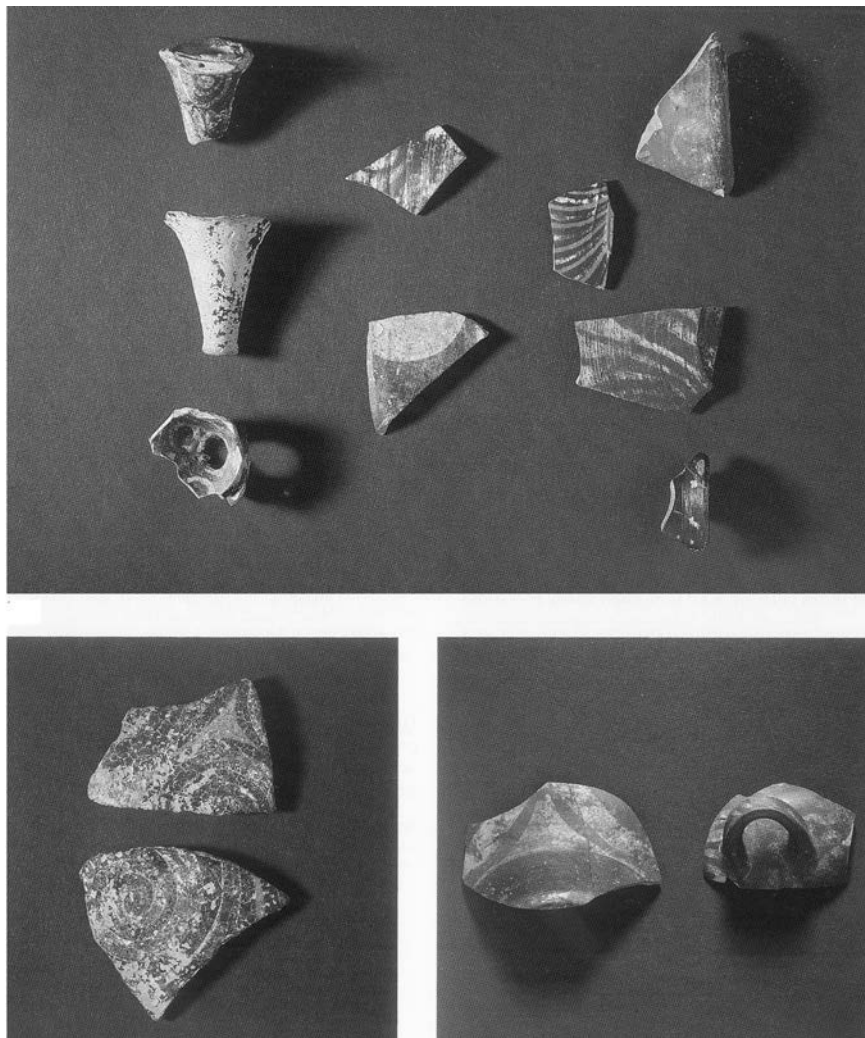


Figure 4.40 Cretan-type pottery in Egypt: imported MM IIA sherds from Lahun in the Middle Nile area (after D. Kypraiou, ed., 2000. *Kriti-Aigyplos. Politismikoi desmoi ton xilieton*. Athens: Ministry of Culture: pl. 27a).

The contrast between this pattern and the rising, organised flow of direct Cypriot imports to Egypt and the Levant at the same period is striking. Yet in this period of emergent economic and ethnopolitical boundaries, a number of features nonetheless suggest that the expanding Crete-linked cultural world came to form a distinct, recognised and valued entity for east Mediterranean states, including Egypt, the regional giant. I suggest that the intensification of Crete-linked movement in the region generally by the MM III period, along with Cretan ‘palatiality’ as a recognised trope, and its distinctive associated products, were central to this development.

The Egyptian term *keftiu* (Keftiu) (cognate with the term ‘Caphtorite’ (*kap-ta-ra-i-im*) found in eighteenth-century records at Mari) is often associated with the epithet ‘from the [isles in] the midst of the great green’, suggesting a distinct group in the contemporary contact map. The term seems to have come to subsume all or most Aegean-based agents in the Egyptian ambit by LM IA (Kemp and Merrillees 1981: 268–87; Vercoutter 1956: 38–9; Wachsmann 1987: 94–125). Paintings with accompanying texts from the tombs of Egyptian court officials at Thebes, dating from latest LM IA at the very earliest, connote the cultural distinctiveness and relatively high-status treatment of Keftiu (who are always presented as male at the same class level, as strongly visually associated with distinctively Cretanising artefacts, and as having specific characteristics of skin colour and dress: Figure 4.41). They are shown as having access to court ceremonies and to a significant degree of welcome/hospitality in the Egyptian court context. Notably, Syrians – depicted in the same kind of class grouping and relationship to the Egyptian state – are represented as bringing women and children on such visits (presumably lengthy ones) suggesting Keftiu might have been able to do the same (Kantor 1997; Panagiotopoulos 2001; 2006; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1984; Vercoutter 1956: 53–5; Wachsmann 1987: pl. XXXIII).

The singular nature of the ‘Keftiu’ term suggests no strong distinctions were made by Egyptians (or Levantines) between Cretans, islanders or mainlanders – but the prestige context indicates strongly that the conceptual centre of such references were the Cretan palatial polities. The stable acceptance of some co-resident (or regularly visiting) Keftiu groups within Egyptian political structures is hinted at in an early Eighteenth Dynasty (sixteenth-century) list of individuals identified as ‘of’ the Keftiu, some bearing Egyptian names. An Egyptian writing exercise tablet in the British Museum specifies writing of the ‘names of Keftiu’, again suggesting ongoing familiarity with this group in high-level Egyptian society (Kemp and Merrillees 1981: 280–1; Peet 1927). ‘Keftiu-ships’ are referred to in several Egyptian LBA texts, again suggesting a familiarity and regularity about the ways the Aegeans travelled to and were encountered in Egypt (Wachsmann 1987: 119–21). In all this, Aegean groups, though sometimes shown as operating alongside Levantine entities and occasionally represented in hybrid form in terms of dress and skin colouring, were never fully bundled into/subsumed by other regional/ethnic categories in current use in Egypt, e.g. that of Syria/Syrians (Wachsmann 1987: Plate III).

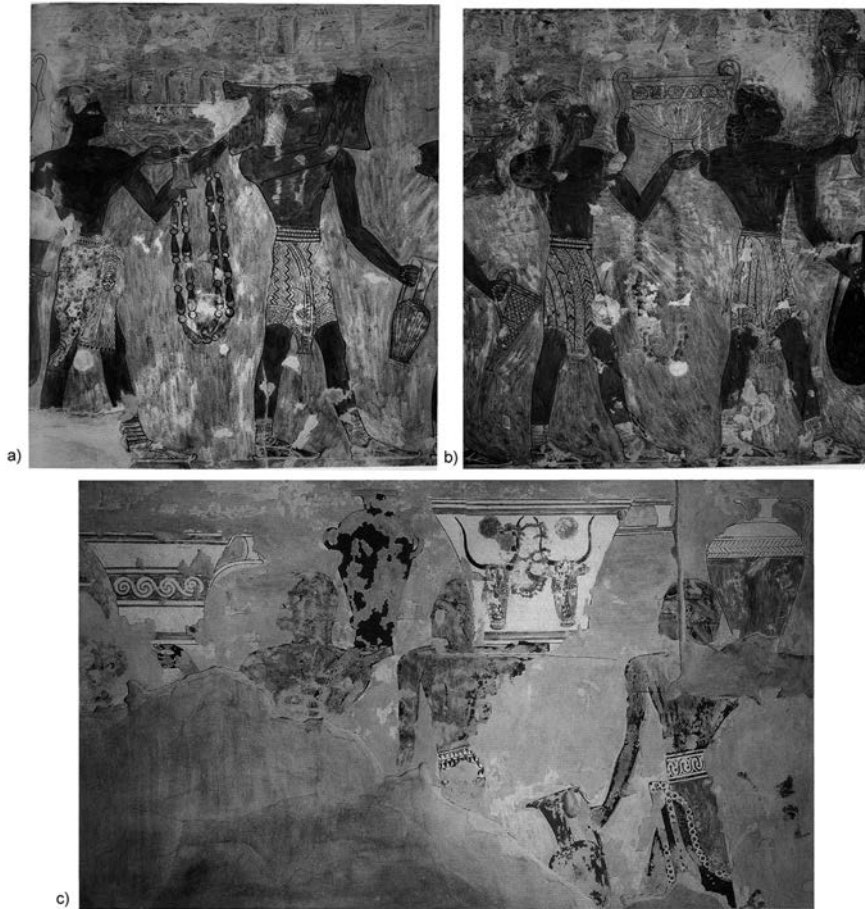


Figure 4.41 (a)–(c) ‘Keftiu’ paintings, tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes (reign of Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II). Held in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (after D. Kypraiou, ed., 2000. *Kriti-Aigyplos. Politismikoi desmoi ton xilieton*. Athens: Ministry of Culture: figs. 64; 66–8).

Evidence has been found in the Levant and Egypt, in deposits dating between the late seventeenth and sixteenth centuries, of wall paintings in the wet fresco techniques developed in and characteristic of contemporary Cretan elite contexts from MM III, with numerous local technical adaptations – e.g. in pigment choices. These point to close awareness of and interest in Cretan prestige culture on the part of Levantine ruling elites, and suggest direct personal relationships at this level with Cretan art producers and sponsors (Brysbaert 2010: 134–9; Chapin 2010: 229–30). Some appear at the palace of Tel Kabri in Palestine, which had wide and rich

trade connections in the east Mediterranean basin (and was apparently destroyed c. 1600 BC). Stratum VII at Kabri includes unusual miniature frescoes recalling those of Akrotiri and using the well-established Aegean technique of a string-set border. The Kabri frescoes are dated 1710–1650 BC. More frescoes come from Tell Atchana/Al-Alakh in southern Syria (dated 1650–1575 BC: Cline et al. 2011: 257; Niemeier 1991; 1993; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998; 2000; 2002; Figures 4.43; 4.44). Fragments of multiple frescoes have also been found in secondary dumps near the palace at Tell-el-Dab'a in the Delta (currently dated to c. 1570 BC; Figure 4.42).¹⁷ The imagery in the Dab'a frescoes (which include the largest preserved fragments of all the above cases) is closely comparable with that of late LM IA frescoes in Crete and Thera. It includes features (e.g. hairstyles and costumes; bull figures in particular proportions; representations of bull-leaping; use of colour schemes) historically well-embedded in the Aegean, but not paralleled on contemporary or earlier Egyptian art; the lack of hieroglyphic annotations, common on similar monumental Egyptian frescoes, is also notable (Bietak 1992; 1996; 2000; 2005a; 2005b; 2013; Bietak et al. 2007; Cline 1998).

This evidence highlights the special connections which were able to be made between Cretan palatial societies and established Near Eastern elites, and the levels of investment potentially involved. However, scholarly reconstructions of the relationships potentially reflected in the fresco data have often lacked much reflective contextualisation. For example, the trope of intermarriage at one-off, elite level (a 'royal marriage' between Cretan and Egyptian dynasties) has been used to explain the Cretan-type frescoes at Tell el-Dab'a: the standalone notion of 'travelling artisans' has also been used to explain these, as other contemporary cultural transfers in the Mediterranean (Bietak 1992: 26–8; Cline 1998). People with long experience of life close to Cretan palatial elites, were clearly able, via relatively deep and long-term interaction in the east at high social levels, to contribute to local prestige culture by drawing on both local and exotic tradition in highly informed and recognisable ways. For example, human figures in the Dab'a frescoes were depicted at over-life-size scale (a practice standard in Egyptian royal art but not in Cretan or Crete-linked art); lions are shown as chasing bulls, in scenes also well-rooted in local Egyptian tradition (Aslandiou 2005: 466; Bietak 2013). All the east Mediterranean frescoes of Aegeanising type/technique mentioned above were fairly isolated products, distinguishing highest-level elite buildings or areas within them. The context suggests that commissioning local elites knew exactly what they wanted to convey and exactly whom to approach to manage this. Thus, both the art's distinctive production format *and* its content are likely to have reflected and promoted existing Levantine elite conceptions (including, surely, conceptions about the 'Keftiu' associated with them). Once in place, the impact/associations of the art were no longer easily controllable: both technique and iconography had layers of association readable by 'end users' in various ways. In no sense,

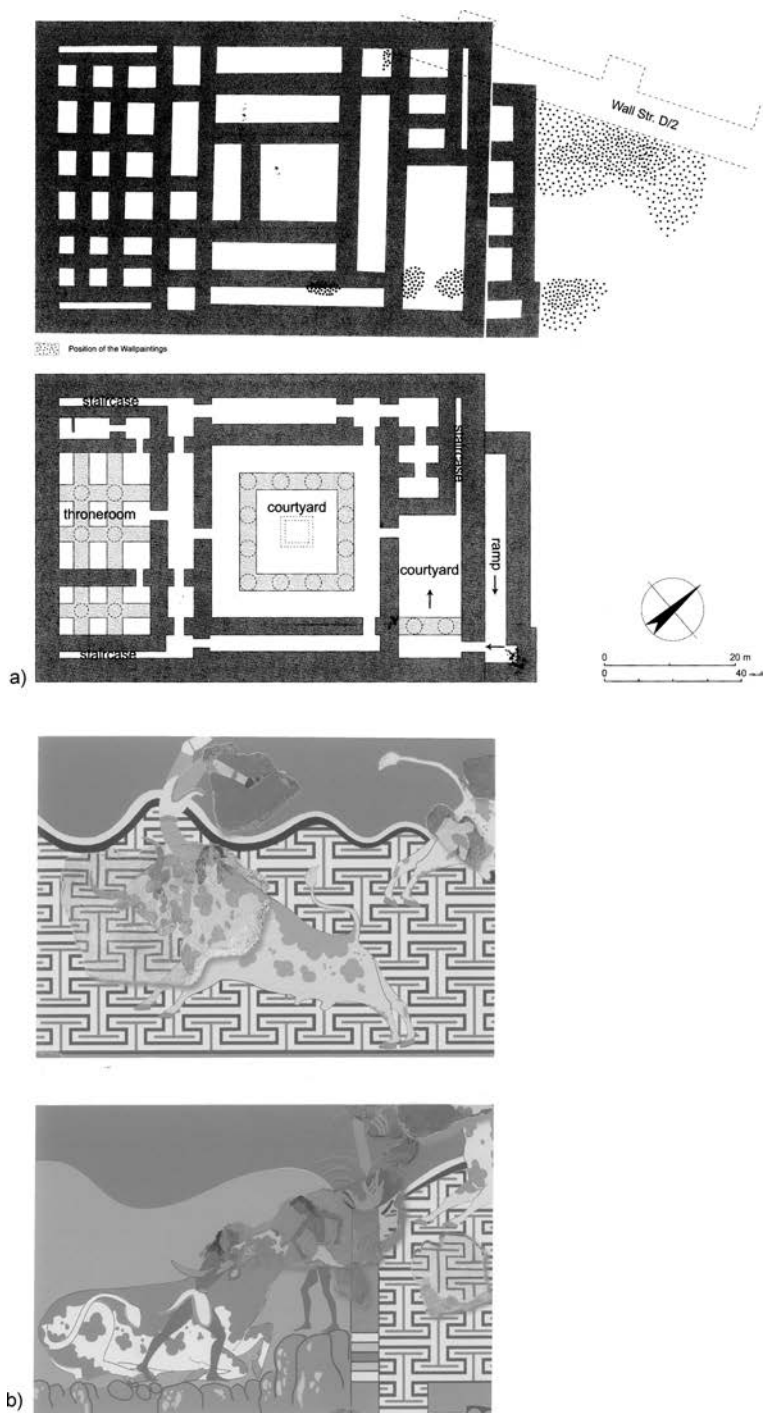


Figure 4.42 Tell el-Dab'a: (a) plan of fresco find locations; (b) frescoes with bull scenes, made in Cretan style and technique (after M. Bietak, N. Marinatos and C. Palyvou, 2000. The Maze tableau from Tell el-Dab'a. In E. S. Sherratt, ed., *Proceedings of the first international symposium 'The wall paintings of Thera'*. Athens: Thera Foundation: 77–91: figs. 4–5).

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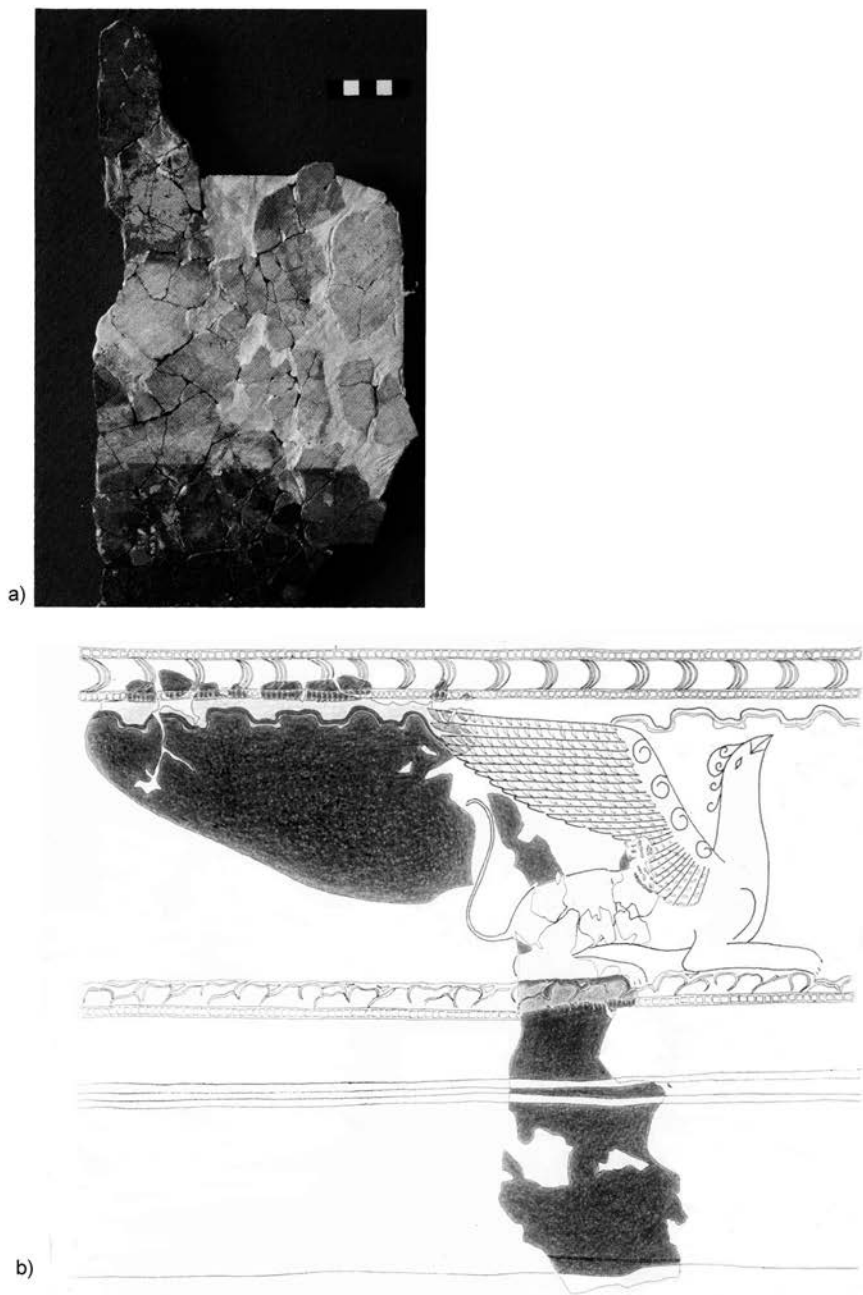


Figure 4.43 Frescoes of Cretan type and technology in the Levant: Alalakh: fragments from Level VII palace (Ashmolean Museum inv. no. 1957.39: (a) detail of 1957.38; 1957.39 showing griffin; (b) reconstruction (after W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier, 2000. Aegean frescoes in Syria-Palestine. In E. S. Sherratt, ed., *Proceedings of the first international symposium 'The wall paintings of Thera'*. Athens: Thera Foundation: 763–802: figs. 10–11).

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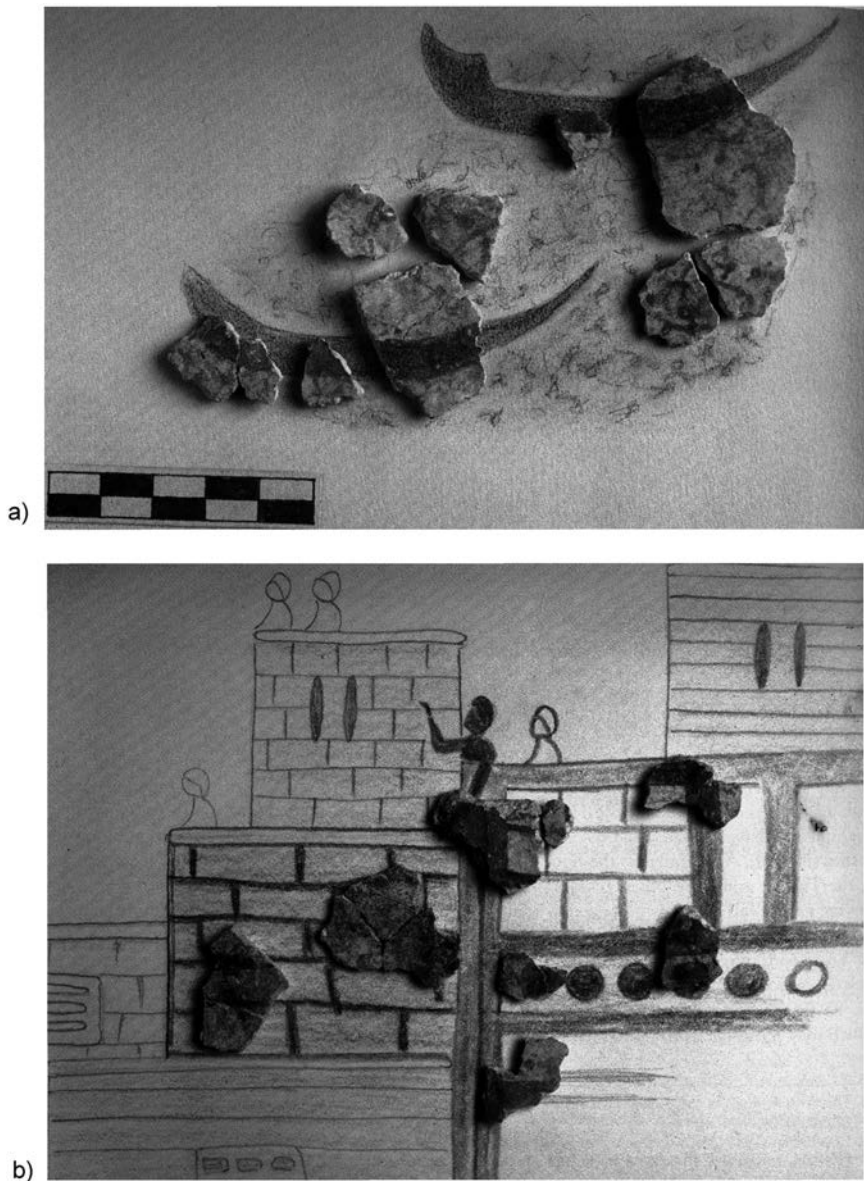


Figure 4.44 Frescoes of Cretan type and technology in the Levant: Kabri: (a) fragments with representation of sea and boats; (b) architecture (after W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier, 2000. *Aegean frescoes in Syria-Palestine*. In E. S. Sherratt, ed., *Proceedings of the first international symposium 'The wall paintings of Thera'*. Athens: Thera Foundation: 763–802: figs. 21–22).

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then, can the frescoes be seen as free, straightforward or comprehensive reflections of Cretan outlooks, or of actions by fully ‘Cretan’ agents (Brysaert 2010: 38–9).

The impression is once again *not* of a mainstream, high-volume context for contact. Consumption of Cretanising/Aegean prestige culture in any depth in the east Mediterranean seems to be part of socially high, restricted levels of practice. Eastern elites consuming at this level seem to have attached importance to direct contact with Aegeans, and to notional ‘authenticity’ in the high-value Cretan products they consumed. The ‘midst of the sea’ epithet regularly used for the Keftiu in Egypt may suggest that Egyptians in particular valued or pursued interactions with this group mainly as part of direct (maritime-based) activity, rather than through intermediarised connections over land and sea, as may have occurred more often in the Levant. Such external perceptions surely fed back into the self-consciousness (and self-promotion) of Aegean-based travellers during the MM III/LM IA period, most of whom I have argued to be of high status, and based in or linked closely to Cretan palatial polities. High-level personal niching of Cretan relationships in Egypt and the Levant recognised and enhanced the core features of contemporary Crete-based movement – i.e. (a) its palatial supporting context and (b) the diverse range of other Mediterranean interactions it concurrently involved. Both seem to have been important in building roles for Cretans which were disproportionate to their actual economic status in Egyptian/Levantine societies. Keftiu are formally described in the Theban inscriptions as bringing ‘tribute’ – but this is a canonical way of describing any kinds of goods-based politicised interaction with Egyptian power centres; Keftiu are grouped in this regard with a number of Levantine entities of various, often much more powerful scales, suggesting a similar kind of diplomatic standing. Some goods depicted as (i.e. symbolising) ‘Keftiu tribute’ in the Egyptian tomb paintings have strongly-recognisable Aegean palatial forms, such as the LM IA–B Cretan type of conical ritual vessels (rhyta): the latter were never widely traded and support the notion of high-investment personal transactions on the Aegean side (Koehl 2006; Wachsmann 1987: 50–73). The goods shown also include a number of metal vessels characteristic of the Aegean mainland-manufactured repertoire of LM IA–B. This suggests perceived regular access by Keftiu to metal resources, including Cypriot copper (we can note one representation of an ingot of the emerging Cyprus-linked oxhide type as being carried by Keftiu).¹⁸

Despite these elevated associations, the evidence also shows the inherent limits and mutability of Egyptian/Levantine engagement with Cretans. In some later Theban tomb depictions, reflecting a widening, busier and more competitive east Mediterranean political and economic scene (discussed in Chapter 5), Keftiu-type figures are shown as part of wider group of generically titled ‘Syrians’ bringing ‘tribute’ typical of the Levantine trade/gifting world (Matič 2012). Paintings from the reigns of Tuthmosis III–Amenhotep II (i.e. dating from the mid-fifteenth century on) show ‘Keftiu’ tribute-bearers in company with a range of others, including remote or officially subjected

peoples: Syrians, Hittites, Nubians, Mitanni and people of Punt; they are sometimes linked with timber, a material usually sourced from Syria, not necessarily in prestige transactions (Breasted 1962: 206; see Sherratt 1998: 339 for possible use of 'Keftiu' by this time as a generic term for maritime traders along the east Mediterranean coasts). Keftiu are never mentioned as an enemy or ally in any major Egyptian/Levantine political text – their scale of operations was evidently simply not large enough.

Though I have noted the likelihood that Crete-based/-originating people were one group of extended residents within Egyptian and Levantine palatial settings, and have suggested considerable Egyptian/Levantine familiarity with Cretan ports by LM IA, high-level visits seem likely to have been mostly one-way. Egypt's court was already too powerful in the region to have necessitated many external visits, even to neighbouring Levantine polities, as the slightly later Amarna texts show (Moran 1992). The kind of high-level detailed emulations/integrations of Cretan practice seen in mainland Aegean polities, developed through intensive two-way travel (in e.g. drinking and other ritual; adapted aspects of cult practice; monumental architecture; new high-investment industries) are simply not present in Egypt or the Levant. In this context, the phenomenon of intensified Crete-based movement did not transform social and political structures in the region. The effect of newly-expanded and -structured interaction by LM IA was mainly to enhance the range of possibilities for elite differentiation on both sides at a limited level – with no extension of the effects downwards into wider society. In the smaller coastal Levantine polities, contact with Cretans and related cultural connections may have been more intense/socially diverse than in Egypt. Yet the rarity (and high-level contexts) of finds such as the storage jar with Cretan hieroglyphic inscription in the late seventeenth-/early sixteenth-century palace of Haror, in the inland south Levant, suggest that Aegean connections in the Levant were, as in Egypt, often highly socially targeted, and very limited in number beyond the coasts (Karnava 2005).

The LM IB period onwards saw marked growth in the volume of Aegean pottery appearing in the east Mediterranean (with some still unexplained/apparent gaps (Cline 1998; Kemp and Merrillees 1981: 250–68; Merrillees 1980; 1998). This pattern seems linked to state emergence on the Aegean mainland and to the rising development of very large-scale fineware trading systems across the east Mediterranean. By LH III the majority of Aegean pottery imported to Egypt, as to the rest of the Levant, had mainland origins. However, much related interaction still seems likely to have occurred through Cretan ports and people, – even as changing practices of cultural/political self-representation in the Aegean were recognised by Egyptian and Levantine groups (cf. the changed nature of 'Keftiu' depictions in the Theban tombs of Amenhotep II's reign [c. 1472–1450 BC] which came to incorporate changed dress and hair styles matching those current in Aegean art as a whole: Macgillivray 2010: 165). The definition of broad ethnic/regional economic identity through material culture was becoming a bigger issue in

the east Mediterranean generally during LB III (as discussed in Chapter 5). As exported 'Aegean' prestige culture became reified and generalised in new ways and at new volumes, the small-scale, high-level travel of Aegeans based in Cretan palatial polities to the Levant, and the latter's special forms of embedding in Levantine societies, could not easily be sustained.

Conclusions: Crete-linked movement in the Aegean and east Mediterranean, MB–LB I

New movement and contact in this period involved strong Crete-based agency, but also highly varied perceptions of/alignments with Cretan prestige culture on the part of different regional groups. We see various, conditioned kinds of movements and roles for Crete-based or -linked groups (which were increasingly reflected in/linked into mainland interests by the end of the period). The roles for such travelling groups seem to have included, among others, those of permanent members of small Aegean island communities; elite 'peer' visitors on the Aegean mainland; trading entities and prestige arbiters in sizeable Anatolian coastal towns; minority/niched court guests in the coastal Levant and Egypt; high-status, well-connected and active agents in Cyprus's developing economic environment. The importance of Crete-based initiative and response in all the connections discussed above is indicated by their coherent rise in strength and volume from late MM III through LM IA, as Cretan palatial systems grew. In each case, however, an existing background of contact and a local context, as well as momentum through interlinkage/inter-consciousness of different movement spheres, affected developments in ways beyond Cretans' control. The history of the Cretan palatial sphere, its geographical positioning at the edge of a topographically-fragmented and only partly state-based Aegean periphery to the Levantine region, its multiple parallel polities, and its distinctive products, were vital in driving intensified movement from and/around the island at this time, and in determining the impact of that movement. Plurality and niche-finding hallmarked the movements involved: though they helped to kick-start complexity in some areas and involved building external partnerships at various (usually unequal) levels, the drive or opportunity never arose to create a single interaction/resource territory controlled by a single Cretan entity. The dense framework of south Aegean contacts, rooted in earlier history, facilitated the relatively wide embedding and structuring of movement within Cretan palatial society. Specialised technologies or materials did not drive movement on their own, though the innovatory and easily transportable nature of fine wheelmade painted pottery was a central support/driver in developments, alongside a continuous interest in metals procurement for its own sake and a passport to engagement with wider Mediterranean elites.

A wealthy base region from which elites undertake partly 'branded' and targeted investment in travel and settlement recalls elements of classic colonial

expansion. But in contrast to such cases, Crete-based movement was never sustained by, or focused around, replication of a standardised social, cultural and political template. There were no very large or highly politicised concentrations of permanent Cretan settlers at long distances from Crete. While undoubtedly aware of valuable connections between their interests across the region, Crete-based/-linked groups active in travel (including people resident in south Aegean networks, specialist groups/individuals travelling regularly in and out of palatial centres, and high-level groups given diplomatic or merchant standing in east Mediterranean state contexts) often seem to have thought and acted in relatively compartmentalised ways, relying on historical, social and geographical familiarity with contact zones/communities, and operation in small select groups, to build trusted routes and contacts. The cultural profile and standing of Cretans was clearly flexible enough for wide, creative adaptation in the course of travel. In some circumstances, travelling groups kept a conscious strong hold of current palatial traditions; in others, they were conditioned, or chose, to enact particular aspects of 'Cretan' prestige culture in ways which altered the meaning of that culture over time. Though elite interests dominated and supported the new volumes and directions of movement, and elite-associated culture often formed the material trace, support and driver of movement, Crete-linked moving groups could be relatively disparate in social status, especially in the south Aegean sphere. Together with the multi-centred nature of Cretan political organisation, all this meant that 'Cretan' prestige cultural practices and goods never came to represent a strongly political ethnicity. In turn, external engagement seems to have had no uniform feedback effect on Cretan societies. Long-term migrants into Crete seem to have been limited in volume, though potentially wide-ranging in origin. Nor did emigration become a way of life for a large part of the Cretan population. Involvement in long-distance movement probably felt most like an extension of attachment to palatial systems. Many people in the island remained relatively untouched by such movement, or were aware of its full reach and repercussions only in very abstract terms. Feedback from the close and long-connected southeast Aegean travel sphere (and latterly from the booming mainland polities) probably affected social and political consciousness in Crete to the greatest extent.

I have made efforts above to avoid thinking *a priori* in terms of 'Cretans', 'Mycenaeans', 'Levantine' or other reductive groupings – stressing the multi-centredness of 'Cretan' politics/economics, the mutability and manipulability of 'Cretan' prestige culture, and the diversity of class participation in movement; demonstrating the existence of a linked-up political and economic network in the south Aegean; noting that 'mainlanders' had diverse regional histories, connections and outlooks; and highlighting the diverse social contexts for Aegeans' interaction with Near Eastern populations. Yet certain division lines do stand out as meaningful. Geography favoured intense interaction within and between the Aegean islands – a factor promoting processes of complexity development in both the mainland

and Crete – while also restricting complexity growth on many small islands. The topographically-fragmented, maritime nature of the Aegean region also made it difficult and unrewarding to access intensively for Levantine states, restricting direct political and economic investment in the region on their part. In contrast to the FN movement phenomenon, which had general effects across an Aegean population possessing broad similarities in culture and organisation, movements involving MM–LM I Cretan palatial societies occurred in an already-differentiated regional political and economic environment, leading to highly contrasting outcomes and engagements. ‘Cretan’ and Aegean’ cultural practice were clearly reified in a number of different ways: object agency could operate with powerful consequences. Against this background, simple ethnically-based readings of cultural items, their movement, and the effects of that movement are shown to be problematic.

The farthest shore: the central Mediterranean

The intensified interest and investment in distance travel involving Aegean societies in this period is nowhere better demonstrated than in the new/increased-volume contacts developing between Aegean and some central Mediterranean areas at this time. Many are documented at sites which remained in touch with the Aegean through the rest of the LBA, and I will discuss them further below in this context (Chapter 5).

Confined largely to the Lipari islands, Sicily and a few points along the south Italian coast, Aegean imports in the region date from the Middle Bronze Age and already include some mainland-produced fine wares in that period (e.g. on Filicudi and Lipari, and on Sicily: Guglielmino 2007; Taylour 1958). They are continuous enough to suggest a regular pattern of Aegean travel to the west, strongly Crete-based/Crete-linked in its impetus. There were notable inequalities in materials/object flows, and probably also in flows of travellers, between the regions. Neither Lipari obsidian, Italian metals, nor any Italian manufactured goods such as pottery make clear or widespread appearances in the Aegean. In contrast, there is no doubting the high status of Aegean fine pottery and its associations as an export in the west – nor, in context, the base of initiative and investment from Crete which brought it there. The trips were too risky, high-investment and numerous to have been peripheral diversions, and they built in intensity just at the peak of Crete-based connections elsewhere. They seem best construed as multi-point, restricted-scale route-building exercises by well-resourced groups exploring and expanding the west Aegean mainland/central Mediterranean travel zone. Developing intra-Aegean connections fed back into and supported this activity in special ways. For example, direct links to early-extending mainland procurement systems, especially in the west Peloponnese, are suggested by finds of Sicilian amber in the Rutsi and Vagenas *tholos* tombs, near Pylos in Messenia (Beck 1966; Sgouritsa 2005: 518; Cultraro 2007).

The combination of high socioeconomic inequality and cultural alienisation existing between Cretan/Aegean groups and south Italy did not apply vis-à-vis any other contact region examined here. The historical factors which produced 'readiness' for rapid internal complexity development on the Aegean mainland in connection with Crete-based movement were also lacking. The scattered range of contact areas in the south Italian case, the small scale of moving groups, and the apparently limited investment of economic or political focus in movement offered opportunities for classic emulation scenarios, but limited support for complexity emergence. Open-sea distance limited the likelihood of reciprocal visits to palatial societies by ambitious central Mediterranean groups. Thus, Crete-based/-linked movement had limited and specific short-term political and social impact in south Italy at this time – though its long-term ramifications were substantial, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

Notes

- 1 Broodbank (2004: 47) notes the need for updated analysis and explanation of these shifts in order to encompass new data; Voutsaki (1999: 105) urges attention to the nature of new *encounters* affecting Aegean societies at this time, rather than just the drawing of contact maps.
- 2 Presaged by discussion in e.g. Branigan (1981); Cherry (1979: 43–6); Renfrew (1978: 418–20).
- 3 See Knappett and Schoep (2000: 370); Knappett and Nikolakopoulou (2005: 182); Niemeier (2007: 14) for recent discussion of the pre-eminence of Knossos in MM–LM I Crete.
- 4 Though if the participants held any permanent status within Cretan palatial polities, their activities may well have been subject to Crete-centred forms of tax or tribute.
- 5 There is clearly more to learn about how south Aegean node/route systems worked in relation to Crete. For example, MM–LM I Mikri Vigla on the west coast of the large, central and accessible island of Naxos had Cretan-type rock-cut tombs and numerous and wide-ranging Cretan and Melian imports, knowledgeable imitation/adaptation of specialised Cretan wares and a remarkable concentration of Cretan-type human and animal clay figurines on a hilltop cult place in a pattern recalling Cretan types of shrine (Barber and Hadjianastasiou 1989). In contrast, no Cretan imports at all have been noted at the MBA–LBA coastal site of Paroikia on nearby Paros (Barber 1984: 181; Davis 1979: 144). Recent work at the Skarkos cemetery on Ios, another central Cycladic island, shows a strong presence of Cretan and multiply-sourced Cycladic imports in the MM III pottery assemblage, but no indication of the advent of Crete-linked burial practice or other deep connections (Marthari 2007).
- 6 A concept potentially rooted in the cultic associations of the prominent mountain Jouktas south of Knossos, used in ritual from at least EB III (see e.g. Nowicki 2007).
- 7 The present lack of clear evidence for a site of this type on Thera might potentially reflect alignment of residents with types of Cretan cult practice physically centred on palace sites.
- 8 The Knossos elite may have built on their success not by trying to take over most bases of economic power in the south Aegean, but by extending their already high levels of economic reach and investment into developing areas further afield, as I discuss later in this chapter.

- 9 For example, at Geraki and Patras Pagona in Laconia, no Aiginetan wares accompany Cretan ones; at late MH Ayios Stephanos, the imported ceramics are steadily local or Kytheran, latterly Cretan (Crouwel 2010; Zerner 2008: 211–14).
- 10 Recent interest in the theorisation of consumption/identity construction for this period highlights problems in equating isolated cultural features with ethnolinguistic groups, as I explore elsewhere in this chapter (e.g. see Crouwel ([1981: 148; 2005: 40–1]) for the prestige links of the chariot form and its likely Near Eastern–based borrowing into the early mainland state context – whether directly or via Crete; as practice, or as iconography. The Akrotiri frescoes and the Temple Repository frescoes at Knossos (MM–LM I) already include chariot representations, while developing war imagery seen in contexts such as the Shaft Graves (like other elements in mainland prestige culture) often draws independently on Near Eastern models.
- 11 The first written versions of languages in the Indo-European group appear in Anatolia c. 2000 BC (Mallory 1997).
- 12 That diverse local languages were spoken/valued in Crete into the Archaic period is apparent from the use of ‘Eteocretan’ alongside Greek in inscriptions dating into the seventh century (Duhoux 2007).
- 13 For an early example of this kind of reference at prestige level, we can note an LM IA fresco at Akrotiri showing a fragment from a boar’s-tusk helmet – an element with no contemporary Cretan parallels, which was to become a strongly mainland-linked prestige form (Akrivaki 2003; Chapin 2010: 228).
- 14 We can note references in these texts to ‘the chief of the merchants of Caphtor (Crete)’ at Ugarit, indicating a respected and regular status for this group as physically present in coastal Levantine systems, whatever their actual social and economic status in Crete itself. That status is likely to have been high, in the context described above (Villard 1984: 528–9).
- 15 See the Hägg and Marinatos (1984) volume for perspectives construing Crete’s Levantine interactions at this time in the mould of a ‘colony’ with direct reference to the Kültepe case.
- 16 Niemeier (2005: 202) exemplifies this approach: ‘I see as evidence for the Minoan presence . . . the distribution of Minoan type house architecture, Minoan type domestic pottery and Minoan type loom weights, Minoan fresco paintings, and Minoan cult objects.’
- 17 Whatever dating system is used, these practices clearly start considerably earlier than the Keftiu references in tomb paintings. At Tell el-Dab’a, pumice from the Thera eruption occurs above the layer with frescoes. This might well suggest a date for the frescoes in LM IA or earlier, but the assumption is not secure, since the pumice is itself a secondary deposition (see Wiener 2003). Manning (2010) suggests that the layer could be even earlier, noting MM III sherds elsewhere at the site and suggesting a *gap* in Cretan contacts during LM IA, before the first Theban tomb references in latest LM IA/LM IB: the latter point seems somewhat improbable in the context of this chapter.
- 18 As the only example of ingots’ association with Keftiu in the paintings, this does not suggest that Egyptians mainly sourced Cypriot copper through Aegeans – which would be an unlikely scenario in the broader context of evidence (Wachsmann 1987: 50).

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5 ‘Aegean’ expansion

New dynamics, new boundaries in the later LBA

Introduction

The sixteenth through thirteenth centuries BC offer an especially wide and colourful range of change features for movement models to draw on and explain. Mainland state emergence brought the whole Aegean into the web of east Mediterranean interactions – a fast-moving and fast-changing world-system where interactions across distance were becoming more frequent, varied and intense than ever before (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; 1993; Figure 5.1). With all regional players now at state or quasi-state level, growth had fewer restrictions, and pushed new forms and rates of interaction. Even in this contact-rich context, east Mediterranean societies developed no cultural uniformity – but there were tendencies for cultural and political blocs to emerge. History, geography and agency played vital roles in how these changes occurred.

Modes of long-distance movement were themselves changing. The pressures, opportunities and structures in Aegean and other east Mediterranean states by LB III apparently combined to encourage use of large oared galleys. Though these boats had slightly smaller hullspace than the masted sailing ships still also in use, they were more consistently powerable and highly directable (thanks to their tillers and shaped steering oars: Tartaron 2013: 59–71; Wedde 2005: 32; Figure 5.2), permitting the intense and targeted development of marine travel as an economic and political force. Palaima (1991: 286) notes references in the Pylos Linear B tablets (Vn 46 and Vn 879) to direct state support for participant galley rowers (some of whom were clearly politically influential and/or under powerful patronage).

Other highly visible shifts in this period include the movement of a new quantity and range of exotic goods through the Aegean: the related manufacture and procurement processes involved an increasingly substantial sector of society, with high investment stakes and side-benefits for a number of social groups. Already from LM IB (c. 1625–1550 BC), there are signs that mainland-based societies had a significant role in supplying goods on traditionally Crete-linked routes. Though many trips might still be organised from Crete, the manufacturing and manpower capacity of mainland polities,

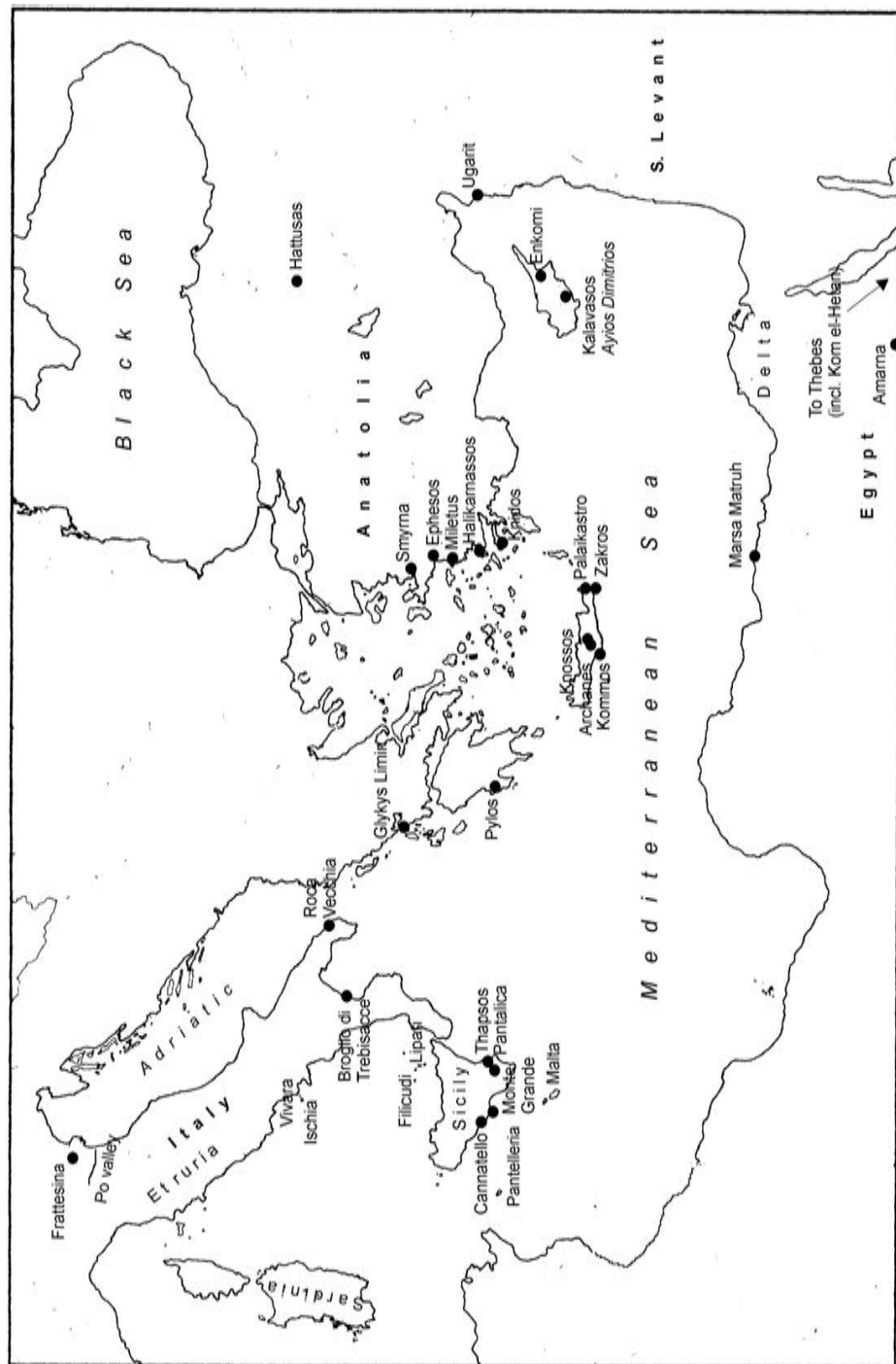


Figure 5.1 Map of sites referred to in this chapter (by S. Wallace).



Figure 5.2 LM III representations of oared galleys: (a) LM IIIB larnax from Skaphidara near Knossos (Heraklion Archaeological Museum 18985); (b) rim fragment of LM III cup from Phaistos palace area; (c) pithos/jar base from Room 4 of LM III house b, west of the 'piazzale del Teatro' at Phaistos (after M. Wedde, *Towards a hermeneutics of Aegean Bronze Age ship imagery*. Mannheim/Mohnesee: Bibliopolis: figs. 608–11).

By permission of M. Wedde.

and the extended range of contacts now open to them, gave their involvement a strong momentum. Parties across the east Mediterranean increasingly had to deal with this large new market, goods source and potential intermediary zone, operating at a different scale from the Crete-centred groups of the MBA–earliest LBA. From the perspective of mainland state bodies, entering the international prestige goods trade and associated travel sphere late, yet at a large scale, meant fighting for niches in a crowded environment. Frictions of various types seem likely to have arisen in this context – including pressure to consolidate and define political identity at various scales. A marked feature of Aegean societies by LH III was overt linkage between war/warrior culture (imagery, equipment, names) and social prestige: war and war-related display became prominent political symbols and concerns (Driessen and Macdonald 1984; Palaima 1999; Figure 5.3). This development has often been read as indicating a generally aggressive, conflict-associated character

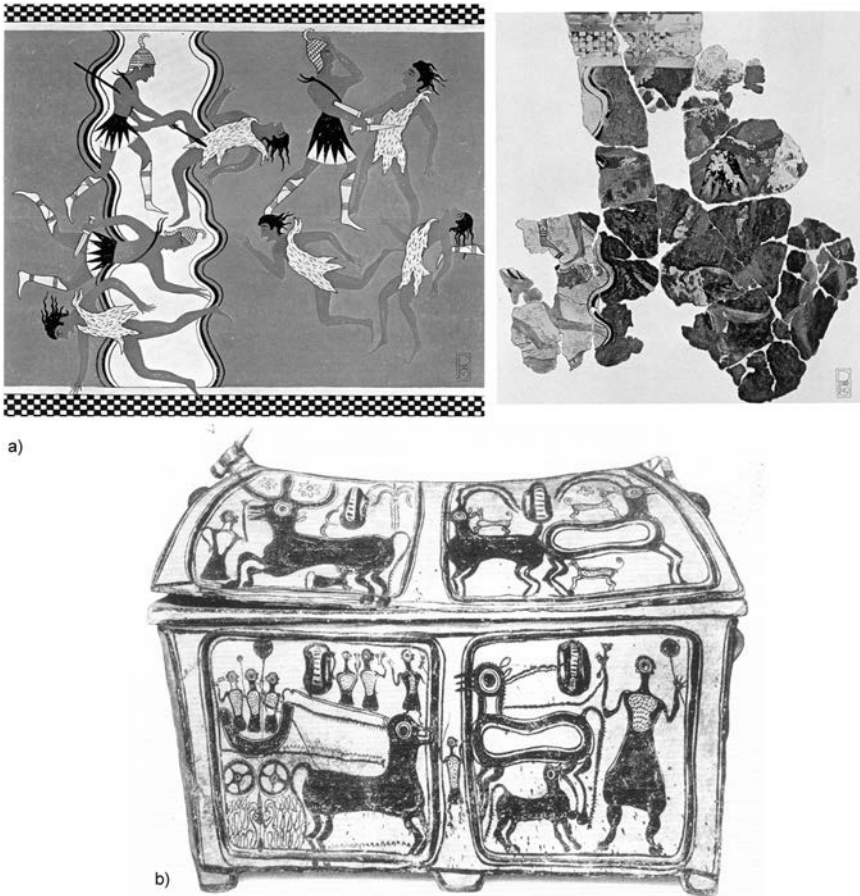


Figure 5.3 (a) Frescoes of warriors at Pylos palace, LH IIIB (after M. L. Lang, 2016. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in western Messenia. Volume II: the frescoes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: pl. 2: figs. 22–3). By permission of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati. (b) Larnax from LM III Episkopi, Crete, with war scenes (after S. Marinatos and R. Hirmer, 1973. *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas*. Munich: Hirmer: fig. 132).

for long-distance interaction and related culture change in the late LB Aegean, especially given the evidence for violent destruction events across large parts of the south Aegean in LM IB (and across the Aegean and east Mediterranean at the end of the LBA, c. 1200 BC; see e.g. Bennet and Davis 1999; for critiques see Driessen 1999; Maran 2011: 284–6).

Texts – first translatable in the Aegean from this time, and plentiful and well preserved in other parts of the burgeoning Near Eastern state network – have been frequently cited in discussions of contemporary movement. The first appearance of written Greek in the context of mainland state consolidation lies at the centre of debate about the origins of 'the Greeks', as discussed above. Movement traditions referred to in later Iron Age to Classical Greek texts, such as the Trojan War story, have been seen as ultimately related to this period, in arguments based both on the texts' own references and imagery, and on the wider cultural context of the LBA. Contemporary Near Eastern texts document the activities of expansionary empires in detail. Textual references by the Hittite state (now controlling large parts of central and western Anatolia) to powers engaged in aggressive operations on the western Anatolian coasts have been used to model Aegean states as an aggressive land-grabbing force on the move in this zone (e.g. Niemeier 1997; 1999; 2005b).

The same period saw deep change in Cyprus, where imported Aegean pottery of mainland manufacture was consumed in increasingly large volumes, peaking by LC IIB (the thirteenth century BC) and accompanied by the large-scale growth of an imitative production tradition in the same period. Models of extensive (and forceful) Aegean-based movement to Cyprus and settlement in the island have often been applied to explain this phenomenon. In Crete, which had lost its status as the main innovation/control base for Aegean pottery exports by LB III, especially intense uptake of mainland-linked cultural practices by LM II onwards, combined with destructions in late LM IB, has encouraged reconstructions of mainland groups deliberately reducing Crete's status as an interregional trade centre and imposing their culture on the island through aggressive immigration.

Many long-established models of movement drawing on the evidence discussed above have not been recently or systematically revised. Recent treatments, critiquing the diffusionist assumptions burdening older models, have tended to focus on elucidating the routes, means and motivations relating to the movement of goods; the discourse around areas like trade and object agency has been deepened as a result (Voskos and Knapp 2008; Knapp 2009: 224; Leriou 2007a; 2007b; 2011; Preston 1999; 2004; van Wijngaarden 2003; 2007). DNA and skeletal studies have started to be used to query older assumptions about cultural traits as linked to specific, unitary, moving ethnic groups (e.g. Nafplioti 2008; 2009; 2011). Investigation of cultural innovation processes, including the differentiation of imports from local imitations using scientific techniques, has improved understanding of the complexity and range of movement at this time, and highlighted the role of agency in exchange systems – for example, by exposing substitution and multi-centred production (Catling et al. 1980; Sherratt, S. 1994). Increasingly (as in the case of the 'Minoans', discussed above) reductive cultural/ethnic categories used to support older interpretations – marauding 'Sea Peoples'; colonising 'Philistines'; expanding 'Ahhiyawans'; invading 'Mycenaeans' – each loaded with heavy conceptual baggage about the motivation for movement, the

kind of movement involved, and its effects – are being re-evaluated. While this critique has been refreshing, the somewhat abstracted/specialised nature of many newer models centred on exchange and consumption leaves gaps around the experience, context and impact of related movement. Recent interest in the way identity and status were structured/enacted *through* long-distance procurement and consumption activity partly helps to address this. Reaction against former tendencies to ethnically-reductive diffusionism means that newer analysis often focuses on aspects of social identity other than ethnicity (Preston 1999: 342). Yet as the volume and importance of long-distance contacts grew in this period, various constraints – physical, political, class-based *and* ethnic – seem to have come increasingly into play on how individuals, states and other groups engaged with each other in cultural terms. Movement was better supported than ever by technology, awareness and demand, but also more hedged-about and volatile. Though the Amarna and Hittite archives show well-established mechanisms of diplomatic interaction, they also indicate that clear lines of political autonomy and economic interest had emerged in many regions, and reveal tensions arising from the crossing of those lines. Though much trade-related travel was heavily embedded in state-level politics, other kinds of movement were on the rise, with their own boundary structures and related conflicts. In a context where movement was becoming both more politically self-conscious and more diverse, I suggest that we may now need to 're-personify' groups of long-distance movers in the Aegean context (using enriched data and developed archaeological thinking). We can consider in more depth the constraints they operated under, what parts of society they came from, and how their movement was experienced, by themselves and by others.

'Aegeanisation': a bloc forms

The eighth-century Homeric epics offer strong images of an historically-, culturally-, and politically-linked set of 'Achaean' states in the distant past. These have been variously interpreted by some previous scholarship as reflecting a formal/notional, permanent/*ad hoc* grouping of the LBA – covering much the same area as historical Greece, being able to act in concert, and recognisable to external players (for recent discussions see e.g. papers in Morris and Lafineur 2007, including Dickinson 2007). Within this grouping (based both on the Homeric picture and on selected archaeological data) Crete and the islands have often been seen as having a secondary/peripheral role to mainland-based power centres, which are reconstructed as the initiating and dominant agents in Aegean movement and cultural change by this period (Preston 1999: 321).

Most, if not all, current scholars recognise Homer's picture of Achaean state interactions as retrojecting into the remote past pan-Hellenic perspectives developed in the late Iron Age. The familiar way in which the grouping is presented – in what were clearly long-rooted and widely-referenced narratives by Homer's time – does suggest a tradition of long- and closely-shared

interests, attitudes and awareness between communities across the Aegean region. However, the idea of a real political 'federation' in the LBA Aegean needs to be treated with great caution – not least because it has often been extended (in work drawing further on the epic stories as well as on selected archaeological evidence) into a view of LBA Aegean presence in parts of the LBA Near East as having an organised military or aggressive dimension – and even into assumptions that conquest was the *baseline* format for the expansion of Aegean connections overseas (see Baines 1996: 44 on the 'unwarranted prestige' given in the literature to this mode of culture contact and change; also S. Morris 1996: 167–8).

Only by looking more closely at the archaeological evidence usually adduced for the 'federation' concept – the clearly-changing relationship of the maritime Aegean (including Crete), to the mainland in the later LBA – can we properly address and deconstruct new linkages of Aegean groups in terms of practical power relations, movement types, ethnic/political self-awareness, and external perceptions. This means examining a process we might call cultural 'Aegeanisation': the formation of a kind of cultural bloc spanning a larger area, and having different kinds of social and political resonance, than the MM–LM IA Crete-focused network. The existence of this bloc helps explain frequent difficulties in identifying exact provenance for 'Aegean' goods/travellers in the east Mediterranean record during this period. The main driver behind the bloc's development seems to have been the establishment of state/palatial culture across the region for the first time. The related rebalancing of status and power systems led many existing practices of procurement, consumption and representation to be reshaped and re-presented. Importantly, the palatial polities of the southern mainland became centres of innovation in relation to many aspects of later LBA Aegean culture, especially at the luxury end of the spectrum (with a trickle-down effect into more broadly accessible forms). But the fact that styles of moveable items, written language, some kinds of architecture and some aspects of ceremonial behaviour across mainland Greece, in Crete, and in the Aegean islands show strong and self-aware similarities from LM IB/II onwards makes it most useful here to refer to the people who shared them most intensively and coherently across the region as 'Aegean'. (This seems preferable to using the term 'Mycenaean', with its typical implication of a cultural or political hierarchy among regions/polities within this network.) An equivalent term, used here in the same sense as 'Aegean' here, may well have operated in some later LBA political, economic or cultural contexts, internal and external (as the references to 'Ahhiyawa' and 'Ahhiyawans' in Hittite texts at the period strongly suggest – I discuss these, and the changing use of the Egyptian term 'Keftiu', below.

Movement and cultural realignment

Intra-Aegean movement evidently increased overall, and in many directions, from LM IB. But the record suggests that mainland-based movement grew

quickest, and at the largest scale. Peer-type engagement between emerging mainland states and Crete-based groups in the sphere of travel related to pottery trade was clearly underway by LM IB, as noted in Chapter 4. Yet the tradition and profile of Crete-linked luxury production in the whole south Aegean area was apparently still so strong that mainland entities continued to produce and transport large quantities of strongly Cretanising products within this sphere for a long time, gaining economic and political influence by this means, rather than through a flood of distinctive new forms.

As growing mainland centres invested in production of innovative painted pottery forms, they developed an ever-stronger role in intra-Aegean consumption. This was especially the case on the south Aegean islands, where consumers had a strong established interest in 'palatial' pottery as a prestige product. The sheer volume and spread of mainland production and frequency/accessibility of contacts with it meant that mainland connections came to be more prominent than Crete-based links in this area of economic and social life by LH II/III. This was the case *even though* Crete-based/-linked groups were still circulating on old routes and living in the islands, and Crete-linked social, political and cultural reference points remained widespread in mainland and island culture. In this context, a simple replacement of one set of political/cultural/ethnic traits by another does not seem to have occurred. Circumstances and scale had made small island communities well used to client-type relationships and integrated settlers, as we saw in Chapter 4. Their lack of capacity for complexity growth restricted the potential for extreme kinds of competitive goods sourcing/consumption. Instead, the fact that large numbers of visiting and supplying agents here (and their transported goods) were increasingly mainland linked apparently encouraged a mainland-facing cultural outlook for these communities in the higher-volume, socially diversified sphere of intra-regional travel. This shift was surely observed and cultivated by mainland groups in the course of their economic and political growth. The scale and accessibility of pottery production and distribution from major centres meant that no large-scale manufacturing substitution networks came to operate in the islands – another contrast with the MBA–early LBA period of Crete-aligned consumption.

Alongside changes in pottery consumption, prestige-linked practices on the islands, such as wealthy burial and cult, increasingly borrowed mainland-focused forms. One case – often previously read in terms of direct 'take-over' of the islands by mainland states – is the replacement of the 'Mansion' building at Phylakopi, following site destruction at the end of LM IB, by a central building with a long-axis-centred 'megaron' form. This recalled the plans of new public buildings developing in mainland polities from LH II (Macgillivray and Barber 1984: 299; Renfrew et al. 2007: 19–50; see Earle 2016; Figure 4.12). Yet the building took on this form well before full state

consolidation on the mainland and thus any likelihood of structured political expansion on this basis. Rather than simply being imposed through take-over, the 'megaron' plan (with its clear, long and variously-adapted mainland roots) was apparently becoming newly *resonant* in a world where prestige concepts and associations were changing subtly and consciously. During LH III, formal structures of representation and interaction in small island polities also show a process of realignment to the changing wider economic and political world. These include the (reading) use of Linear B script, though, as in MH III/LH I, no local script archives ever developed, or were able/needed to be imposed, on the islands.

Despite these changes, there are few signs in the island communities of cultural or political attachment to *individual* mainland states or their production. The formal and stylistic uptakes involved often look selective, generic or adapted in nature, though some patterns of provenance and style suggest that history and route geography promoted particular supply links and cultural connections (for example, Kythera seems to have been in Pylos' developing sphere of cultural and economic influence, while Kea/Ayia Irini had strong cultural connections with nearby Athens and Attica). Farther away, in the more politically and economically volatile context of the east Aegean, the consumption of mainland-type products and practices seems more heavily mediated/dispersed through local networks, though these had shifted and altered (operating at larger scales) since the MB-LM IA period. Dodecanesian communities consumed continuing large volumes of Cretan imports in a distinctive style within current 'Aegeanising' trends, while people at Iasos on the Anatolian coast invested strongly in the production of popular Aegean pottery fashions for local and wider regional consumption (Macdonald 1986; Mee 1998). The Linear B texts indicate that control of coastal waters became a major concern for mainland states in this period of increased long-range movement, growth and related self-definition. In this context, new awareness of the unequal nature of mainland versus island-based operations is likely to have developed on both sides. Through new forms of cultural borrowing/alignment, island groups could better regularise and enable deep contact with the expanding mainland polities. Thus, rather than new direct control of the islands, we see island communities' conscious incorporation into an economic and political *zone* where regional political weight was centred on mainland states, and the latter were the main sources of prestige innovation and sponsorship.

On Crete, too, culture change linked to developments on, and movement from, the mainland occurred from LM II – but in a specific context, rooted in Crete's particular history. In Chapter 4, I showed how Cretan interest in a variety of aspects of mainland culture (often actively hybridised with local elite cultural forms) had grown rapidly, unevenly and strikingly by LM IB – feeding back richly and consciously into the standing of both Cretan and mainland elites. The idea that further, more diverse cultural changes of

partly similar type occurring by/from the mid-fifteenth century (LM II)¹ indicate that Crete (or Knossos alone) was conquered by LBA mainland-based groups, aiming to take control of its trade resources and contacts, has been pervasive since the earliest days of Aegean prehistory research, and reflects the latter's positioning in a culture-historical discourse (Godart and Tzedakis 1992: 332–3; Hood 1973: 111–18; 1980; Popham et al. 1974: 254–7; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 148–51; 193; for critiques see e.g. Bennet and Davis 1999; Preston 1999; Renfrew 1996).

A set of rich tombs around LM II Knossos have been often cited in support of such models (Alberti 2004; Evans 1906). Whether of built or rock-cut type, these tombs tended to share a new form – the single chamber with dromos – paralleling the chamber tombs coming into widespread use on the contemporary mainland. Typical deposits included male-associated weaponry in innovative, mainland-linked styles; large quantities of metal vessels (many adapting mainland ceramic drinking forms in the recently-developed ways discussed in Chapter 4); various fine ceramic drinking and pouring vessels, again often of mainland-linked type (such as the stemmed goblet and kylix) and jewellery and other luxury goods in developing styles (Figure 5.4). The frequent presence and high density of weapons has encouraged readings of all or some such Knossian burials as of actual military personnel, mainland-born (e.g. Hood 1980; Popham et al. 1974: 254–7). The highly symbolic nature of funerary consumption is often sidelined in such approaches. In a similarly reductive kind of approach (which ascribes symbolic meaning to the consumption of selected objects only) studies like those of d'Agata (1999: 51) have attempted to separate out some groups within the wider set of Knossian rich burials as belonging to the 'Minoan community', based on their inclusion of Cretan-tradition clay cups, while suggesting that others (e.g. at the Sellopoulo, Ayios Ioannis and Zapher Papoura locations) were people of mainland origin (based on their association with the two-handled stemmed drinking cup [kylix] form with its mainland antecedents, rather than Cretan-tradition cup types). Further interpretations have been predicated on this kind of selective reasoning. Thus, the *absence* of kylikes in rich burials at LM IB–II Ayia Triada in south Crete (a settlement with otherwise strongly Knossian pottery associations) is read by d'Agata as indicating 'secondary colonisation' of the town by mainlanders – the top (kylix-possessing) ranks of whom, she assumes, remained at Knossos. The kylix is seen as changing from an absolute ethnic diagnostic to a signifier of male rank over the course of time, with no contextual examination of how this might have occurred.

Application of hard scientific techniques, while ambitiously questioning these kinds of interpretations, has not resolved the issues around cultural change in Crete at this period – and I argue that it cannot hope to do so except in the context of broader contextual study and theorisation. Like many others from the early days of research on the prehistoric Aegean, the human bone assemblages from the Knossos burials discussed above are poorly-preserved

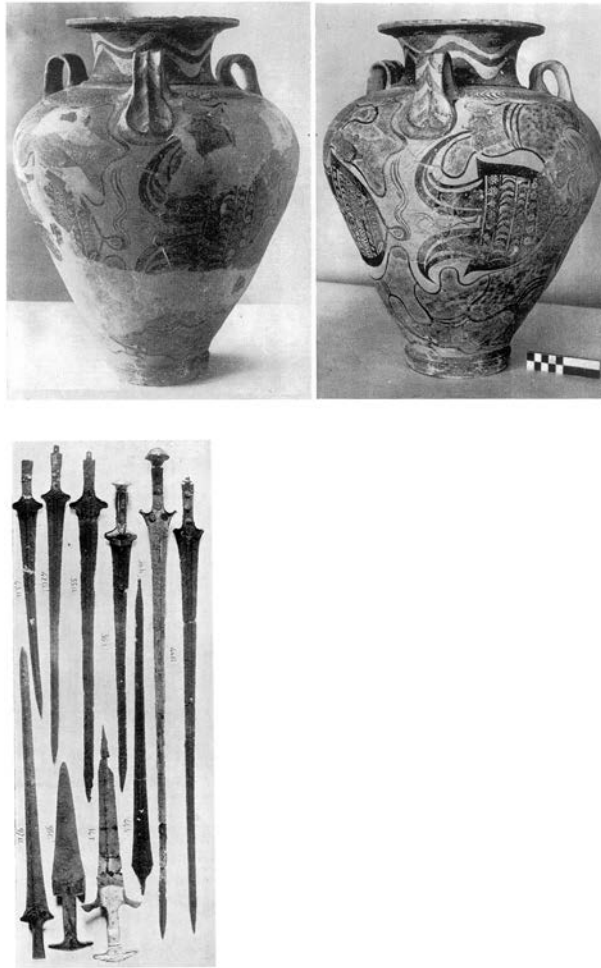


Figure 5.4 (a) Palace-style jars, one with boar's tusk helmet motif, from LH II tombs at Katsambas, Crete (after S. Alexiou, 1967. *Ysterominoiki tafoi lime-nos Knossou* (Katsamba). Athens: Archaialogikis Etaireias: pl. 18). By permission of the Archaeological Society of Athens. (b) Bronze swords, Zapher Papoura cemetery, Knossos: graves 44 and 36 (after A. J. Evans, 1906. *The prehistoric tombs of Knossos*. London: Quaritch: fig. 110).

for purposes of systematic analysis. Given their high perceived importance in this debate, they are, nonetheless, among the few Aegean assemblages yet to have been subjected to strontium isotope analysis – which is potentially able to demonstrate an allochthonous place of birth for burial populations (Nafplioti 2008; 2011). Nafplioti's studies have concluded that the Knossian LM II bone assemblages vary significantly from the strontium isotope

profiles of contemporary human and animal assemblages from the south Argolid. They thus aim to refute, or at least usefully question, traditional models of mainland origin for the occupants of the innovative grave forms. But testing of this kind outside any deeper/revised theorisation of the problems involved still involves some pre-assumptions shared with the kinds of older model described above (e.g. that first-generation settlers would be present in graves of LM II date, or that such settlers came specifically from the Mycenae area of the south Peloponnese). The nature of the strontium isotope technique itself allows limited wider inference: regional variations in bone composition as mapped from reference collections are often borderline in definition, and there is considerable subregional variation in composition. Due to issues of preservation and access, the human bone from LM II Knossos has not been compared in these first studies with actual ancient bone from the mainland, but instead with modern human and animal bone from the Mycenae area.

Responses to this work (e.g. Alberti forthcoming) show that straightforward models of the mainland conquest of Crete and related cultural impositions remain embedded, with their proponents continuing to make various kinds of untheorised assumptions in their counter-arguments – e.g. that only male weapons burials are worth testing in this way (with the first settlers assumed to be invading male warriors). The whole concept of aggressive movement as *inherent* in mainland state expansion during LM IB–III seems to need exploring in more contextual detail when reviewing the evidence for cultural change in Crete at this time, and its links to movement.

LM IB destructions and their context

Addressing the issue of LM IB site destructions in Crete and the Cyclades offers an opportunity to re-evaluate two common assumptions in much older culture-historical discourse: (a) that widespread site destructions signify the aggressive invasion of an area from outside and (b) that the latter phenomenon involves automatic cultural change. Below, I show how historical and context- and agency-focused approaches can nuance such models.

Destructions of some of the largest, best-established south Aegean island centres (many of which, as we have seen, were located on Crete) occurred at the end of LM IB. The timing suggests that the cultural, economic and political realignments discussed earlier in this chapter – themselves producing, and related to, new forms and volumes of movement in the region – are ultimately connected to these events (Cosmopoulos 1999: 140; Driessen and Macdonald 1997: 105–17; Popham et al. 1974; Soles 1999; 2004; Rehak and Younger 2001: 440–1).² Evidence at some of the sites affected, like Mochlos, Palaikastro and Myrtos Pyrgos, suggests the targeted destruction/removal of sacred or ceremonial establishments and their contents in these destructions, including the smashing or displacement of monumental complexes (B2 at Mochlos; Building 5 at Palaikastro; the 'Mansion' at Myrtos Pyrgos; see Cadogan 1978; 1992: 202; Cunningham 2007; Soles 1999; Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 Palaikastro 'kouros': acc ritual figurine smashed in the LM IB destruction of Building 5 (after D. Kypraiou, ed., 2000. *Kriti-Aigyptos. Politismikoi desmoi ton xilieton*. Athens: Ministry of Culture: fig. 294).

Aggressive takeover/undercutting of Cretan interests and benefits in the wider Aegean/east Mediterranean region by emerging mainland state polities has been a frequent explanation for these events and for contemporary wider cultural change (see e.g. discussion in Brogan and Hallager 2011: 629–36). It does seem the case that Aegean elites generally, especially those at long-established points of contact with the east Mediterranean sphere, had to consolidate their external engagement in new terms at this time. In context, though, a mainland-based attempt to destroy Crete's still-developing access routes to value resources coming from outside the Aegean – e.g. Cypriot metals – seems a questionable impetus for the destruction of LM IB Cretan centres. There is little evidence for exclusivity in Cretan access to such resources, and every reason (and solid background) for supposing that Cretan polities actively sought cooperation over the developing metals trade with mainland peers, given the latter's rich local access to metals and their rapidly expanding volume of general procurement and manufacturing. In turn, mainland-based groups had strong incentives to build on the high-level resourcing systems in the wider Mediterranean already established by Cretan polities, and to make use of successful, well-known Cretan ports.

The growth of mainland states meant that Aegean groups *generally* were developing new sourcing patterns including around metals – a shift with the potential to destabilise some existing economic systems. Players ultimately affected by this change included distant entities (groups in Cyprus, western Anatolia and the coastal Levant/Egyptian Delta) which had long had Crete as their frontier of interaction with the Aegean region (Cline 1999: 121). The multiple polities characteristic of the Cretan palatial economy (along with the multiple southeast Aegean island nodes) may have become less smoothly sustainable in this changing environment, with new kinds of power struggles occurring in their established routes/territories. However, none of these potential sources of disruption (or, indeed, the fact of physical destruction itself) seems to have prevented the continuing prosperous use of most major centres on both Crete and the islands into LM IIIA–B (see e.g. Driessen and Langohr 2007: 181). There was no pattern of drastic physical relocation or extreme centralisation of economic control following the destructions, though some settlement pattern reorganisation does occur in areas with previously heavily extended/exposed/potentially overcompeting polities – like east Crete – in LM IB–II. Many smaller hinterland sites also saw discontinuity as economic shrinkage took place around their regional centres. Overall, however, the political and economic landscape of Crete and the south Aegean continued to function. Knossos was a particularly strong continuing focus of prosperity (and became even more centrally important during LM III). Yet a notable late phase of destruction and reorganisation there (possibly following limited LM IB disturbances) in LM IIIA:1 suggests it was neither immune to, or strategically protected from, the disrupted conditions in the wider island. Indeed, some significant economic contraction at/after this time

is hinted at by new exchange patterns in fine pottery, showing a more limited role for Knossian production (Preston 1999: 322).

In the above context, the notion that Crete's multiple LM IB bases could be taken over smoothly, or as a body, by external Aegean players operating independently or via Knossos is weak. Evidence is lacking at this period for coherent interpolity strategy among mainland states, where features like central written administration had yet to emerge. Indeed, the early nature, diversity and spatial spread of mainland states means that models of mainland conquest of Crete and/or the south Aegean often involve internal contradictions. For example, Soles (1999) conflates one view – of sophisticated mainland polities imposing destabilising new production targets on LM IB–II Crete – with a perception of these same mainland polities as essentially 'barbarian' and 'organised around warfare', in supposed contradistinction to the more established, 'civilised' Cretan states. Arguments for a kind of 'soft' or collaborative power shift to explain cultural realignment in Crete raise similar problems: how far did mainland states by LH I encompass the kind of large-scale political structures able to intervene strategically in the south Aegean in this way? I have noted that a shift in Crete's role as a centre of interregional exchange and movement in the region was apparent already during LM IB, before the destructions, and this process continued after the latter occurred. Rather than Cretan products or travelling groups being removed from their traditional reach areas, or aggressively replaced there, after the end of LM IB, their remit within existing trade networks became ever more regionalised and targeted (a pattern seen, for example, in the fine pottery market in the Dodecanese, which favoured Cretan forms, and the strongly Crete-linked systems of olive oil export during the same period). Crete's long-established role as a transit/reception centre in high-level overseas interactions also continued after the destruction period and through the process of regional economic rebalancing, as evidence like the Kom-el-Hetan inscriptions (discussed below) shows. Thus, even if the LM IB destructions *could* have been 'strategically' targeted to weaken Cretan ports/centres, we must see any such strategy as spectacularly unsuccessful – perhaps luckily so from many points of view. A Cretan maritime sphere weakened by targeted external attacks, and local resistance to them, would at this point have severely undermined mainland growth itself, creating a damaged base for all Aegean dealings in the wider political and economic world.

Examined in detail and in historical context, the patterns of LM IB destructions and abandonments in Crete look locally-centred. A linking factor between regions is a reduction in the number/importance/concentration of power centres. The hints at a conscious, if not easily controllable, rationalisation process, echoed in features like the selective 'cancellation' of cult/ceremonial places at some settlements. Phenomena such as the hoarding of metals in wealthy houses in the period just prior to destruction (as seen at LM IB Mochlos) and the increased regionalisation of fine

pottery styles around the same time also suggest status redefinition of influential groups at major sites – a process likely to have involved conflict: Brogan et al. 2002; Barnard and Brogan 2003; Cunningham 2007: 30). Other signs of shifts in local economic and political power balance are seen as early as LM IA and through the course of LM IB, including downsizing (the blocking-off or abandonment of sizeable previously-used areas at some centres) and some decentralisation of manufacturing (Brogan et al. 2002; Driessen and Macdonald 1997; Driessen 2013); Zakros, a permanent casualty of the disruptions, is currently thought to have experienced two successive LM IB destructions (Platon 2007). Notably, no Cretan region (including the Knossos area, where closely-neighbouring/connected centres like Archanes and Tylissos were destroyed) seems to have been protected from disturbance in accordance with its level of cultural alignment with mainland societies.

All this suggests that conflicts were not straightforwardly tied to ethnopolitics, as conquest-type and 'soft pressure' models both suggest. Rather, as Cretan polities and associated networks changed their economic and political remit/support base in the new wider regional environment, certain groups *within* Cretan regions were able to place themselves in advantageous positions to determine and exploit the changes. In east Crete, this best explains the incorporation of Zakro's wealth and contacts into a nexus around Palaiakastro, following destructions at both sites (Hemingway et al. 2011). In south central Crete, management of regional wealth, including rewarding external interactions, seems to have been restructured around the existing town at Ayia Triada (where, as at Phylakopi, the group(s) ruling the site chose ascendant mainland-linked tropes of prestige architecture to mark their central public building), and the port of Kommos (Privitera 2012; Steel 2013: 65–6; Figure 5.6). This followed destruction and disruption at both sites, and at the former palatial centre at Phaistos, which subsequently saw much-restricted occupation. In other regions, too, the importance of former centres was significantly downplayed/restructured (rather than directly appropriated by new players) following the disturbances, with focused use of smaller monumental buildings within existing town settings (Driessen and Macdonald 1997: 111–12).

A boom in Cretan prestige consumption from LM II (emphasising mainland-type goods and practices, but also involving Levantine luxuries acquired in new ways) highlights the high-stakes environment in which the late LM IB restructuring occurred, and the powerful procurement systems which still remained in the island following it. Knossos seems a major actor/affected area at this time. Yet its inhabitants did not acquire any clear set of exclusive consumption rights/access suggesting mainlanders' takeover of the settlement and subsequent rulership of the island from it. The model of a parachuted-in mainland elite consuming and disseminating newly popular mainland-linked products seems problematically tied up with a discourse simplistically equating movement, aggression and culture change. As noted



Figure 5.6 Central building with 'megaron' plan at LM IIIA Ayia Triada (after S. Marinatos and R. Hirmer, 1973. *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas*. Munich: Hirmer: fig. 12).

above, there is no clear provenance or coherence structure for such a significant aggressor group, and the history of the MM III–LM I period offers good background for increased Cretan interest in and alignment with mainland-based culture. We can expect the beneficiaries of recent local power shifts in Crete, with new status to consolidate, to have become enthusiastically involved in innovative, high-profile consumption. Yet a comprehensive and straightforward trend of cultural replacement is absent at any social level. For example, the mainland-based symbolic trope of war imagery fails to resonate equally strongly in the Cretan elite sphere; mainland-type prestige/ceremonial objects and practices are reconfigured in Crete across a wide social range (as with the adaptation of chamber tomb burial to incorporate use of

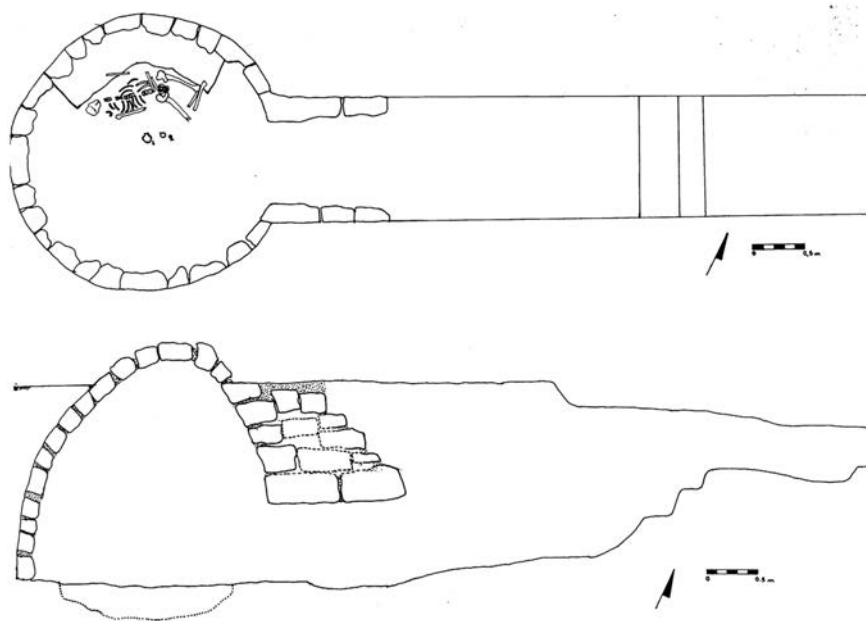


Figure 5.7 LM III tholos tombs: plan and section of the tholos in the LM III cemetery of Armenoi, west Crete (after E. Papadopoulou, 1997. Une tombe à tholos 'intra muros': le cas du cimetière MR d'Armenoi, in A. Farnoux and J. Driessen, eds., *La Crète mycénienne*. Paris: Boccard: 316–40; fig. 2).

By permission of E. Papadopoulou.

the established local larnax (clay coffin) type now painted in styles associated with mainland pottery production). Like other built tombs, mainland-type tholoi were taken up in a differentiative mode in Cretan cemeteries by LM IIIA – but at a completely different social and physical scale than in the LH III mainland, where they became monumental rulers' tombs at the centre of palatial settlements (Shelmerdine 2001: 345; 352; Figure 5.7).³ Thus, local demarcation lines in consumption were continuously present even as aspects of mainland prestige culture were intensively taken up and direct Cretan contacts with mainland residents and expatriates increased in volume.

In the same vein, there is no clear sense in which we can directly compare the role or size of Knossos within Crete by LM IIIA–B with a mainland polity in its palatial territory. The cultural and political changes of LM IB did not bring about a system of political or economic control of Crete in a standard mainland format. The changing circumstances of this period did however form the basis for the development of exceptionally large and powerful LH II–III Cretan polities at Knossos and Chania, which became centres of extensive territories with economic and political autonomy, possessed of Linear B archives, in LM III. That such polities – particularly Knossos – were at

least fictively parallel in status to mainland states is suggested by the shared use of core 'state' terminology (terms for rulers and officials) across the Linear B corpus. These terms, which are not characteristically Greek in form, seem very likely to have been rooted in the Cretan language earlier written down in Linear A (or potentially in the external linguistic borrowings of the MM palace emergence period). The shift to the use of Linear B Greek for administration at Knossos from LM II onwards supplements other evidence for the adapted, mainland-orientated/mainland-innovated nature of Aegean prestige culture by this time (Bennet 2008). At the same time the shared use of probably older, non-Greek elite terminology supports other indications that the focus in regional cultural and political development was on standardised *forms* of correspondence and peer interaction among disparate Aegean centres, not a straightforward hierarchy with mainland states as cultural 'conquerors' at the top (Driessen and Langohr 2007: 180; Jasink 2005: 64; Manning 1994: 250; Schoep 1999: 203). Multiple members of Cretan elite groups familiar with Linear A must have played an important and deeply engaged role, through frequent regional cross-travels, in embedding the Linear B script over a very wide area by LH II (Linear B's very first known appearance in texts is at LM II Knossos; see Driessen 2000; Figure 5.8).⁴ It is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine this process operating in the context of a widespread takeover of Cretan polities by one or more mainland entities, involving resistance by (or wipeout of) local elites. Rather, self-conscious region-wide rebalancing in cultural and political terms apparently took place partly *through* the structured adoption of a new script representing spoken Greek – the language shared by the largest number of contemporary state communities in this historically long-connected region. This process drew important formal boundaries with regions to the east and north.

Conclusions on the Aegean 'bloc' and movement

Intra-Aegean movement by early LH III was politically embedded; multidirectional; operated at expanded social levels; was an indicator of prosperity; formed a constant element in the maintenance of political and economic complexity; constituted a vital communications network. Without it, it is difficult to imagine any single Aegean region achieving the international status/profile which clearly applied to the regional bloc by the end of the LBA. Within the bloc, aspects of uneven resource distribution and political status were masked both by movement and by the growth of consciously shared cultural traditions, especially at elite levels. Certain standards, representations and political formalities clearly came to be accepted across the bloc, including in relation to status, administration, warfare (in symbolic and real aspects) and provisioning modes: all were useful binding mechanisms. It would be surprising if elements of a common ethnic/historical structure were *not* developed or emphasised in this context. But the core of the bloc seems to have been real shared history, shared interest and movement – not, apparently, centralised

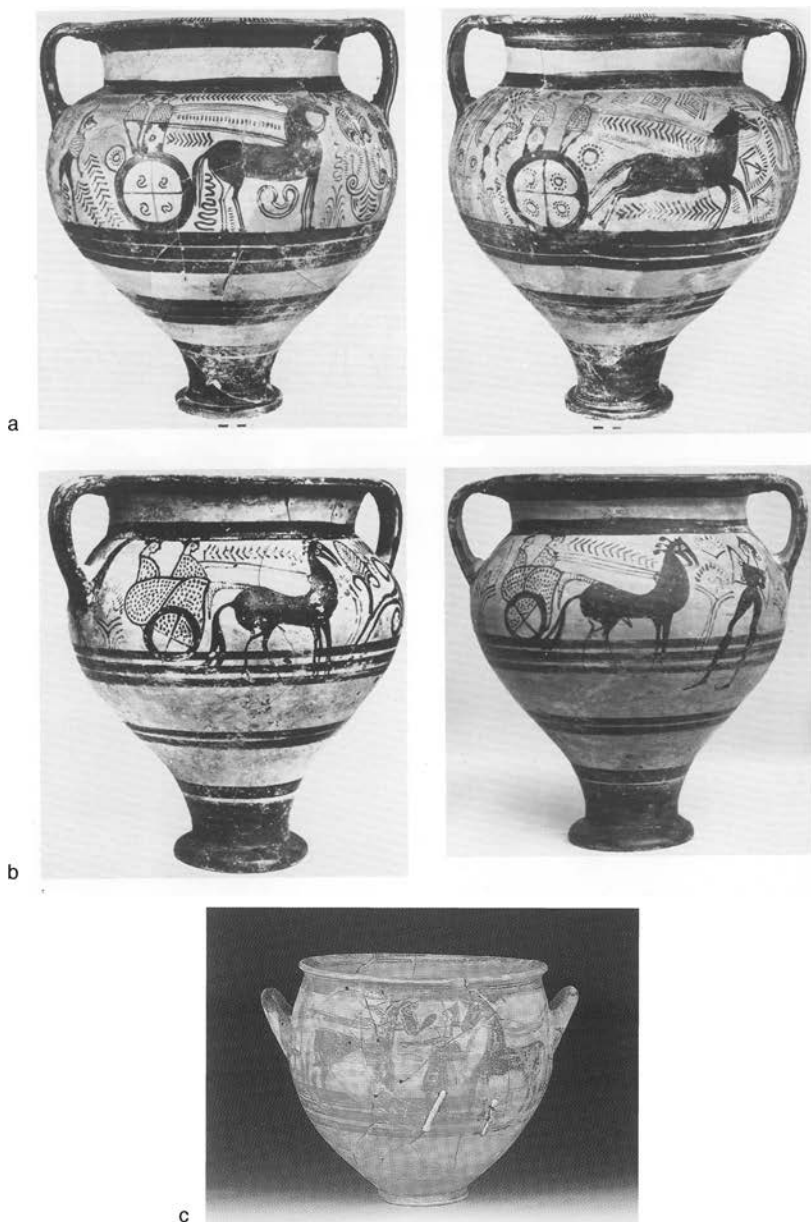


Figure 5.8 Pictorial pottery in the east Mediterranean: (a) chariot kraters: (1) from Cyprus, provenance unknown, Pierides Collection 33; (2) from Enkomi tomb, British Museum (both after E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, 1982. *Mycenaean pictorial vase painting*. Harvard: Harvard University Press: figs. IV.15 and IV.16). By permission of V. Karageorghis, the Pierides Collection, and the British Museum. (b) Krater with Cypro-Minoan sign from twelfth-century Pyla Kokkinokremos (after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *ΠΛΟΕΣ: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: pl. 184).

By permission of N. Stampolidis.

domination, one-way movement or a highly constructed cultural/economic/ethnic hegemony built through practices such as colonisation.

The bloc was neither fully stable, nor consistently or formally unified. One of its (surely conscious) strengths was an ability to build on and maintain a diverse set of rewarding overseas relationships. In contrast to EBA–MBA patterns, highly-specialised resource geography and related movement patterns had become of minor relevance to Aegean economies. Population scale, agricultural resources, shared history and complex intersecting networks of long-distance procurement contacts were now central to prosperity and growth.

Culture as currency: Aegean painted pottery and movement in the later LBA

Looking at later LBA Aegean movement in the context of the wider Mediterranean and the Aegean bloc as described above, it is essential to be able to view the movement of goods at this time as separable from that of ethnically-/regionally-specific groups of individuals – even while recognising strong general links between the appearance of certain pottery types and increased movement from/around certain regions. The large-scale uptake of Aegean mainland-type painted pottery across the east Mediterranean through LBII–III is notable (with various subregional start dates, concentrations, peaks in volume, regional stylistic preferences/markets, contexts of use (e.g. graves, shrines and houses) and proportions of imports to local imitations consumed.⁵ Fall-off maps of finds show strongly coastal trade patterns for both imports and imitations. In parts of west Anatolia, with its established, strong connections to Crete-based and secondary networks, Aegean-type painted pottery had already been consumed in fairly high volumes since the MBA alongside local-tradition fine wares, as we have seen (Mountjoy 1997: 263). During LH III, mainland imports in this area increased and local production took a newly strong lead from mainland Aegean styles. In the coastal Levant and Cyprus, the volumes of imported fine Aegean pottery consumed (overwhelmingly concentrated in tombs) grew quickly in early LH III (e.g. Artzy 2006; Badre et al. 2005; Cadogan 1993); local imitations of the same pottery also grew in volume, mainly from the thirteenth century. A flow of imports remained in place in most areas even as the substitute trade started to develop, suggesting there were consistent gaps/restrictions in import flow, able to be profitably filled by this means. The complex referential context for fine pottery manufacture and consumption in the Aegean itself during this period is exemplified by the large, elaborate ‘palace-style’ jars of LM II/LH IIB, which used a mainland form but Cretan-type decoration (Figure 5.4). These were presumably made on commission – offered and received as high-level gifts or trades within the Aegean bloc area.

Less costly ceramic versions of adapted traditional mainland drinking shapes, like the stemmed two-handled cup (kylix) and amphora, were also consumed across many Aegean areas by this period (Cadogan 2011: 141–2; Tournavitou 2011; Rutter 2011: 81). These hybridised manufactures,

rooted in elite uptake but pragmatically linked into rapidly expanding procurement and manufacture systems, allowed the bridging of different class needs/demands and familiarised certain style/practice associations across a wide geographical area.

A combination of factors – the reach and embedding of Crete-based networks during LM I, the investment in fineware innovation and production within expanding mainland states, the increasingly reproducible/standardised forms of prestige pottery products, and the distinct character of 'Aegean' drinking rituals – promoted 'Aegean' pottery as a desirable and multiply-readable good in both the eastern and central Mediterranean through LH II–III. Fine pottery provided the emerging Aegean bloc with a highly flexible, yet highly recognisable product, and in this way helped bind it together, internally and in external perceptions. Increased numbers of Aegean-based travellers were essential to starting off this growth story, and ongoing movement maintained it. But the historical context described above means that the consumption volume or type of 'Aegean' vessel forms abroad cannot be neatly linked with specific moving groups. By LH IIIB, many aspects of the drinking ritual and its associated equipment were clearly in use among an increasingly diverse Aegean sub-elite (van Wijngaarden 2007: 468). In areas outside the Aegean bloc, where physical access to 'Aegean' people and products was restricted, social flexibility in use of the drinking ceremony and its accoutrements was even greater.

This trend is illustrated by two forms of production during LH III. Large 'pictorial style' vessels (kraters, amphoras), developed in the mainland context of innovation and elite consumption by LH III, had a limited, high-investment market (especially over distance) and highly distinctive imagery (Figure 5.8). They contrast with the 'drinking set' components widely circulated in the same period (kylikes, amphoras, deep bowls, kraters) which had very standardised shapes and simple decoration. The pictorial style drew on various aspects of established elite symbolism in Aegean societies (Karageorghis 1958; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982). Its common themes – including chariot warfare, death rituals and the afterlife, shipping and boats – have often been modelled as representing the main preoccupations of LBA Aegean life/the inherent qualities of Aegean groups. In a culture-historical perspective, the people transporting, consuming or imitating the vessels across the east Mediterranean have been identified with these qualities. Yet the restricted social contexts for pictorial pottery consumption within the Aegean, and the pottery's links into other specialised/prestige spheres of Aegean art, suggest that the exact meanings of this cultural form inside Aegean 'bloc' societies were not replicated in the wider export/imitative sphere: we can note the non-funerary use of the wares in Levantine contexts in this connection (van Wijngaarden 2003: 279). This was the case even while the broad tradition surely did have specifically Aegean-linked regional/status associations for external consumers.

The simpler, more standardised drinking sets (usually lacking some typically Aegean components, such as dippers, when found abroad: see Rutter 2011) travelled and were imitated in much bigger volumes, with

a likely wider range of exchange, and more fluid class/ethnicity associations. Most Aegeanising pottery products imitated at distance, whatever their type, lacked the quality of form and decoration seen at mainland production centres, which used consistent, perfected fabrics and highly-specialised painters in a long tradition. This visually obvious contrast suggests both the well-embedded production of Aegean-type pottery in most overseas settings and the inherently flexible character of that production – it clearly did not depend on skills or qualities pertaining only to people of Aegean origin/training. In this context, there seem to have been few possibilities of containing or controlling trade in Aegean-type fine pottery, either within or outside the bloc. As long as desirable value imports continued to reach the Aegean, and the (limited) standing of Aegean elites in the wider Near Eastern world (partly tied into the success of the 'Aegean' pottery trade) was maintained, the practice of imitation/onward trade in both the east and central Mediterranean seems to have been lived with and built on fairly easily by Aegean states. Throughout the Aegean bloc itself, diverse social and regional groups were continuously adapting innovatory pottery forms from the south mainland centres within their own consumption and exchange structures. Imitation further afield was, in many ways, simply another version of this practice and apparently did not stimulate ethnopolitical attachment to fine pottery products on the part of Aegean state bodies. Political and economic boundaries for the Aegean bloc seem to have been manifested much more directly and consciously in other areas of culture, such as script.

This level of tolerance, and the volume and variety of import substitution, suggests that by c. 1200 BC Aegean painted pottery had taken on a role as a kind of social 'currency' linked only loosely to the fortunes of Aegean exporting states. Though without a standard value, it was not easily devalued as a class: its worth seems actually to have been strengthened and extended by its reproducibility in regularly-updated forms. Despite the strong symbolic associations of some components, including original links to distinctive drinking rituals which could only be properly learned about through direct contact with people closely linked to/originating from Aegean states, it remained weakly politicised. In this way, it became an important medium for trade development and identity discourse at a number of levels, especially outside the elite sphere. Thus, while mainland centres did function as 'stems' of export, innovation and interest in pottery circulation, and significant ongoing movement of people from the Aegean to and around the Near Eastern coasts was involved in making this happen, generalising scholarly treatment of Aegeanising LH II–III ceramics abroad as indicating direct movement from mainland Greece is problematic.

Unlike other prestige materials, pottery was easily able to move down the social scale – with its manufacturing location and quality, as well as style, clearly adaptable to the needs of a variety of consumers. We see a social widening of access to 'luxury' goods across the east Mediterranean region in LH III, with a more complex hierarchy of 'luxury' emerging (e.g. van Wijngaarden 2007).⁶ The diversifying contexts of manufacture/circulation

for fine Aegean pottery had a particular role in this. Near Eastern states already possessed large merchant classes, but LB III was probably the first period in which significant groups of travellers from the Aegean operated as dedicated traders (in a trade reliant on fine pottery to a significant extent). A high proportion of Aegean-based trade probably came under state auspices. But the diversity, flow and replicability of Aegean pottery, and the growing scale of demand for it in a world of expanding contacts, also offered openings for exchanges with a broader social base (and potential associated settlement at distance) for Aegeans, as for others in the region. A wider range of people was gaining access to new experiences and new wealth-development opportunities overseas. Involvement by expanding Aegean states with other types of large-scale movement common to Near Eastern state contexts, including practices such as slavetaking and shifting formal politico-military alliances over distance (see Moran 1992: 316; 330–1; 342), also brought new kinds and densities of migrants into and out of the Aegean and must have helped develop new trajectories of social diversity, including new class/ethnicity linkages and intermarriages across distance.⁷

If higher volumes of long-distance movement, and a greater degree of regional and social diversity in the latter, aided the spread of Aegean fine painted pottery, the pottery's popularity and flexibility in consumption in turn enabled such movement. In various forms, the pottery could function as state ambassador or potential economic destabiliser, neutral 'reserve' cargo good or high-value commissioned item with deep social resonance. Its level of takeup depended strongly on history and context, less so on geographical factors, and weakly on structures of ethnicity. An appreciation of this seems vital to understanding the nature and impact of state and trade systems collapse at c. 1200 BC (as I highlight in Chapter 6). The latter seems rooted in increasing opportunities for private or non-state trade linked to the rise through the later LBA of a region-wide trade in added-value commodities (of which Aegean pottery formed one element) which could not be easily controlled – having, in some sense, its own agency (Routledge and McGeough 2009: 29).

Aegean movement and Cyprus

A number of models see Cyprus as becoming 'Aegean' in culture and outlook during the later LBA–EIA, thanks to the direct large-scale settlement of Aegean people in the island (see recently Iacovou 2012; 2013; Karageorghis 2002: 71–141; summaries and critiques by Knapp 2009; Leriou 2007a: 4–5; 2007b; Steel 2004: 187–213; Voskos and Knapp 2008). Some versions suggest that Aegean-led activities *drove a process* of transformative change in Late Cypriot (LC) II–III Cyprus (rather than Aegeans themselves directly causing change through settlement). As discussed above, clear understandings of exactly what 'Aegean' objects/practices signified in contemporary context are essential in evaluating the impact of Aegean-linked movement in this case.

The LC II–III period saw the consolidation of complex societies in Cyprus through full engagement with international exchange systems. The use of a

variety of east Mediterranean scripts (e.g. Ugaritic, Akkadian) at Cypriot ports, alongside the continuing use of Cypro-Minoan script, adapted and standardised in new ways ('Cypro-Minoan II'), shows the high-volume, wide-ranging and well-accommodated nature of these connections. This outlook was paralleled at nearby, closely-linked Levantine sites like Ugarit, where, in turn, Cypro-Minoan texts were in use (Yon 2006). Cyprus's specially-integrated and powerful position vis-à-vis Near Eastern states is also indicated by the contents of the Amarna and Hittite archives, which regularly refer to one or more Cypriot polities (under the term 'Alasia') as operating at an important, respected level in interregional politics. The strength of Aegean states' economic engagement with Cyprus and the likely regular presence of Cypriot expatriates in the Aegean at this time, especially on routes touching Crete, is indicated not only by increasing volumes of fine Cypriot pottery imports and Levantine transport jars at Aegean ports (such as Kommos) and an increasingly strong role for Cypriot copper in the Aegean supply, but by special features like the use of Cypro-Minoan II inscriptions on fine wares exported from the Argolid and the apparently Cypriot origin and trade focus of the Point Iria ship, wrecked off the southern Argolid while loaded with Cypriot-made vessels (Knapp 2012; Shaw et al. 2006a: 854–63; Shelmerdine 2001; Stos-Gale and Gale 1984; Gale and Stos-Gale 1986; Lolos 2003; Watrous 1992: 155–7; Figure 5.9).

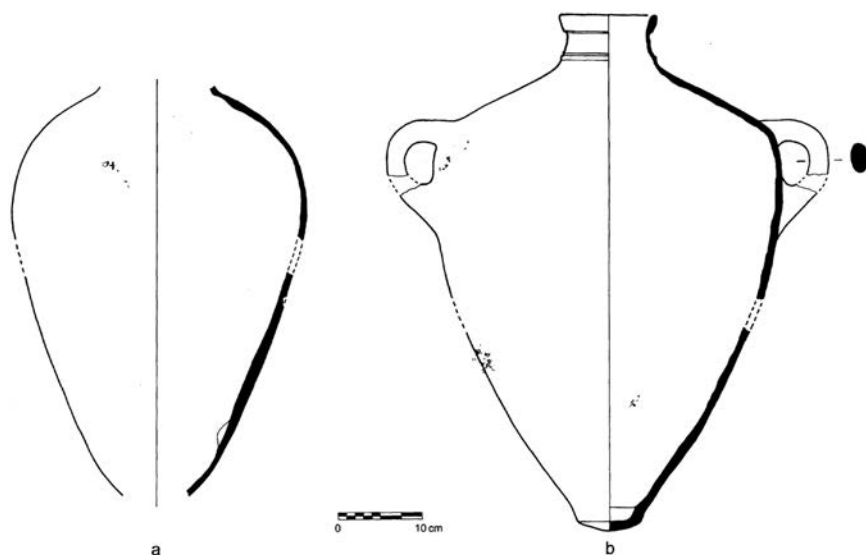


Figure 5.9 Canaanite jar imports in Crete, from LM IB and LM IIIA:1 deposits in House X, Kommos (after J. Rutter, *The Canaanite transport amphora within the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. In D. Nakassis et al., eds., 2014. *Ke-ra-me-ja. Studies presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press: 53–73: fig. 5.1).

By permission of J. Rutter.

There were, however, very clear differences between the structures of external engagement in Cypriot and Aegean polities at this time. The regular use of multiple foreign scripts seen in Cyprus is absent from the Aegean context, while Linear B is correspondingly missing as any kind of trade script at either Cypriot or Levantine ports. Aegean states clearly did not take part at the same level as Cypriot ones in the world of east Mediterranean politics and trade. The levels of diplomacy in which 'Alasiya' was involved are not paralleled for 'Ahhiyawa', an entity referred to in texts of the period and clearly linked to/analogous with the Aegean bloc (as discussed below). Cypriot polities were not organised as large territories with central palace-type complexes of the relative size and importance seen in the LH II–III Aegean (Knapp 2013: 432–7; Sherratt 1998: 336; Steel 2004: Chapter 6). Contemporary visitors from the Aegean and elsewhere must have been aware of some of these structural differences.

At the same time, deliberate and intensive linkages to some aspects of Aegean culture were being consistently made across quite a large part of Cypriot society. By late LB III the volume of Aegean-type cultural uptake here was unique outside the Aegean bloc area. It clearly owed a considerable amount to close and frequent physical contacts with Aegean-based people – contacts operating in a very different context and at a much more widespread scale than had occurred in the MM III–LM I period. I argued in Chapter 4 that Crete-based/-linked movers found an especially deep social niche in Cyprus during LC I. These connections were clearly included (and transformed) in the range of Crete-buffered interactions that mainland Aegean groups accessed by LM IB. This background, and the relative openness of the Cypriot cultural and political sphere during the period in which complex polities were starting to consolidate on the Aegean mainland, help explain the especially intimate, diverse and enthusiastic way in which Cypriot communities accessed the LH II–III Aegean pottery repertoire. Concentrated consumption (and latterly manufacture) of Aegeanising wheelmade pottery helped to mark out LC II Cypriot elites in their local context, as well as differentiating them from many of their Near Eastern neighbours and giving them close, valuable links to a flexible and fast-moving 'currency' item in the wider region (Iacovou 2013; van Wijngaarden 2003: 275–7).

The 'classic' scenario of interaction between unequal societies stimulating a drive to internal differentiation in the less-developed unit through the take-up of exotic items and new technologies from the more complex one is unsatisfactory here. Structural inequalities between Cyprus and the Aegean mainland were not based on a long prior history of complexity in one of the regions, or on its exclusive access to specialised technologies or resources. Rather, the different environments and circumstances in which complexity had recently arisen/was consolidating in each area produced a situation where groups in *both* regions seem to have been able to aggrandise more effectively through practical and conceptual association with the distant

partner, using the specific recent history of contact and connection as a foothold. Groups located within the Aegean bloc and trying to operate in the expanding Near Eastern political and trade world (members of which were regularly engaged in high-value transactions on/with Cyprus) had interests in maintaining and developing existing 'ways in' into Cypriot polities, including through increased direct interaction and long-term physical presence. On the Cypriot side, significant benefits accrued from intimate and direct links into the Aegean socioeconomic sphere as international trade in Aegean pottery took off. Cultural and personal connections with the Aegean at a variety of social levels seem likely to have consciously, and valuably, differentiated Cypriot groups, from their Near Eastern neighbours.

Against this background, models assuming direct or indirect political/economic dominance of Cyprus from the Aegean, based on the presence in the island of concentrations of Aegeanising material culture during the later LBA, are problematic. Given the type and scale of Aegean political operations at home and abroad at this period, it is unlikely that either the whole of Cyprus (which was highly culturally and politically regionalised throughout the LBA) or even just its most prosperous parts could have been conquered by Aegean groups at the expense of the island's much more powerful and proximate Levantine neighbours. These were already deeply engaged in the Cypriot economy by LC I and well-equipped and -grounded to pursue interests there aggressively if necessary. Even if it had been feasible, Aegeans seem likely to have perceived little value in attempts at direct takeover, if (as seems probable) Cyprus already housed a number of Aegean-linked residents benefitting from the rich and fast-growing interregional trade environment. It also proves problematic to replace invasion models with those of an Aegean economic/cultural domination of Cyprus ('soft power'). Consumption and emulation of exotic goods/practices played a strong role in Cypriot societies, but this was clearly not restricted to, or dominated by, Aegean tropes. The range in volume, type and quality of Aegean pottery imports found in Cypriot tombs of all types suggests diverse social groups were able to engage with the burgeoning market and contact networks (Steel 1998: 290–2; 2014). Burial forms themselves were another important context of Aegeanising uptake. Cypriot elites clearly developed new needs for formal, individual differentiation in this sphere as social complexity grew during LC II, and a variety of exotic practices were drawn on in the process. Direct experience of Aegean types of built tomb with dromos and chamber was clearly influential. There is also notable awareness of intra-settlement built tombs in the contemporary Levant – yet no standard 'package' of borrowing from either area (Keswani 2007). At the important centre of Enkomi, *tholos*-type tombs, rock-cut chambers, ashlar-built chamber tombs and local-tradition shaft graves all co-existed in LC II, and had different combinations of positioning and contents, defying easy categorisation as ethnic indicators (Knapp 2013: 382; Figure 5.10).

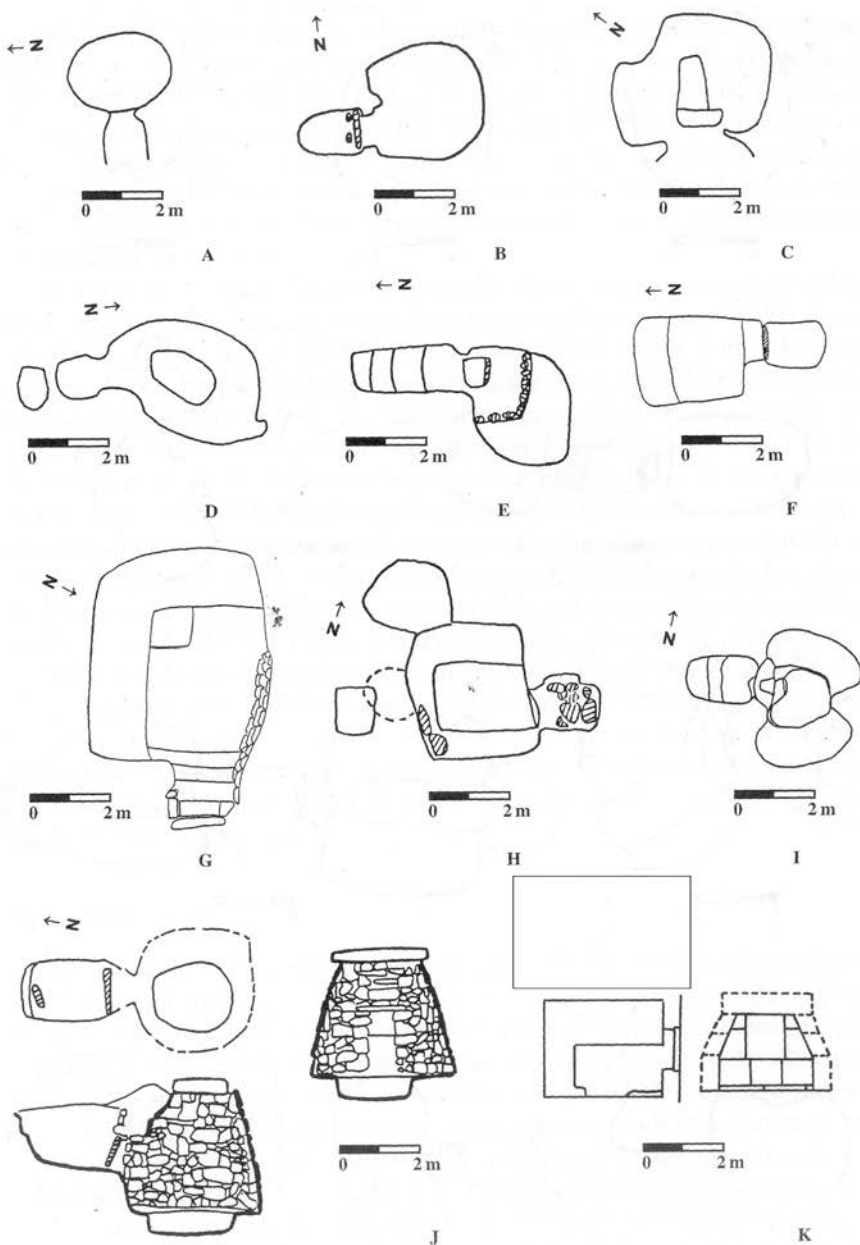


Figure 5.10 LBA tomb form diversity at Enkomi: plans and sections (after P. S. Keswani, 2004. *Mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. London/Oakville: Equinox: fig. 5.3).

By permission of P. S. Keswani.

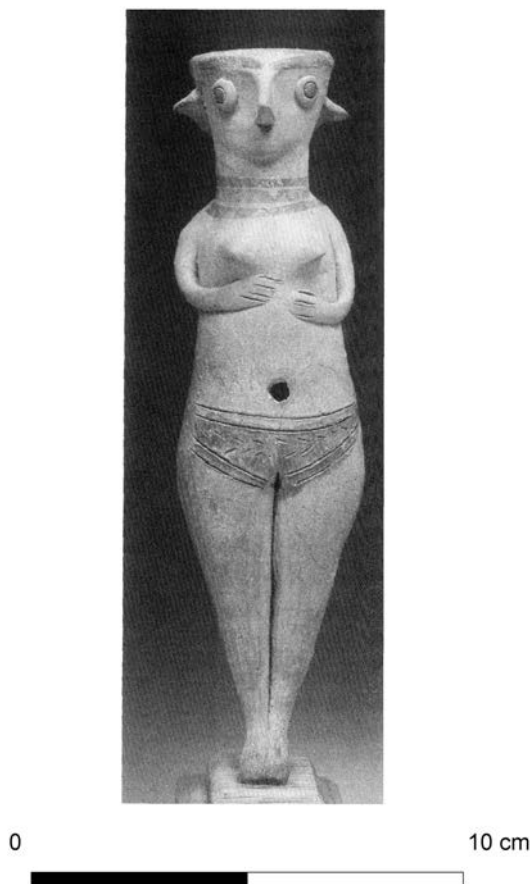


Figure 5.11 Female figurine from LC II Cyprus with features similar to those of contemporary Aegean figurines; Cyprus Museum Inventory Number A 53 (after A. B. Knapp, 2013. *The archaeology of Cyprus: from earliest prehistory through the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: fig. 120).

Selective/adapted forms of Aegeanising consumption are also notable in other ritual contexts on Cyprus. For example, figurines in some Cypriot non-mortuary ritual contexts recall types seen in contemporary Aegean burials (Figure 5.11), but local figurine traditions held sway in the mortuary sphere (Knapp 2013: 395). By LC IIB–IIIA, public cult practice at Cypriot centres involved figurines based on an original local type, now with overt Levantine references: there are no close Aegean parallels



Figure 5.12 (a) 'Horned God' figurine in bronze, LC IIIA Enkomi (after M. Marazzi, Cyprus and the Mediterranean world c. 1600–600 BC. In N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *ΠΛΟΕΣ: From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: 120–22: fig. 2). By permission of M. Marazzi. (b) 'Ingot God' figurine in bronze, LC IIIA Enkomi (after V. Karageorghis, ed., 2009. *Early Cyprus: crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications: fig. 2). Original image by C. Schaeffer, who authorised reproduction by V. Karageorghis in the above publication.

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(Figure 5.12). Notably, though Aegean forms lacked dominance across the sphere of value good consumption as a whole, 'local' or non-Aegean cultural forms also failed to coalesce spatially or socially (e.g. in any kind of 'resistance' package).

In this context, and in a world of growing ethnopolitical definition, the use by Cypriot elites of some generically 'Aegean' cultural forms seems to have been

conspicuous and conscious to a degree which boosted the international standing of both Aegean-based and Cypriot groups. There is every reason to suppose that the history and depth of connections between the regions was appreciated in the wider contemporary world, especially as Cypriot imitations and exports of Aegeanising pottery took off in the thirteenth century. We can expect various traditions/myths of shared heritage to have entered regional circulation – helping in turn to mould current trajectories of cultural association. In particular, Cypriots' continued and widely-known use of a script with visibly Aegeanising roots seems significant in the international context, even as visible strong contrasts with Aegean practice – as in public cult by the end of the period – demonstrated to Near Eastern peers that Cypriot states positioned themselves consciously outside the Aegean bloc.

Making space: the Aegean bloc in wider eastern interactions

A generally increased presence of Aegean mainland-based/mainland-born players in many Near Eastern polities seems required to explain the newly sophisticated, high-volume circulation patterns for Aegean pottery with mainland links in the Levant during LH III. But as secondary Cypriot and Levantine production of Aegeanising wares (and third-party trade in those wares) became widespread, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify the extent of this physical presence. The thirteenth-century Ulu Burun wreck off the south Anatolian coast illustrates the high degree of interconnectedness and mobility of objects and people in the east Mediterranean by this period (Figure 5.13). The ship is usually interpreted as having a Cypriot/Levantine origin, given the types of basic-use objects, such as lamps and writing materials, it contained (Bass 1986; Pulak 2001). The vessel's owners/crew clearly accessed/dealt in a range of Aegean-linked goods, including both modest added-value types (pottery) and high intrinsic-value types (including a likely Aegean-routed Italian sword and Lavrion silver: Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: 222). The twenty-ton capacity of the vessel shows the contemporary scale of investment and expertise in multi-branched travel – on this voyage, ten tons of copper and one of tin ingots, from Cyprus and the Taurus region respectively, were being carried alongside Egyptian-originating glass and ebony. Whether or not the trip included Aegean crew, this context, and the western prevailing winds, limiting individually targeted return trips from the Aegean to the Levant, suggest the regular presence of Aegean-originating people at many coastal trade/acquisition points in the east.

How were such travelling Aegeans experienced/perceived in the Near Eastern context? Earlier relationships with Crete-based palatial culture, as explored in Chapter 4, formed a resonant grounding. Over time, however, the increased volume and new structures of movement apparently caused eastern groups to experience/react to Aegean presence in new ways. Some evidence for shifts in perceptions of Aegeans in the east Mediterranean appears

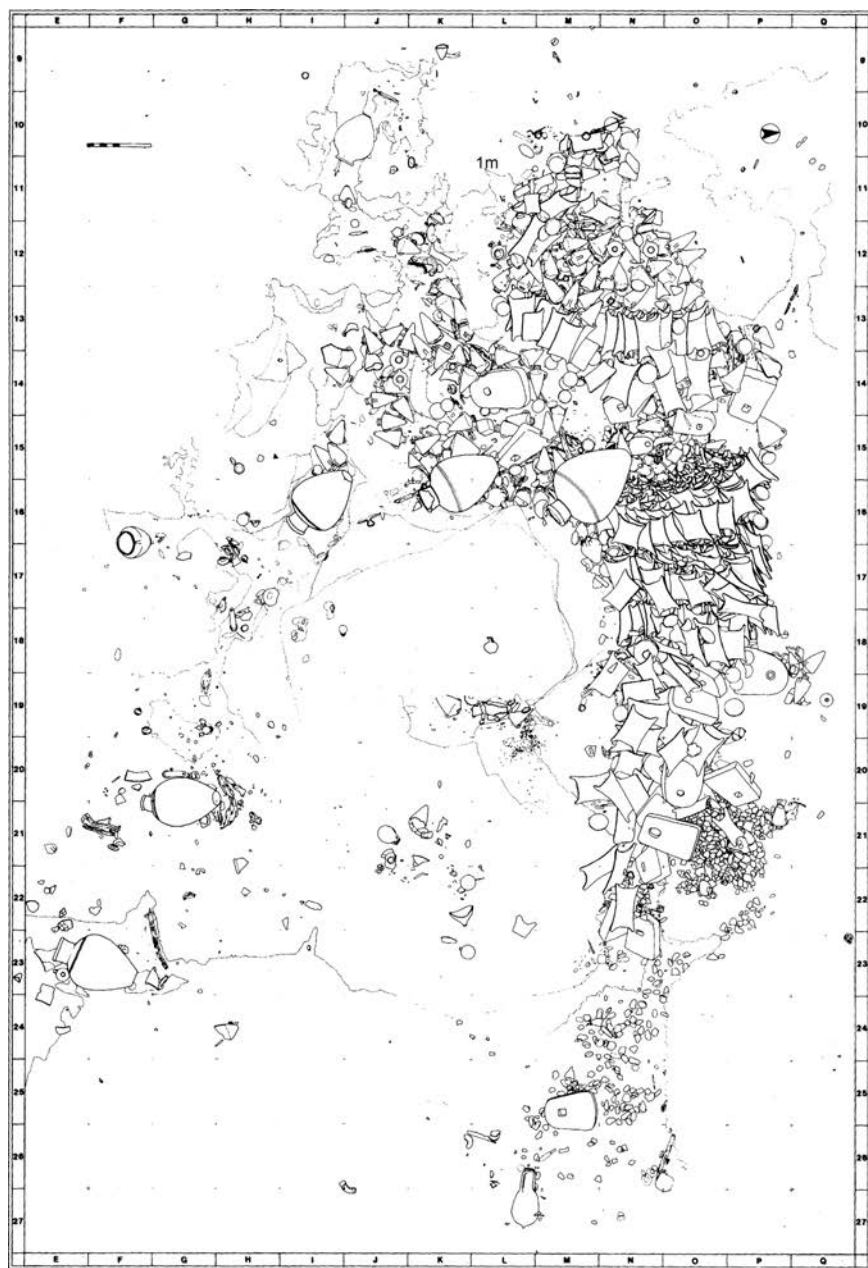


Figure 5.13 Ulu Burun wreck: plan (after G. F. Bass, 1996. *Shipwrecks in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology*. Bodrum: Museum of Underwater Archaeology: 64).

By permission of G. Bass.

in the Egyptian record. Use of the 'Keftiu'-associated term 'isles/lands in the midst of the Great Green/Great Sea' continues: e.g. in the tomb of Huya at Amarna (early thirteenth century BC) people with this origin are noted as traditionally sending gifts to Pharaoh. But references to and depictions of 'Keftiu' alter during LH II–III, while the consumption volume/familiarity of imported Aegean pottery in Egypt (pottery now mostly of mainland origin, but probably often indirectly sourced, including via Cretan or Crete-accessible ports like Kommos and Marsa Matruh) grows to surpass by far the levels seen in MM–LM IB (Cline 1995, 1999; see White 2003; 2007). There is evidence of continued formality/high status in Egyptian encounters with Aegeans, but these seem likely increasingly to have encompassed the rise of an Aegean merchant class, rather than fictive peer connections at the top level of Egyptian society. The 'world itineraries' of Amenophis III – inscribed on the walls of his mortuary complex at Kom-el-Hetan in the early fourteenth century in order to show the range of his court's connections – incorporate long-established traditional sets/routes of connections with the Aegean, focused on a few major sites. Echoing earlier tomb paintings of Keftiu bringing tribute, Aegean locations are represented, like most other locations on the monument, as essentially subordinate in an Egypt-centred world, rather than as peer polities. Notably, these inscriptions were partly re-cut somewhere during the final installation to change an originally Crete-focused order of travel, perhaps highlighting the new importance of mainland routes and suppliers. The Aegean locations are listed under the old-established 'Keftiu' designation, but also under another heading, 'Tanaja'. This ethnic term is first known from the reign of Thutmose III, though never widely used. It might distinguish a newly perceived subset of Aegean identity/provenance, possibly the mainland states (Cline and Stannish 2011; Cline 1991: 19; Edel 1966; Merrillees 1998; O'Connor 1996: 56; Phillips 2005; Wachsmann 1987: 95–6).⁸ Plaques with Amenophis III's cartouche found in prestige and ceremonial contexts at Mycenae confirm access to Egyptian court-linked personnel by highly-placed agents in major Aegean states (Phillips and Cline 2005). The 'updated' Keftiu costume depicted in the Theban tomb of Rekhmire, matching well with contemporary Aegean iconography, suggests some Egyptian awareness of changing Aegean art and ceremonial customs, and the attachment of some significance to them. Frescoes at Akhnaten's capital, Amarna, include elements of standard Aegean elite iconography, also suggesting direct experience of Aegean art (Cline 1995: 270–1). However, in a later (Amenophis III period) relief, 'Keftiu' are depicted in a highly generic fashion with Levantine-style dress, suggesting that in some Egyptian contexts all contemporary Aegean-bloc groups/activities were perceived within a wider east Mediterranean merchant identity (Wachsmann 1987: 203–4; pl. L).

Overall, this evidence indicates *both* continuing Egypto-Levantine recognition of the Aegean political/language/ethnic region as a distinct entity, *and* a developing general assignment of Aegean polities by the regional

powers to a specific typical interaction level (above barbarians or conquered entities, but not reaching that of the highest diplomatic standing). Aegean references to migrated, subjugate Levantine or Egyptian residents paralleling the Anatolian groups mentioned in Linear B texts are also lacking, suggesting that the latter were rare. Increased volumes of Aegean movement in the east, the generalisation of 'exotic' cultural forms in the changing trade world, and involvement in long-range travel/exchange by diverse Aegean groups are all likely to have played a role in subtly changing the nature of encounters on both sides. There is no sense of a shift to enmity or of a new aggressive push in either direction after LM IB – e.g. the 'takeover' by Aegean mainland-based groups of established Cretan trade or diplomatic connections with Egypt. The latter scenario was made unlikely by the lack of any direct frontier for interaction between Egypt and mainland Aegean centres, the new kinds of inequality emerging between the regions as Egypt sought control of territories in the Levant, and the rise of economic systems promoting third-party operations through established Cretan, Cypriot and Levantine ports. High-value resources ultimately coming from/via Egypt (ivory, gold) could be ever more easily procured by Aegeans in the Levantine coastal sphere or in the rapidly-developing Cypriot arena; Aegean pottery could increasingly be sourced by Egyptians in the same markets. No area of developing Aegean conflict/alliance with other Near Eastern players (such as the Hittite connection, discussed below) was of a scale to attract Egyptian intervention, while maintenance of generally good relations with the Egyptian state was important for Aegean polities with trade/political connections in the Levant, and was clearly worth investment in diplomacy as far as Aegean states could take it. In contrast to the ethnically-focused perspective of some older models, then, context suggests that increased numbers of Aegean mainland-linked movers did not simply push aside or replace Cretan ones on existing political and physical routes into Egypt. Nor need discontinuity in Crete-focused high-level interaction modes between Egypt and the Aegean be taken as a sign that new kinds/centres of Aegean economic activity 'failed' in Egypt or were deliberately pushed back by the Egyptian state (Wachsmann 1987: 105). Rather, in a new kind of unequal environment, the investment in and experience of movement/interaction was gradually reframed on both sides.

In the Levant, new political lines were being drawn at this time as the Hittite and Egyptian empires expanded. Vassal states aligned themselves in shifting ways under the general Egyptian and Hittite dominance of regional politics and trade (Moran 1992). Political and ethnic boundaries became closely associated with certain routes, sources and products. Though there was clearly room for parallel, multi-centred trade operations and secondary production systems to operate, significant intrusions across these lines (including the setting up of large specialised overseas trade bases by particular groups) were now liable to be seen as aggressive actions.

Coastal Anatolia – a volatile area of small state consolidation and expansion at this period – was evidently a focus of interest and activity for

contemporary Aegean polities. Imports and imitations of standard Aegean fineware types show an increased flow into many parts of the region, including the coastal centres at Miletus, Halikarnassos, Smyrna and Ephesus, during LH III. This suggests Aegean-linked groups were travelling and trading here regularly, with diverse markets and targets – Mountjoy tracks long-term differences in cultural alignment between the northern (Troy to Chios) Anatolian coastal 'interface' and the southern one (where patterns of Aegean import consumption closely echo those in the Levantine-Cypriot sphere: Mountjoy 1997; 1998; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002).

The close networks of contact between the central-south Aegean and the central/north Anatolian coast were exceptional in the wider Near Eastern context. Much of the coast was controlled loosely/unstably by the inland Hittite polity (with some areas, such as Arzawa in the south, becoming attached to the Hittite system only by the thirteenth century: Bryce 2003: 32–3). Established historical/endemic personal and cultural links between some coastal Anatolian communities and their peers on the Aegean islands or mainland apparently tended in some circumstances to encourage alignment/engagement with developments in the Aegean bloc, at the expense of links to the Hittite core. Since Hittite influence in the west Anatolian area commonly operated through agreements with vassal rulers, inroads on power could be made in a number of ways, and from a number of directions, without direct confrontation with the Hittite centre (Bryce 2003: 43; 200; Singer 2000). Targeted operations might be favoured in some especially attractive/receptive areas by well-supported Aegean-based groups. These could include the cultivation of local political orientations/allegiances, the setting up of alternative, more direct channels of contact and resource-building where local politics were uncertain, and sometimes (where rewarding, feasible and secure) the establishment of permanent residence bases and the annexing of local labour (*in situ* or via its export).⁹

Notwithstanding these new possibilities (and despite evidence for selective use of Aegeanising practices in areas like tomb architecture at some sites [Mee 1998]) the coastal Anatolian region as a whole through the late LBA shows no signs of either deep, basic and continuous parallels in structure with Aegean-bloc groups, or permanent, stable state-level cultural and political alignment with them. As independent polities in the region consolidated their own use of script (e.g. Luwian), there was apparently never any question of tying this into the Linear B structure or of adopting Greek as the administrative language, for example. Factors in maintaining this difference seem to have included (a) the large scale and wide political exposure of the region, limiting the territorial impact or standing of any Aegean-aligned or -based groups there, and (b) the diversity and small scale of Aegean-based overseas operations themselves.

Anatolian cases are nonetheless some of the best examples we have of actually or potentially aggressive engagement – sometimes including settlement – by Aegean-based groups at significant scales in the east Mediterranean. Though

such situations must have been extremely costly and threatening for even the largest Aegean polities, evidence suggests that conflict did form a regularly expected element in interactions within this zone. The Trojan War tradition may reflect later awareness of focused, conflict-linked Aegean interest in this region. If so, its suggestions of generalised/grouped Aegean state embroilment in conflict in the region are both resonant and problematic. The real nature of the LBA Aegean bloc, as explored above – lacking strong internal competition, but also any permanent formal unifying mechanism – seems crucial to understanding the way Aegean-based interests were pursued. Shifting collaborations among Aegean players to defend or promote shared agendas in the coastal Anatolian zone seem likely in this context, but the same context also permitted other kinds of expedient alliances and takeovers, including between specific Aegean entities and unstable small vassal/independent states on the Anatolian coast.

One of the best contemporary sources of information on this environment are the documents in the Hittite royal archives at Hattuşas. References to a group or region called 'Ahhiyawa' appear here between the mid-fifteenth and late thirteenth centuries. Given the locations regularly mentioned in association with this term, its lack of connection with any documented inland Anatolian group, and its almost complete absence in documents from other Near Eastern regions, 'Ahhiyawa' is accepted by most scholars as denoting the people inhabiting a region extending west from coastal Anatolia and its offshore islands – that is, the area of the Aegean bloc. Some have tried to identify the group with a particular state entity within the LBA Aegean – a problematic and potentially pointless exercise given the profile and operation of the bloc as discussed above (Beckman et al. 2011; Bryce 2003; 2005: 183–96; Mountjoy 1998: 47–53). The term as used by Hittite rulers and their vassals acknowledges groups operating at state level, with long-term shared/shifting interests in aggrandisement of various kinds. One of the most informative sources in the archives is the 'Tawagalawa' letter of the mid-thirteenth century. This refers to an Ahhiyawa leader named Piyamaradu and his 'brother',¹⁰ the 'king of Ahhiyawa', as currently in control of important settlements on the Anatolian coast, including the town of Miletus/Millawanda, described as ruled by Piyamaradu's father-in-law (a person ethnically undefined and possibly local in origin: intermarriage is likely to have been used here (as elsewhere in the contemporary east Mediterranean) as a form of political power-broking). Strongly Aegeanised cultural practices are visible at Miletus through the LBA, as noted above; it had been fortified in a style recalling Hittite practice by LH IIIB (Niemeyer 2005b). The letter also notes Piyamaradu as temporarily controlling Iyalanda, 60 km inland and on the margins of Hittite territory proper. On another occasion, Ahhiyawa groups are referred to as attacking settlements as far north as Wilusa (Troy). Suppression of this operation is documented as requiring the direct drafting of forces from various Hittite vassal states. By the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya in the late thirteenth century, part of the

Anatolian coastal area further south (the 'Seha River land') had again taken up allegiance to Ahhiyawa, with groups centred there attempting to control and mobilise people within other Hittite vassal/associated regions (Bryce 2003: 122–3). Aggression was clearly a regular trope on all sides here – applied at restricted, regional levels and in an unstable political context.

Nonetheless, among all the documented cases, it is only in the case referred to by the Tawagalawa letter that Ahhiyawan activity apparently reached a level serious enough to involve high-level diplomacy by the Hittite state, rather than *ad hoc* military intervention by local rulers. The Hittite king here seems to attempt to flatter Ahhiyawan elites into cooperation by the unusual application of the high honorific 'brother' when addressing the 'king of Ahhiyawa', clearly viewed as supporting or presiding over Piyamaradu's attacks and as pre-eminent in the Aegean political sphere. Yet Ahhiyawans are never documented as interacting with the Hittites on the regular terms of a fixed court (and see Jasink 2005: 61–2, who notes an early thirteenth-century letter complaining about regular 'wrong' forms of procedure/address to the Hittite court by Ahhiyawan rulers).¹¹ Mentions of 'Ahhiyawa' as a group who were regularly engaged with at high political levels are lacking in any other Near Eastern archive, confirming the general impression of relatively small-player status for the Aegean bloc in wider regional politics. By contrast, the 'brother' form of address is used regularly in correspondence to the ruler of Cyprus (Alasiya) by the rulers of a number of large Near Eastern states during the late LBA (Bryce 2003: 81–5; 199–200).

The Aegean bloc may have been a marginal political player in the eastern sphere, but its special types of connective structure apparently allowed its members to undertake especially diverse and responsive kinds of operations in the eastern Mediterranean. Aegean states seem likely to have been able to individually sponsor mover groups in order to pursue their interests within established eastern systems, yet also to collaborate with other bloc members when establishing or securing bases of influence in less certain, more exposed and potentially hostile zones. Both levels of action might apply and overlap in the situation described in the Tawagalawa letter. Though many aggrandising actions by individual Aegean states seem likely to have been small-scale and opportunistic, the force represented by the bloc as a whole could clearly be significant: the Hittite polity (the only Near Eastern empire with a large Aegean front) clearly saw some mobilisations/manipulations in the area by Aegean groups as posing a significant threat (Mountjoy 1998: 36). However, to see Aegean states operating in the east Mediterranean area generally as unified, culturally alienised, militarised, landgrabbing settlers (in the mode of historical colonialism) or to use such models as the main explanation for the generally increased concentrations of Aegean cultural products in the east during the later LBA is questionable.

Given their generally relatively small and disjointed scale of operations, local context seems to have been a vital conditioning factor in how Aegean players operated and were perceived. For example, attempts to build

procurement and reward bases in the loosely-controlled vassal kingdom zone of coastal Anatolia (or to extend them from the Aegean islands into this region) were clearly seen as threatening political stability in the (Hittite) core. Yet strong, wealthy trade-orientated coastal states like Ugarit seem not to have perceived Aegean merchant groups (sharing some of the same interests) in this way, perhaps because of the greater physical and political distance involved – even while some degree of competition between Aegean-based and other trading groups surely existed at these locations.¹² If we want to use 'invasion' models to explain Aegean-linked cultural shifts in Near Eastern contexts, it seems essential to explain what large-scale physical incursion by Aegeans might be intended to achieve in each case, at what level it might realistically have been organised and the context of reaction likely to be encountered. The evidence available on all of these points suggests that targeted large-scale invasions were *not* a deeply integral or widely-repeated part of Aegean-based movement in the east Mediterranean between the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries. The main support/driver for strong Aegean impact and presence here was the (restructured) base of economic, social and cultural connection established in earlier Crete-centred/-linked movements.

Looking west (and north): movement and inequality from a different perspective

As in the Near Eastern pattern, MM–LM I Crete-based exploration and settlement in the central Mediterranean clearly grounded the development of connections between Aegean polities and groups in that region during the later LBA. The increasing volume and diverse range of Cretan alongside other Aegean imports here suggests that existing routes and structures of contact were boosted in a smooth fashion (e.g. Cline 1999: 121–2; Vagnetti 2003). The balance of interests in, and scale of, westward travel (which already involved significant input from mainland groups by LM I) clearly readjusted as Aegean mainland centres boomed: we see more Aegean pottery imports in the west overall, and higher concentrations of imports. But on present evidence we cannot reduce the changes to a straightforward replacement of 'Cretans' by 'mainlanders' as travelling/settling agents,¹³ or lump together all Aegean-based travels over the whole LBA as mainly or consistently focused on the acquisition of metals, as some past studies have done. Nor can we assume (as older scholarship frequently did) that changes in the nature and effects of contact over time were wholly determined by Aegean groups themselves. Complex aspects of consumption, experience and encounter on both sides in this case have only recently begun to be focused on in ways moving beyond a generic core-periphery model. The distances involved, and the limited overall volume and penetration of imported material, suggest that encounters were both specially resonant, and constrained in particular ways. Among other special factors, this was an area where Aegeans operated as the main, if not the only, group of regular travellers from the east for much

of the period in question. Specific dynamics in movement, and in its cultural impact, seem to have developed as a result.

Coastal and offshore island sites continued to feature strongly in Aegean-linked movement in the region during the LB III period, indicating that travel was not straightforwardly or freely driven by local resource maps. Sites on the south coast of Italy, including the small peninsula of Roca Vecchia near Otranto in the east, and on the islets of Pantelleria, southwest of Sicily, and Vivara, in the Bay of Naples, show continuing and expanding import consumption as well as local wheelmade imitations of Aegean forms, both consumed alongside local-tradition products (Merkouri 2005; Vianello 2009; Figure 5.14). By late LH III, imports are also known from the island of Ischia, in the Bay of Naples, and from Sardinia. The very high perceived value both of Aegean ceramic imports and of other Aegean or Aegeanised craft productions/materials in these contexts is clear: near the fortified Roca Vecchia settlement, Aegean imports were deposited at a ritual site in a cave alongside a variety of other exotic and local prestige items, including locally-made bronze objects (Guglielmino 2007; Guglielmino et al. 2010; Rizio 2005). At the settlement itself there are indications of some indirect access to bulk Aegean commodity trade (as in the case of a transport stirrup jar of the type used to move Cretan oil across the Aegean and east Mediterranean in LM III) as well as evidence of trade-linked prestige production in high-value materials probably sourced through the Aegean sphere, including the working of hippo ivory and the casting of bronze in Aegean forms. Such locations often lay within established local exchange networks (in the case of Roca, including Vivara and the Aeolians and activities there clearly boosted the scale and ambition of those networks. For example, the very first metalworking evidence on Vivara island, near the metal-rich Naples area of the mainland, appears in LH I–III. The use of 'bridgehead' islands reflects patterns I noted in Chapters 3 and 4 in relation to the Final Neolithic Aegean and in Crete-linked travels during MM–LB I. As in both these cases, measured and safe interaction between long-distance travellers and local communities seems to have been best carried out in the early stages via highly-accessible small pieces of island territory unlikely to have been the sites of major agriculturally- focused colonisation/territorial competition. The same phenomenon is seen again in the travels of east Mediterranean groups in the central and west Mediterranean areas during the later Iron Age (Chapters 6–7).

Notwithstanding this growth in interaction, most central Mediterranean settlements which engaged in regular contact with Aegean groups show limited signs of complexity even by the end of the LH III period. New levels of specialisation, connected to a context of developing commodity trade and prestige consumption, are most clearly seen in the increasing local imitation of, and trade in, Aegean-style painted pottery through parts of south Italy from LH IIIB (thirteenth century BC), as well as the more generic adaptation of Aegean prestige shapes in local wares/forms (e.g. *impasto*, *ceramica grigia*, and *dolii* [pithos-type jars]) see van Wijngaarden 2003: 141; Guglielmino et al. 2010; Figure 5.15).

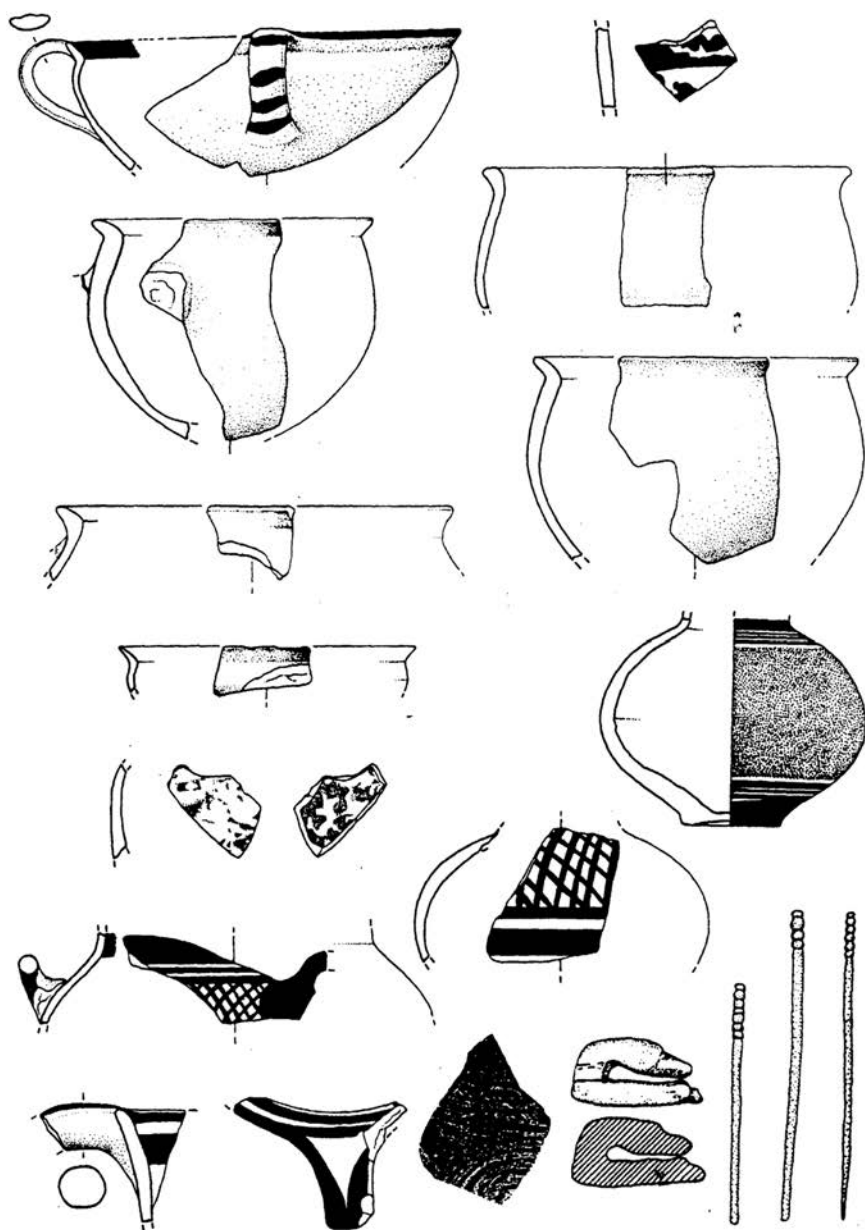


Figure 5.14 Imported Aegean fine wares, and ivory and bronze items in typical Aegean styles, from sites on the Adriatic coast of Italy (after F. Radina, 2003). Overseas trade and the coastal centres of Adriatic Apulia during the Bronze Age: the settlement of Punta le Terrare. In N. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds., *PLOES: sea routes and interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c. BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete September 29th–October 2nd 2002*. Athens: University of Crete/A. G. Leventis Foundation: 120–2; fig. 2a).

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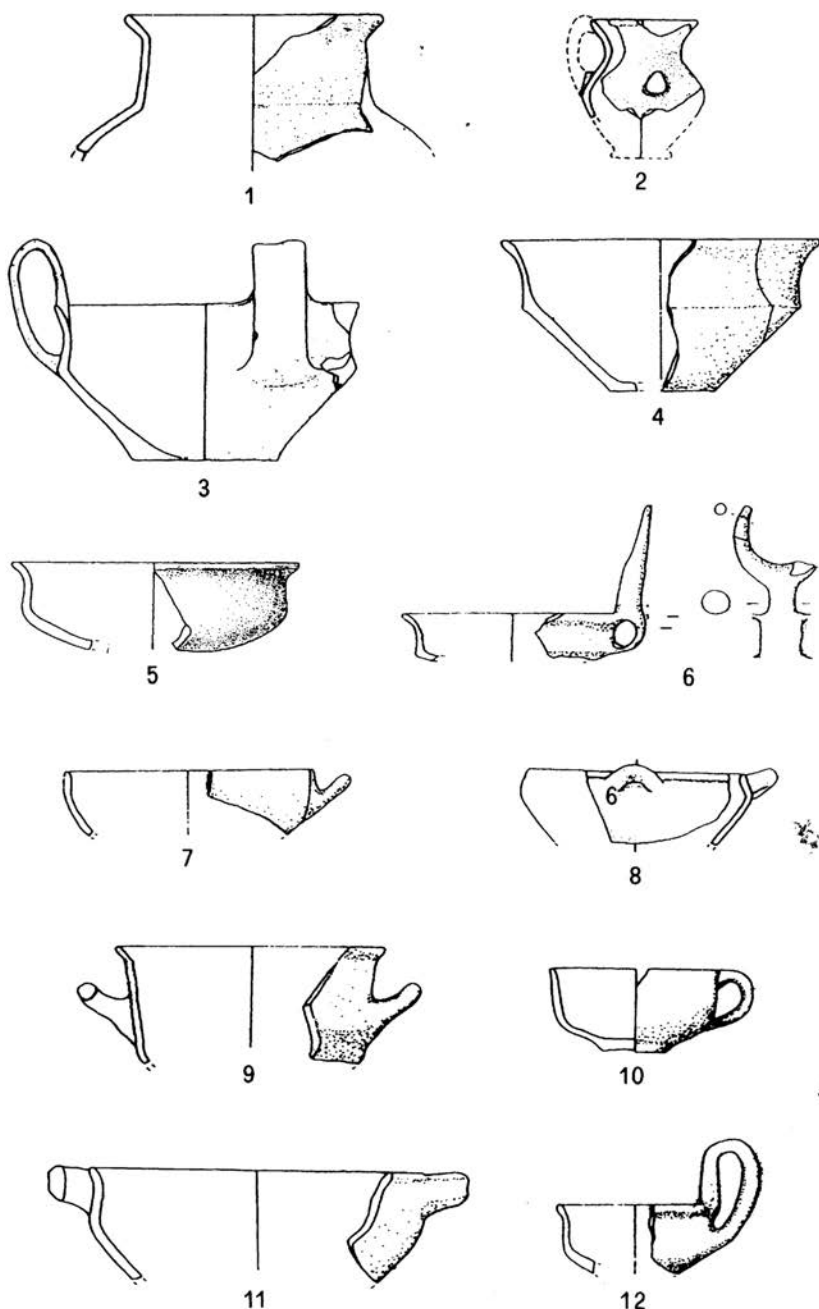


Figure 5.15 Aegean-related pottery from thirteenth-century south Italy: grey wheel-made local imitations of typical Aegean drinking wares from Broglio di Trebisacce, 2, 7, 9–11 (after L. Vagnetti, 1998. Variety and function of the Aegean-derivative pottery in the central Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, eds., 1998. *Mediterranean peoples in transition: thirteenth to early tenth centuries BC*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 66–80: fig. 4).

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The overall numbers of Aegean-type imports and imitations, and their concentrations by site, are limited in comparison with those seen in the contemporary Cypro-Levantine area. There are signs of deeper socio-economic change by the very end of the LBA, such as a large building at Broglio di Trebisacce in Apulia containing an exclusive concentration of imported and locally produced Aegean-type drinking wares, and two large buildings at Roca Vecchia of local-type wooden construction containing a variety of wealth and possible cult finds, apparently dating in the thirteenth–eleventh centuries BC (see Guglielmino 2007: 96–7; van Wijngaarden 2003: 237–51). The start of use of a local ceramic token system at is seen at Roca Vecchia and Vivara by the thirteenth century (Figure 5.16). This all hints at incipient complexity, connected to sustained involvement in the long-distance

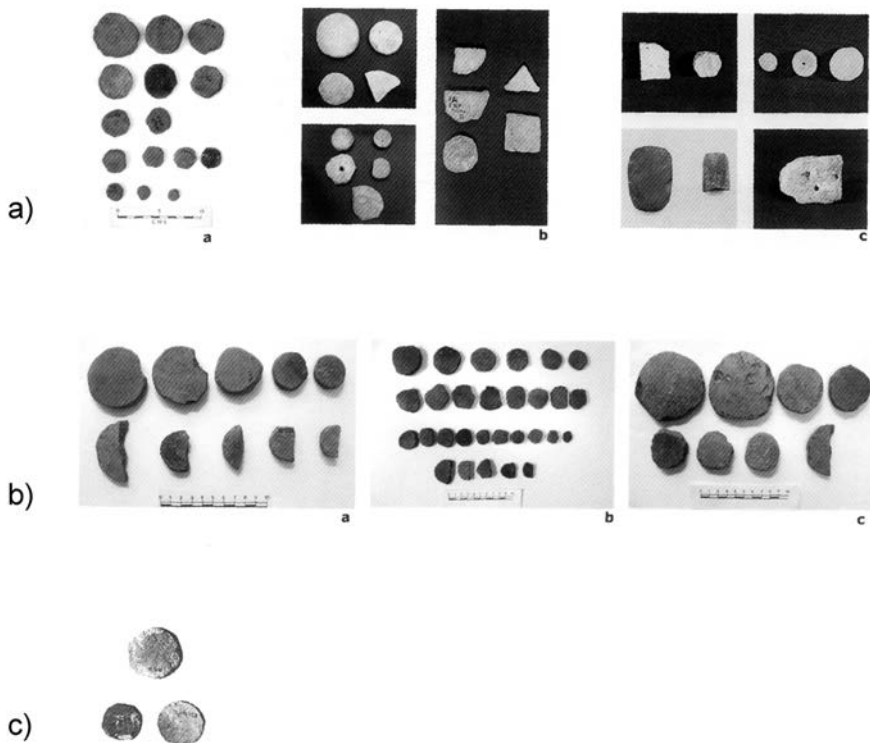


Figure 5.16 Tokens from LBA central Mediterranean sites: (a) Vivara; (b) Pantelleria; (c) Monte Grande (after M. Marazzi and S. Tusa, 2005. *Egei in Occidente. Le piu antiche vie maritime*. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco, *Emporia: Aegeans in the central and eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference*. 2 volumes. Liège: Aegaeum: 599–609: pl. CXLVII).

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exchange and travel sphere, but notably *without* the uptake of any coherent Aegean-type social or cultural package. The degree and permanence of complexity development was very limited; the Broglio building seems to go out of use by the eleventh century as intensive Aegean contacts/exchanges dried up: evidence of socioeconomic stress or shift, including hoards, appears at the site before this (Borgna and Càssola Guida 2005; van Wijngaarden 2007).

The Thapsos area in southeast Sicily offers a good picture of the way Aegean contacts in this period built on links established by MB–LB I Crete-based networks, and of the limited nature of complexity growth linked to Aegean-based movement. LH I Thapsos was already a large and wealthy coastal town with strong and diverse outward connections and related socially-distinguishing cultural practices, including the use of imported Aegean pots as burial goods (Tanasi 2005). In the later LBA, the wealth and complexity of the area grew further, as indicated by the use of extensive rock-cut cemeteries with Aegean imports here and at nearby inland sites like Pantalica (Militello 2005). Some culture-historical perspectives have tended to reify this process in the simple terms of travelling Aegean agents and their strategies – for example, the small fortified import-rich site at nearby coastal Cannatello has been seen as an ‘Aegean outpost’ used mainly by merchants, and a large building at inland Pantalica (date uncertain) as an LBA ‘Aegean’ palace (Bernabó Brea 1990; Tanasi 2005).¹⁴ Yet the wider context of interactions by Aegean-based groups in Italy and elsewhere, as well as the profile of wider interactions by the local community, suggests that the (limited) complexity development seen here was not imported as a straightforward package. Imported LH III Aegean forms in the area are overwhelmingly of the fine drinking type, suggesting a specific trade. Maltese pottery imports appear regularly alongside Aegean ones in the Thapsos cemeteries. Found nowhere else on Aegean trade routes, these suggest that the Aegean pottery supply formed only a part of local prestige procurement systems and related complexity developments.

As in many Near Eastern contexts, LH III Aegean pottery forms never replaced local repertoires in Italy: there is much selectivity and unevenness in uptake. Imports of some highly-specialised Aegean forms seen in parts of the east Mediterranean (e.g. pictorial pottery) were lacking, and Aegean-type storage vessels were used in ways untypical of east Mediterranean contexts (van Wijngaarden 2003). Although Peloponnesian products were strongly represented in the imported fine wares (just as they were in most Aegean and east Mediterranean consumption contexts), the provenances of Aegean imports in south Italy into LH IIIB stayed relatively diverse (e.g. Cretan, Rhodian) (Borgna and Càssola Guida 2005: 500; Eder and Jung 2005; Guglielmino 2007; Hallager 1985; Jones 1986; Jones et al. 2014; Merkouri 2005: 620). Vivara, Monte Grande on the south coast of Sicily, and other sites obtained imported Canaanite transport jars, probably

arriving through various Aegean routes, alongside Aegean pottery (Vianello 2009). Thus, imports never seem to have been very closely channelled or controlled in transit, or to have been pumped in large volumes from a single main source. The very limited feeding of Italian-type ceramics or other manufactured goods back to the Aegean supports the impression that there was no strongly-directed structure of travel/exchange. Such arrivals seem concentrated in the later part of the LB III period and the objects in question (e.g. 'impasto'-type Italian wares in divergent forms at Kommos and Tiryns) were small in number, restricted in range of types, and seem to have been treated as distinctive curiosities in Aegean contexts (d'Agata et al. 2012; Watrous 1992: 163–9). Latterly, towards the very end of the thirteenth century, a few imports /well-informed imitations of high-value Italian metal objects, including distinctive weapons types, cluster in the highly trade-active areas of Crete and the Peloponnese and suggest that Italian groups of significant economic standing and power were becoming more involved (though still most likely in an indirect fashion) with the Aegean value goods trade (Figure 5.17). But the high-volume, multi-channel reciprocal commodity procurement/trade systems seen in the contemporary east Mediterranean are lacking (Cultraro 2005; Hallager 1985: 295–6; Papadopoulou 2007; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000: 144).

Hints at newly ambitious kinds of Aegean/east Mediterranean travel to the west appear by the very end of the LBA. A new spread of Aegean-type objects into the Po valley is seen, perhaps traded along developing Cypriot/Levantine procurement routes; quantities of amber in the Aegean rise notably by the twelfth century BC (Figure 5.18). East Mediterranean imports such as ostrich eggs and ivory are found at Frattesina, near the Adriatic coast of Italy: Aegean sherds found in Iberia are likely to have travelled on developing western routes for emerging players in coastal Cyprus and north coastal Levant (as discussed further in Chapters 6–7). Some Italian imports (including north Italian types) appear in Cyprus and the Levant at around this time, especially in bronzework – though imports are still small in number, concentrated in the Aegean, and generally of rarity/prestige value, usually being consumed through major centres (Bietti Sestieri 1973; 1982; 2005; Borgna 2009; Cazzella 2009; Rahmstorf 2005a; Sherratt 2000; see Chapter 7 this volume). Some Italian bronzework (and metallurgical practice) shows new strong connections to the Cypriot sphere, suggesting new direct contacts between the regions (Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1980).

Cypriot/Levantine connections with parts of the central Mediterranean region continued to develop in new ways after the crisis of c. 1200 BC, as discussed in Chapter 7. Sardinia had a special place in this. The island's resources (including rich volcanic soils and copper and lead ores) and its positioning supported the growth in the late LBA of relatively complex, stable regional centres based on fortified *nuraghe* compounds, some exceeding 3 ha in size. Sardinia's exchange connections with the rest of the south Italian area (Sicily, Lipari, Etruria) were strikingly wide by the thirteenth century BC, pointing to considerable wealth

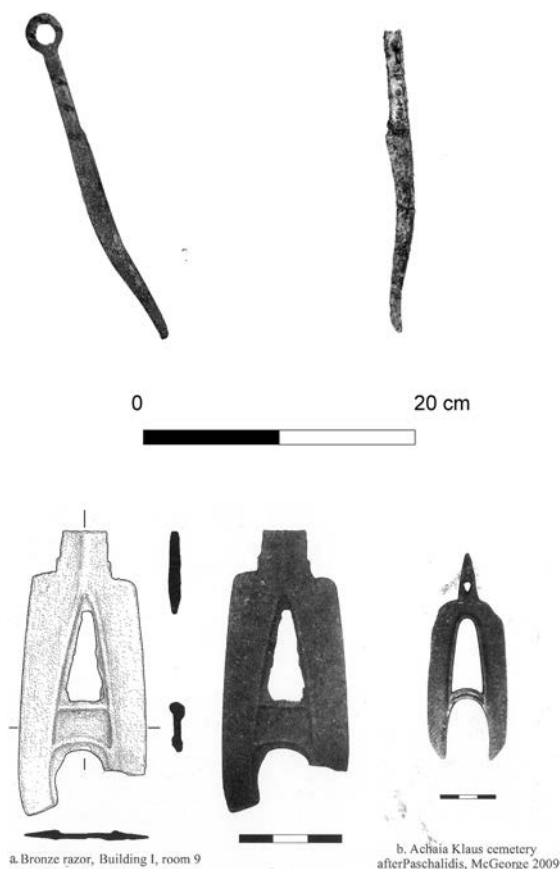


Figure 5.17 Italian and Italian-type bronze objects in the Aegean: (a) knife found at LH IIIC Ialysos, Moschou Vounara cemetery, T15/26; Archaeological Museum of Rhodes inv. no M1600 (3579); traces of bone or ivory at the handle and the ring; (b) knife found at LM IIIB/C Knossos; Archaeological Museum of Iraklion inv. no. 4495 (both after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *PLOES: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: pls. 849–50). By permission of N. Stampolidis. (c) Razors found at the settlement of Kastrokefala in Crete and the Achaia Klaus cemetery in the Peloponnese (after A. Kanta and D. Kontopodi, 2011. *Kastrokefala (Crete): strangers or locals in a fortified acropolis of the twelfth century BC*. In Karageorghis, V, and O. Kouka, eds., 2011. *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 129–49; fig. 7). By permission of A. Kanta.

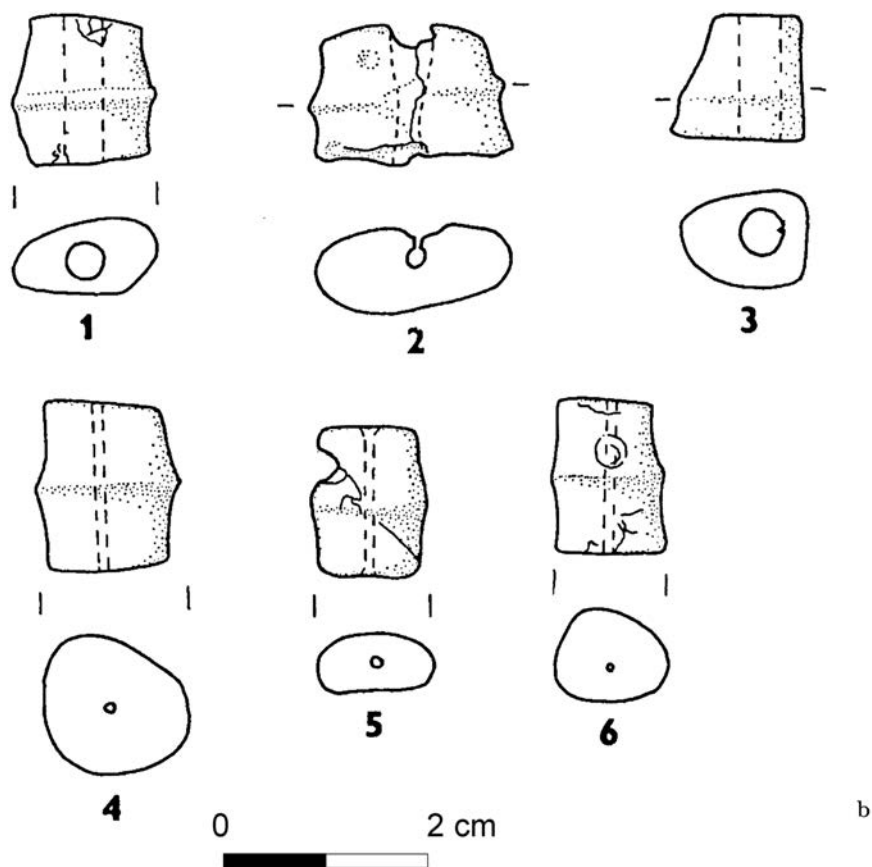


Figure 5.18 New connections between Italy and the Aegean in the latest Bronze Age: Tiryns-type amber beads from Frattesina, Po valley (after J. Bouzek, 1985. *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: culture interrelations in the second millennium BC*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag: 54–8: pl. XCV).

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concentration on the island and related regional awareness of Sardinian cultural production as prestigious (see Russell 2010). It was in this context that Sardinia became an active focus point in Aegean/Levantine travels and exchange (Sheratt 2000: 87). Aegeanising drinking wares with a typically broad mixture of origins (including south Italian ones) appear in very limited amounts at some of the largest Sardinian coastal settlements like Antigori (Sarroch), often alongside Cypriot fine wares, suggesting specific routes in: local production of Aegeanising pottery is also present by the same date (Ferrarese Ceruti 1980; 1981; 1990; Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987; Jones 1986; Lo Schiavo 2003; Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1980). Similar finds are found in smaller quantities at large inland sites. Pottery from Sardinia forms part of the distinctive central

Mediterranean handmade tradition consumed in small scales in the Aegean and east Mediterranean by the late thirteenth century (see Ferrarese Ceruti 1981; Karageorghis 2011). Copper ingots of local metal, as well as imported oxhide ingots of Cypriot provenance, are found in numerous locations on the island, often in ritual/hoard contexts, during the LH IIIB–IIIC periods (Kasianidou 2012; Lo Schiavo 1990; 2003; Russell 2010).

In sum, we see a regionally specific (but far from uniform) pattern of cultural change linked to Aegean movement occurring in the later LBA central Mediterranean. Aegean people moved around the (coastal) areas fairly continuously, in ways allowing an increasing reach/volume of movement of their products, but within certain limits of scale and effect. Though the Aegean and south-central Mediterranean were unequal in their levels of social complexity, and much interaction clearly operated within a prestige/emulation context, the scale and context of contact did not stimulate wholesale shifts in Italian socioeconomic systems. Italy's physical and structural remoteness from the wider east Mediterranean prestige supply and consumption sphere help to explain this. The lack of complexity in the region probably restricted any intensive development of contact and exchange systems, with relatively small, diverse, and unstructured Aegean traveller/settler groups remaining fairly stably engaged with particular localities/networks and certain prominent individuals/groups. Rather than directly exploiting local labour, markets or resources in any widespread way. In a region which had practised bronze metallurgy for a significant period, and where extensive local networks of metals manufacture and exchange (often maritime in nature) already existed, interest in intensified metals acquisition and exchange surely existed among all agents involved. However, the context of interaction did not support the growth of a regular long-distance metals trade for most of this period.

Distance affected the impact, nature and scale of Aegean movement in this region in some counter-intuitive ways. South Italy's isolation (in several senses) from the east Mediterranean world-system, but relative proximity to the Aegean, did not encourage or facilitate Aegean cultural 'takeover'. Indeed, it actually *restricted* early expansion of Aegean travel and limited its rewards. Thanks to the level of economic growth and support within the east Mediterranean world-system context, distance was, however, less constraining to travelling Aegean groups than it had been in the period of Crete-based outreach in MM III–LM I. As a result, increased volume and diversity in contact routes and goods circulation patterns developed by the end of LH III. The context of movement in the central Mediterranean seems particularly to have encouraged the involvement of widely-scattered, mixed-rank and socially diverse Aegean traders/settlers, rather than high-level diplomatic or otherwise targeted groups. The non-elite-centred nature of Aegean groups' interactions in the region is highlighted by the fact that those interactions/transactions never seem to be referred to in Linear B records. Perhaps in the same connection, Aegean states' Italian involvement stimulated little competitive interest in the Near Eastern context until the end of the period. The special character of the Aegean bloc, including

the way distance and connectivity operated within it, is highlighted by the nature of interactions in Italy – we see stable parallel operations by multiply-based Aegean players, but little sign of specific attachments or extreme competition between the latter in this arena (a scenario contrasting, for example, with that of Aegean-linked travel in the same area during the later Iron Age).

In another pattern of Aegean movement, again surpassing the scale of earlier Crete-linked/Crete-based trips, the latest Bronze Age saw a very small quantity of Aegean goods (nearly all fine pottery of south mainland manufacture/type) being moved west and north along the eastern Adriatic (Tomas 2005). As in south Italy, these were very often accessed/consumed at offshore islands, such as Brac off the Croatian coast. This contact process seems to have remained fairly stable and never involved major Aegean-linked settlement or commodity trade in the interior of this region. The very small quantities of goods, and the limited evidence for complexity and long-range maritime mobility seen in local communities, suggest that most imports were acquired through direct contact with Aegean-based travellers. Though limited local sociocultural change is associated with these interactions, we do see change in parts of the relevant routes lying closer to the Aegean centres (as at Glykys Limin, on the coast of Epirus, at the beginning of the Adriatic route; Figure 5.19). A large fortified

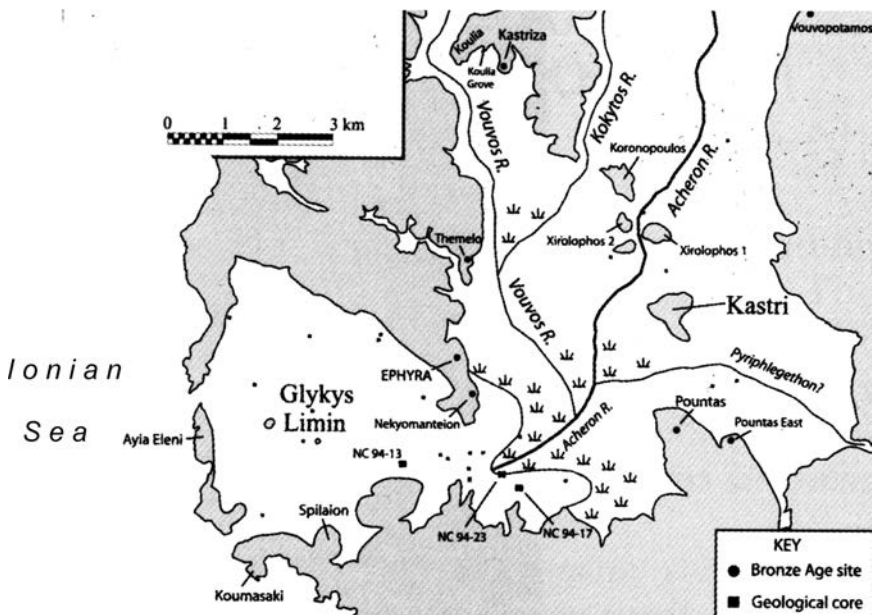


Figure 5.19 Glykys Limin site: detail of the lower Acheron region, showing the reconstructed shoreline and Bronze Age bay (after T. Tartaron, 2005). Glykys Limin and the discontinuous Mycenaean periphery. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco, eds., *Emporia: Aegeans in the central and eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference*. 2 volumes. Liège: Aegaeum: 153–60; pl. XXXIV).

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settlement and associated *tholos* tomb architecture – both new phenomena in the region – appear here in late LH III. These developments – clearly not rooted in any local regional complexity emergence process paralleling that of the south Aegean – have been suggested as representing an isolated kind of 'branch settlement' from southern Aegean centres, linked to exploratory trade outreach/feedback along the Adriatic route (Tartaron 2005). Not enough is yet known about the site to show how this could have worked and what kinds of political and social structures were involved. Overall, in an echo of Andrew Sherratt's 'European margins' model for later prehistory (Sherratt 1983), south-central Aegean goods mostly seem to have been acquired in the southern Balkan area in a scattered, highly selective fashion, without any very close awareness of Aegean socio-economic contexts.

Imports from mainland Greece also appear in the Black Sea area by LB III, in an apparent extension of contact and trade routes north along the Anatolian coast. Again, these finds are small in number (Figure 5.20). In contrast to the Adriatic finds discussed above, they seem likely to have been carried by active intermediaries from a number of east Mediterranean areas. They tend to be very high-value items of great use in trade – e.g. the bronze double axes found in the Crimea and Tiryns-type beads in the south Bug area. An oxhide ingot fragment from the Sea of Marmara, along with Black

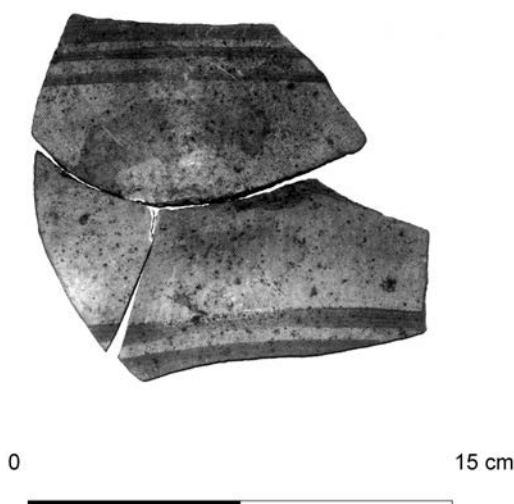


Figure 5.20 Aegean-type objects in the Adriatic: sherd from Debelo Brdo (after H. Thomas, 2005. *Mycenaeans in Croatia*. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco, eds., *Emporia: Aegeans in the central and eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference*. 2 volumes. Liège: Aegaeum: 673–81: pl. CLXXIV).

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Sea and Pontic Sea finds, shows how raw bronze might also have travelled as a prestige item, sometimes potentially through Aegean-involved networks (Gale and Stos-Gale 1999; Harding 1984: 127; Hiller 1991; Paschalidis 2007: 437–8).

General conclusions

Though it shared certain special driving and enabling factors, Aegean-based movement in the era of the 'Aegean bloc' was never a standard package. It lacked permanent cohesive structures at a large scale, and was closely and consciously adjusted to local perceptions, demands and attitudes in 'receiving' areas. Only in some contexts does it seem regularly to have involved planned force. The latter was always difficult to sustain, given that most Aegean-based travel was undertaken under the auspices of relatively small-sized individual states or loose/temporary state alliances, and was increasingly participated in by sub-state groups (Sherratt, S. 1994; 2000). The late fifteenth through fourteenth century probably marks the peak of new patterns in Aegean travel/settlement abroad. By LH IIIB, the east Mediterranean had become a culturally 'smaller' place, and it is more difficult to identify Aegean movers and settlers, and more likely that intermediary systems of production had replaced some of the earlier volumes and types of travellers. Counter-intuitively, the peak period of movement seems mostly unlikely to have occurred in an aggressive context: areas of movement-linked conflict and friction seem to have developed later, as social and political mobility grew. Developing elite art forms in LB III Aegean states included extensive war imagery. During 'Aegeanising' cultural uptake in large parts of the late LBA east Mediterranean, this imagery (and very likely some of its general ideological/cultural associations) was clearly recognised/consumed/adapted in many different regional and social contexts. It continued to have a cultural role in the hugely changed social and political world of the region post-1200 BC. In this light, and that of the discussion above, such representations cannot be directly read in terms of specific, intrinsic or standard warlike attributes, motives and modes for Aegeans abroad in the period covered by this chapter.

The representation of identity at large scales changed during this period, potentially affecting the way long-range movement took place. Aspects of ethnic and political identity seem to have been increasingly associated with the diverse and distinctive types of goods produced and traded in the east Mediterranean, including Aegean pottery. Yet though regional elites placed importance on dynastic descent, concepts of generic, highly-formalised, ethnically-grounded 'rights' to operate or live in a territory seem limited. Ethnicity seems not to have been much used as a hegemonic tool, and forms of ethnically-centred resistance are not easily visible. The big Near Eastern empires, based heavily on sets of loosely attached vassal states with long individual histories, had ambivalent interests in ethnicity: security, access and dependency

mechanisms lay at the core of their regional political dominance. The fact that movement was core to the region's economy, probably acted as some kind of an incentive to restrict the political potency of ethnicity – even though this allowed tensions of other kinds to develop (loose interest-based alliances were able to be relatively easily undermined). When conflict arose in connection to significant movement across distance, concepts of broader ethnic or political structure (such as 'Ahhiyawa') could take on heightened resonance, but never appear to have strongly constrained economic and cultural interaction through movement.

In this context, movement by the relatively small state players of the Aegean does not seem to have been driven by large-scale territorial/political claims in hostile mode. Rather, movement by Aegean-based groups seems to have focused on maintaining and embedding the latter's control of/participation in routes or production areas. Because the consolidation of states in the Aegean mainland (and Cyprus) occurred late in an already-developed wider region, those states had to adapt and 'burrow in' to existing interaction systems as they went along. In doing so, they seem to have used long-range movement and settlement proportionally more, and with greater impact, than some of their larger west Asian neighbours – but at relatively small, scattered scales and in diverse ways. By the LBA, territorial claims had already been played out in most of the areas where intensive Aegean-based contact developed. In zones where space for negotiation still existed, like south Italy, specific kinds of limits applied to investment in movement and settlement. At the same time, the newly high numbers of Aegean-based travellers, and the significant political and economic impact/feedback they stimulated meant that some new systems were needed to support their activity. All the above parameters pushed new kinds of conscious self-definition. In particular, the way Aegean pottery and its imitations became an increasingly high-profile and commodified good in this context affected the ongoing nature of Aegean movement, and external perceptions of it. At the same time, external views of Aegean-bloc entities as international players built strongly on earlier interaction experiences and practices linked to Cretan palatial polities. At a level beyond personal/group interactions, people engaging in Aegean-centred prestige practices or using associated items, wearing distinctive clothes and hairstyles, and speaking or writing variants of the Greek language as written down in the Linear B script seem to have been viewed externally as sharing similar and consistent characteristics.

In this context, Aegean-based travellers could be received at distance in very different ways: as part of a generalised historical entity; as representatives of the contemporary Aegean 'bloc; in terms of distinct political/ethnic boundaries operating at various sub-scales within that bloc (e.g. as Tirynsians/Peloponnesians/Cretans/Knossians); according to current specific local interests and structures (e.g. as merchants or dependent/subjugated populations).¹⁵ Reception context was crucial in determining the impact of movement. In rich independent/loosely-aligned trading

polities in the coastal Levant, such as Ugarit, long-established Aegean contacts and local complex systems could help embed a significant number of mixed Aegean-origin residents and targeted transactions with the developing Aegean bloc. In contrast, Aegean attempts to develop new residential procurement and exchange bases in politically more exposed and less economically-developed areas, like western Anatolia, risked attracting hostility, including at large scales – and had to be structured accordingly. In the Aegean, too, the presence and residence of externally-originating parties is likely to have been perceived in variable ways, based on the circumstances of these groups' movement into the area, and contemporary and historical constructions of their identity. We can reconstruct the regular presence at Aegean centres of Egyptian, Levantine, Anatolian and Cypriot groups of merchant status or above, including periodic visits by state representatives or associates from some of these areas (though rulers of large east Mediterranean states mostly seem unlikely to have visited in person). There is no evidence that any of the above groups could easily be excluded from independent economic operations in Aegean waters; indeed, data like those from the Point Iria wreck suggest the opposite. Some foreigners, perhaps especially those from the less prosperous or secure areas of coastal Anatolia, might become dependent/constrained residents of Aegean states as a result of the latter's economic and political operations in that zone (as evidenced by the ethnic categorisations of workers in the Pylos texts, cited above). People originating from the Aegean bloc (sometimes designated by their specific areas of origin, sometimes just as from 'Ahhiyawa' or its equivalent) seem likely to have had similar dependent roles in some Levantine and coastal Anatolian polities.

Against this background, the nature of Aegean groups' self-consciousness in overseas movement is likely to have been flexible. The stripped-down context of interaction in Italy surely helped their awareness of each other's capacities and identities, providing opportunities for groups with limited footholds in east Mediterranean systems to assert themselves to a greater extent among their peers. Aegeans in Italy benefitted from highly-focused local interest in their prestigious goods and practices, and were probably most often treated as honoured guests by local elites. By contrast, in south Levantine port cities, Aegean groups often mixed in a merchant/quasi-merchant class which had minimal interest in their 'marginal' writing and language systems, but accepted them as peers in pragmatic ways. In Cyprus, with its developing rich ports, Aegeans were able to draw on a special basis of earlier contacts and dovetailing economic interests to assist their close meshing with recently-consolidated local elites as well as an emerging (and overlapping) well-connected merchant class.

In assessing these differences between regional reception and engagement structures, we come back to the nature of the Aegean bloc itself, its formative circumstances, and the likely identity concepts operating within it. The nature of the bloc allowed flexible, parallel and open-ended movement within a 'shell' which was recognisable to external parties, yet difficult to

attack or repress as a unit. Among other factors (such as the late context of mainland state emergence), the bloc structure helps explain why neither secondary states, nor expatriate enclaves, were a major feature of Aegean movement in the late LBA. Despite ongoing aggrandisement by the various states within the bloc, extreme inter-state competition was not a dominant feature. Had this been the case, it might have driven more heavily-targeted movements by individual Aegean polities overseas, and consequently stronger hostile reactions. At the same time, the kinds of physical/political disparities, divergent interests and ongoing frictions which did exist in the bloc limited any single Aegean state's capacity for very large-scale investment and reward abroad. For reasons linked to the region's small population, historically decentred nature, fragmented geography and limited resources, Aegean groups still found most of their overseas development opportunities through niche-filling movement of various kinds – though at a larger and more effective scale than in MM–LH I. Enough collaborative structure existed in and outside the bloc to protect and support these actions, while the flexibility in political, cultural and economic boundaries within it could accommodate and reward movement in a variety of scales and directions.

This discussion suggests that many of the numerous movement models previously and currently applied to the period need detailed deconstruction. Problematic aspects frequently seem related to the historical context in which early general models for Aegean prehistory were developed: assumptions about movers' innate personal/ethnic attributes and their control over culture change no longer seem satisfactory. Some more recent reconstructions, on the other hand, have been too predictive or generalising about movement systems, and/or overly reluctant to engage with movement as involving personified encounters and as a culturally and socially transformative process. Yet despite the high visibility and importance of value goods trade, gifting, and emulation in this period, addressing movement-linked cultural change mainly in terms of consumption systems has also proven inadequate, marginalising the agency of moving groups and producing limited insight into large-scale social and economic change.

Notes

- 1 Increasingly, a variety of mainland-linked cultural features appearing in places like Crete are now being backdated to points earlier than LM II, tending to undermine notions of a uniform horizon of change – e.g. Kanta (2011: 621).
- 2 In an important point on chronology, Soles notes that the Mochlos destruction occurs in/well after the LM II phase at Knossos (and has LM II pottery within its layers), again suggesting that not all destructions were closely contemporary in date; see also Rutter (2011: 337–8).
- 3 E.g. at Armeni, where a small *tholos* differentiates one burial group from all the rest within a wealthy chamber tomb cemetery, and at Achladia in east Crete (Alberti 2004: 128; Godart and Tzedakis 1992: 85–94; Papadopoulou 1997; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1996).

- 4 See Arapoyianni et al. (2002) and Shelmerdine (2001: 351) for the appearance of early Linear B syllabograms in an architectural context of late MH date at Olympia Kafkona on the western mainland.
- 5 A few contrasting figures are indicative: 95% of all vessels at Miletus in this period are imported or imitated Aegeanising fine wares (Mee 1998). Van Wijngaarden (2003: 39–52; 2007: 463–7) notes 800 separate 'Aegean' pottery finds from Ugarit's last LBA horizon (late thirteenth century BC), more than half of them concentrated in the palace, and about 500 'Aegean' fragments at the Amarna palace of the first quarter of the fourteenth century; Cline (1999: 123–4) estimates only 1800 LM III/LH III imports overall in Egypt and 2300 in Syria-Palestine; we have an impression of Aegean pottery as still a minority consumption commodity in the mainland Levant, even in coastal Levantine sites. In Cyprus, where most coastal sites have particularly dense 'Aegean' pottery by the thirteenth century, a particularly strong tendency towards producing it locally is seen by the thirteenth century: only 1% of fine pottery at late thirteenth-century Kalavassos *Ayios Dimitrios* is classified as comprising Aegean-type imports, with much of the rest being Aegeanising imitations (Steel 1998: 286). In the central Mediterranean, overall concentrations, even at major uptake sites, are much smaller – e.g. 352 sherds represent Aegean imports for the whole LBA at Broglio di Trebisacce on the south coast of Italy (van Wijngaarden 2003: 237–49).
- 6 He notes, for example, the contrasting social roles of large faience objects with Egyptian royal inscriptions on one hand, and small scarabs and seals on the other. Both categories of objects were moving in the Aegean/east Mediterranean at this period.
- 7 The Pylos A-series ration tablets record groups of women working for the state at low social levels (corn-grinders, spinners, carders). They are carefully classified as originating from a variety of distant areas including western Anatolia and the east Aegean islands. They are often listed as accompanied by children – suggesting permanent inhabitants somehow bound into the state system, (almost certainly of subjugate and low status) while still ethnically and cross-generationally sub-defined as 'other' (Chadwick 1988: 155–6; 164; Michailidou and Voutsas 2005; Olsen 2014: 60–134).
- 8 A spell in 'the Keftiu language' appears in a document of Amenophis III's reign (though it has no resemblance to contemporary Linear B Greek) suggesting continued consciousness, however distorted, of a heritage of Aegean contacts (O'Connor 1996).
- 9 As indicated by the Pylos texts – showing, for example, the presence of 'Knidians' among dependent labour classes.
- 10 See discussion later in this chapter for the contemporary use of 'brother' as an honorific denoting 'peer ruler'.
- 11 High-level inter-awareness between these two political/ethnic spheres nonetheless seems indicated by an account of the [image of] 'the god of Ahhiyawa' being brought to Hattuşas to assist the cure of the king Mursili II in the thirteenth century (Cline 1995: 276).
- 12 For example, an Ugarit-based merchant, Sinaranu, was able to send ships to Crete under a tax exemption (Cline 1999: 125; Heltzer 1988; 1999; Nougayrol 1955: 107–8). The partly Aegeanising 'sanctuary of the rhytons' in Ugarit (which while focusing strongly on these distinctive Aegean cult vessels nonetheless has no close parallel in the Aegean itself) suggests high-status relationships (likely to involve Aegean-originating or -affiliated residents in significant economic positions) behind the supply of and demand for Aegean fine pottery imports in the city.
- 13 See, for example, the suggestions by Immerwahr (1959) and Taylour (1958: 49) of independent/sequential 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' resource exploitation on

- LM I Lipari, based mainly on the distribution of Aegean pottery styles on the island.
- 14 Bernabó Brea's model, which assumes that resemblances to Aegean forms mean the building was 'planned and completed according to Aegean standards', offers little contextual discussion showing how the local political and social environment differed from anything seen in the Aegean.
 - 15 Such distinctions were being made widely in the Aegean by this period: see Palaima (1991) on references in Linear B texts to a 'Nafpliot' (na-u-pi-ri-jo) and a 'te-re-si-ja' (Theban woman); the Thebes tablets use the term ra-ke-da-mo-ni-ja (Lacedaemonian) to refer a resident of the Laconia area.

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6 Myth and movement from c. 1200 BC

Introduction

Scholarship on the east Mediterranean Early Iron Age (c. 1200–700 BC) has been marked by emphasis on the role of large-scale movement in socio-cultural change and by the frequent use of migration-related terminology (see e.g. reviews by Killebrew 2005: 34–5; Knapp 2013: 447–9; Kostoglou 2010: 171; Sherratt 1998: 292–3; 2000: 82). This occurs even in the Anglo-Saxon archaeological literature, where movement has until recently generally been marginalised in explanation. The tendency seems related to a relative freedom of assumption about the nature of the EIA (in many regions traditionally much less-studied than either the Classical or Late Bronze Age periods) and to the way the period has most often been researched – that is, through the prism of ancient texts, even though in the Aegean the latter first appeared only towards the end of the period. A set of major disturbances at the start of the EIA and conceptions of the aftermath of these disturbances as a ‘dark age’, with associations of regression and barbarism (partly rooted in the relative neglect/inaccessibility of the record; see Kotsonas 2016) have permitted scholars to imagine drastic, violent sociocultural change over short spaces of time, for which movement seems an obvious explanation. The evident richness of interregional contacts and movements in the Latest Bronze Age east Mediterranean world has encouraged a view of long-distance movement as a regular practice by this time, and thus as a potential response to disruption (Figure 6.1).

Within this perspective and with Aegean societies in mind, certain types and timeframes of movement have been particularly highlighted. In the period immediately following the collapse of LBA states (c. 1200 BC), many have argued that the Aegean experienced an exodus of refugees, leaving space for incursions from elsewhere (for recent summaries of relevant views see e.g. Cline 2014; Georgiades 2009). The overseas migration of Aegean groups with a continuous, innate ethnosocial structure has in turn been seen as heavily determining the history of Cyprus and parts of the coastal Levant from the same period. At the other end of the EIA, c. 700 BC, Aegean movement has been viewed as the major driver of sociocultural transformation, via ‘colonisation’, in the

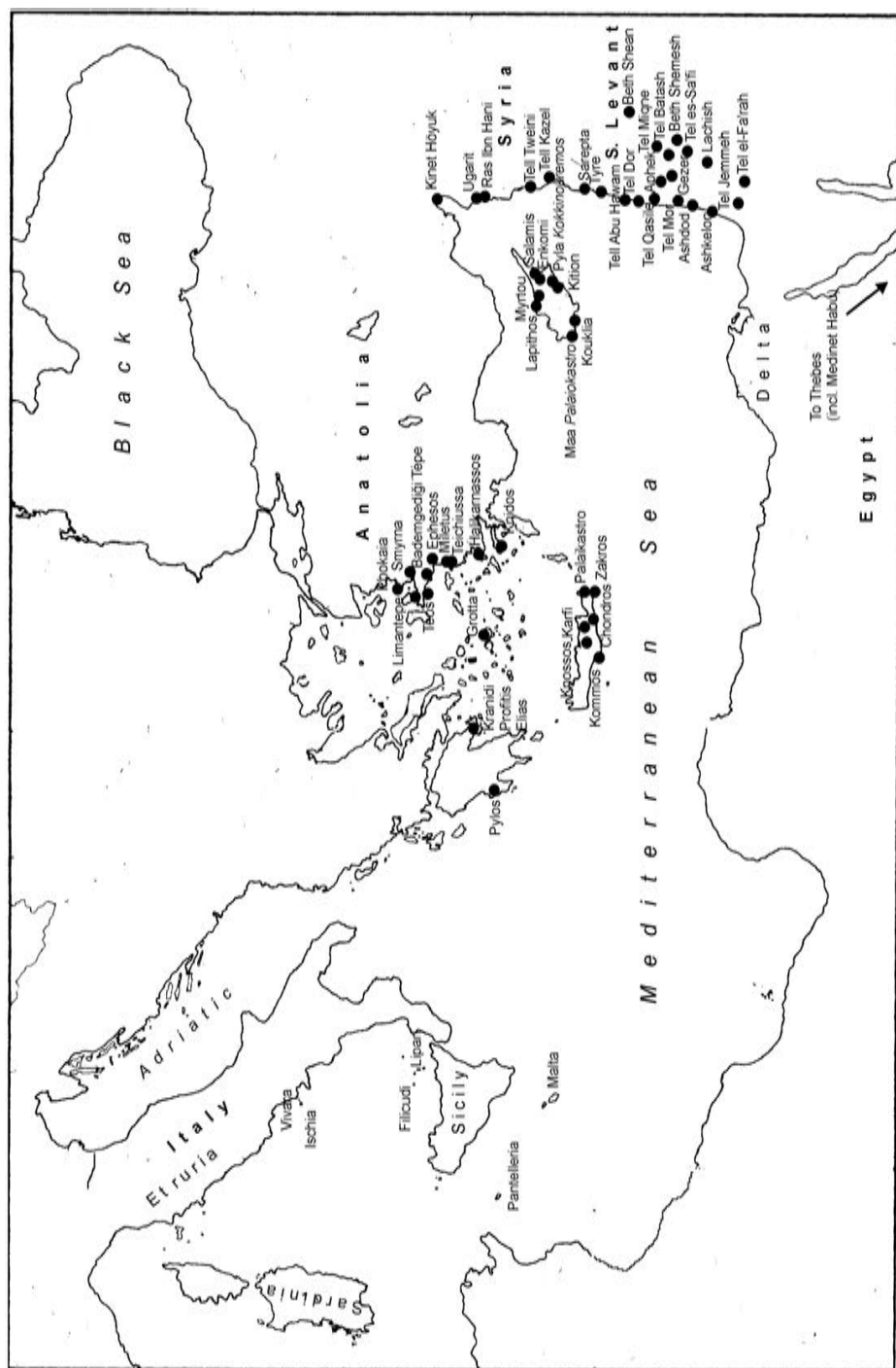


Figure 6.1 Map of all sites mentioned in the text (by S. Wallace).

central Mediterranean. Some models view Aegean agency within the EIA within a wider long-term *ex oriente lux* perspective, seeing movement of people from the east Mediterranean into Greece during the earlier Iron Age as transformative – first for Aegean societies, and then, via the latter, for those of the central Mediterranean (see Sjögren 2010: 219 for critique; Liverani 1996 on the influence of value-laden conceptions of the ‘Orient’ in this period). The importance of east Mediterranean contacts to cultural change in the Aegean and wider Mediterranean/European area during the Iron Age is certainly well-evidenced. But only recently has interest developed in exploring *how* interactions with ‘the east’ and its associated cultural forms were constructed and experienced by Aegeans and others through the period (e.g. Morris 2000: Chapter 6), rather than assuming standard forms and effects for movement out of and around the east Mediterranean. Highly simplified (and sometimes conflicting) ethnic templates have often been used in the above contexts – e.g. of entrepreneurial ‘Greeks’ moving east and west on one hand; of ‘advanced’ easterners settling in the Aegean/instructing Aegean craftsmen on the other. Some recent interpretations compromise by using the idea of cross-ethnic ‘partnerships’ or ‘hybridised’ practice to explain the rich mixture of cultural elements found in the Iron Age Mediterranean. Still, relatively few imagine how such structures might have operated or been experienced; there seems further scope for analysis here. As research data has increased in volume in the last twenty years (and in contrast to these preoccupations with agents) ecological factors have been of significant interest to scholars in explaining the uniquely dramatic and widespread sociocultural changes of the period, including evidence for movement (e.g. Kaniewski et al. 2008; Moody 2005; 2009; Rohling et al 2009; for earlier ecological models based heavily on texts and selected cultural evidence, see e.g. Carpenter 1966). So far, these models have been only poorly linked up with discussion of movement’s mechanisms and experiences. Again, there seems space for more complex and detailed investigations of movers into, through and out of the EIA Aegean, including their motivations, experiences and reactions.

From its earliest days, scholarship on the Iron Age Aegean has been subsumed within the discipline of ‘Greek’ archaeology. The inhabitants of the region during the Iron Age are often assumed to have been connected to each other within ethnic, social and cultural structures prefiguring the pan-Hellenic collective consciousness (a phenomenon in evidence by at least the sixth century BC and first hinted at textually in the Homeric epics of the later eighth). This concept linked people consuming the culture and lifestyle developing in the contemporary central Aegean as ‘Greeks’ (Hellenes) in a shared descent relationship (Hall 2007: 179; who notes further reification of this malleable concept following the Persian wars in the early fifth century; see also Hall 1997; Lomas 2004; Morgan 1990; 2009). Above, I discussed the bloc-like functioning of cultural and political groups in the LBA Aegean (very probably the source for later traditions

of collaborative relationships/bonds in the region). However, the questions I will be asking later in this chapter about social transformation and inter-regional movement during the Iron Age make it decidedly unhelpful to use the term ‘Greeks’ when simply referring to the inhabitants of the Aegean as a whole, in either the Bronze or the Early Iron Ages. Though it is clear by the eighth century that many of the latter did identify themselves through cultural tropes, and that Greek was the major language in use among them, the contemporary emergence and evident malleability of ‘Greekness’ as a political construct makes use of the term in this way misleading. I will continue to use ‘Aegeans’ for the inhabitants of the region throughout the discussion below, as well as in Chapter 7, part of which addresses communities outside the Aegean construing themselves as ‘Greek’ in certain cultural and political terms by c. 700 BC. ‘Greek’ and ‘Greeks’ are used here only in this sense of a constructed historical and cultural identity.

Legacies of tradition: texts in Greek

Special kinds of interpretative opportunities arise with the appearance of the first literary/historical texts in the Aegean during the eighth century BC, following an apparently complete gap in literacy in the region starting from c. 1200 BC. From their earliest appearance and in a particular social context, these texts placed emphasis on history as a mode of political justification and a way of defining collective identity, often recounting historical traditions as fact to support political and identity claims. Movement was a prominent feature in the traditions recounted, and for good reason. Both the archaeological and the wider textual evidence (including texts from the contemporary Near East) leave little doubt that there *were* important movements, in new modes and with major impacts, during the Iron Age – particularly at the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition (c. 1200 BC) and in the later Iron Age/early Archaic (800–600 BC). The latter period clearly saw sizeable numbers of people moving permanently from the Aegean into the western Mediterranean (especially south Italy). Strongly-defined regional ethnicity, reflected in and perpetuated through material culture, became an important factor in the mode, perception and impact of Mediterranean movement generally during the Iron Age. The appearance of alphabetic writing (used in the Aegean by the eighth century) occurred in the context of increased movement volume and of a (related) new emphasis on ethnicity construction. The adoption of alphabetic script seems itself to have been a product of intensive, prolonged, multilevel and trade-linked contact between Aegean residents and people using the Phoenician alphabet at Levantine, central Mediterranean and Aegean ports (Lloyd-Jones 1992: 55–6). The wider context of adoption is that of the emergence of a new kind of small state in which script was used to consolidate and represent new forms of institutional authority, including collective descent. As in many other cases of early writing, the context and content of alphabetic writing in Greek were thus highly ethnically- and

politically-charged from the outset (Bowman and Woolf 1994; Harbsmeier 1988; Stoddart and Whitley 1998). Inside and outside state settings, early pictorial and written references to epic traditions distinct to Greek-speaking groups had powerful ethnic and prestige associations over a large geographical area (embodied in an Aegean-made drinking cup with inscription referring to the *Iliad* deposited in a grave at the developing interaction site of Pithekoussai, off southwest Italy, by the late eighth century: Ridgway 1992: 57).

The historical context of *polis* state development in the Aegean – a region containing many very densely-packed small, similar community units in the post-crisis centuries – caused ethnic/descent bonds to territory to be heavily emphasised (Hall 2007: Chapter 3). Greek-language ‘historical’ accounts and political texts of the Archaic to Classical period, which are often used alongside Homeric texts to support models of Iron Age movement, frequently reflect/contain self-assertion of or justification for newly consolidating state/ethnic groups. A feature of many such texts is the retrospective personification of a ‘Greek’ identity for various groups and sites in terms of named settlement founders. These are celebrated as heroes and direct progenitors of the community in ways first visible in Homer (Finkelberg 1995; 2005: 149–60; Malkin 1998; 2002). As part of the same phenomenon (and helping to buffer friction between so many similarly sized state units), a strong cultural framework for ‘Greek’ ethnic consciousness developed in many parts of the old Aegean bloc area by about 700 BC. This was clearly stimulated and reinforced by increasingly high-volume movements of people around, into and out of the Aegean by c. 700 BC. The very strong contemporary relevance of historical/ethnic consciousness, and the importance of early Greek texts in representing it, suggest that very sophisticated treatment of these texts as cultural products is required if they are to be used to examine actual population movements at any time between the twelfth and fifth centuries. However, in much Classical archaeology scholarship, texts have been assumed to be a relatively straightforward first port of call in identifying movement and its impacts (see Malkin 2002 for critique).

Some of the earliest Greek texts of this period indicate a tradition of two main groups as having moved at large scales within the Aegean region, and thereby determined the political character of the latter. These were the ‘Dorians’ – connected to the Peloponnesian region – and the ‘Ionians’ – connected to the east Aegean mainland and coastal Anatolia (for the long history of Classical archaeology’s interest in these groups, see e.g. Ally 1982; Bartonek 1973; Beloch 1890; Bilabel 1920; Crielaard 2010; Hall 1997: 51–65; 2007: 67–82; MacSweeney 2013). Ancient references to these groups usually had a very general inclusive remit (the seventh-century Hesiodic *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women* position the mythic king ‘Doros’ of the Peloponnese as a son of ‘Hellen’ and thus as a core ancestral reference for all ‘Hellenes’ [Greeks]; see Hall 1997: 48–9). The seventh-century poet Tyrtaios linked the self-identifying ‘Dorian’ polities of the Peloponnese with the tradition of a migration into the region by the Heraklid tribe, linked in turn to the

mythical figure of Herakles and thus again to pan-Hellenic symbolism. Like the Dorians, the Ionians are first known in written Greek through Homer, with a group referred to as *Iaones* (unlocalised) listed among the Achaean contingents in the Trojan War (*Iliad* 13.685). Eighth-century Assyrian and Babylonian sources mention a self-identified *Yawanaya* group in coastal Anatolia, and there may be older uses of cognate ethnic terms (as in Knossian Linear B *i-ja-wo-ne*, though this reference is again unlocalised: Crielaard 2010: 41). Indications of consciously ‘Greek’-associated cultural practice and claims to Greek ethnic identity appear in some west Anatolian states by the eighth century. By the sixth century, these were consciously accounted for and brought together in Greek texts through reference to a past ‘Ionian’ migration from Attica; Herodotus (1.148) indicates the use of the ‘Panionion’ sanctuary on the Mykale peninsula in mid-coastal Anatolia as consciously distinguishing ‘Greek’ polities in the region – the latter all being presented as original Aegean foundations (Hdt. 5.6; Thuc. 1.12.4). He also identifies Dorians and Ionians respectively as the ‘original’, dominant tribes represented in the emerging multi-polity blocs forming around Sparta and Athens/the east Aegean in the same period.¹ Thucydides in the fifth century refers to the same descent groups in explaining the origins and alignments of ‘Greek’ polities in the central Mediterranean, retrojecting a familiar political trope/mechanism of his time (political colony foundation) back into unrecorded history. Changes over time are apparent in the use of these major ethnicity/movement traditions; Hall suggests that it was specifically in the context of the formation of the Delian League (a set of politico-military alliances by Athens in the insular and east Aegean in response to the Persian threats of the fifth century) that the origins of ‘the Ionians’ became pinpointed on Athens – being used heavily by that polity to promote east Aegean political integrity through the notion of shared descent (Hall 1997: 68–9; 203–4; see also Crielaard 2010: 43–4; Rhodes 1992). Similar developments occurred around the Dorian tradition, as Sparta extended its formal interventions and alliances over much of the Peloponnese and Crete (for a summary, see Wallace 2010: 370–6).

Archaic Greek script styles and dialects fell into distinct groups (e.g. ‘Ionic’ and Attic Greek have similarities, as do Lesbian, Boeotian and Thessalian Greek). These groupings have often been explained by scholars in the straightforward terms of interregional population movements, retrojected to vague dates in the Early Iron Age (see e.g. Crielaard 2010: 44; Morpurgo-Davies 1986: 101; Hall 1997: 153–62). Yet during the period when ethnic identities (and their associated origin myths) were being strongly consolidated (in the eighth to sixth centuries BC), it is clear that written and spoken language forms were already being overtly manipulated alongside them and with reference to them (Hall 1995; 1997: 170–80). This makes even the earliest script/language variations in written Greek difficult to read as straightforward ethnofossils. The manipulated and shifted nature of both the Greek language

itself, *and* the traditions recounted in it over time, urges caution over reliance on either in building movement models, especially when discussing textless or early text periods. Notwithstanding, the temptation remains strong in the scholarship to try to link up text accounts closely to archaeological evidence, especially in the context of transformative movement. For example, a recurring inference that the arrival of an ‘original’ Dorian population in the Aegean should be placed somewhere in the Early Iron Age is based largely on a sense from the texts that the emergence/arrival of the Dorian *ethnos* marked the end of an older Aegean civilisation (which many scholars have read as dating to the LBA, citing the mentions by Homer and Herodotus of ‘Dorians’ in Crete as postdating the rule of ‘Minos’). A large-scale population movement – the ‘Dorian migration’ – is still frequently used not only to explain the causes and structure of state collapse c. 1200 BC, but also to characterise subsequent Iron Age life in various parts of the Aegean. In a classic culture-historical perspective, new cultural features of the Iron Age are explained as inherent in the ‘Dorian’ group’s culture and as inevitably imposed on the region through migration. The Ionian traditions have been treated in a partly similar way, with scholars reconstructing a major migration from the central Aegean to western Anatolia in the twelfth to tenth centuries BC in an attempt to explain the cultural features appearing in the latter region by the eighth century. The frustrations and obscurities of the Iron Age Aegean archaeological evidence until recently have encouraged this loose, selective and often over-dependent approach to texts as documents of movement. But quite apart from their questionable historical accuracy, most of the models using texts in this way rarely interrogate in detail the motives of the assumed movers, their experiences, or their impact in its context.

Sweeping migration narratives of this type were espoused enthusiastically in the early days of Aegean prehistory, with its links to the discourses of Classical archaeology, late European imperialism and modernism (Hall 1997: 1–17; 114–28; 2007: 73–82). Hawes and Hawes (1922: 20–1) argued for aggressive invasion by ‘Dorians’ (with an inherent set of genetic, cultural and social attributes) in explaining cultural and social change in Bronze to Iron Age Crete:

the great wave of Dorian invasion . . . engulfed Greece in darkness . . . art lost all originality: only convention remained; letters die out, but swords increased in length . . . with weapons of iron came contention and fear, utterly divorcing men from peaceful pursuits, driving them to the hilltops for safety.

In this characteristic interpretative pattern for studies of the Iron Age Aegean, episodes of migration into the Aegean from the north are seen here as straightforwardly producing the ‘Greek’ population of Classical times. The qualities of the assumed moving groups are inferred in a circular fashion

from selected observed cultural traits. For example, evidence for use of difficult sites or for non-complex social forms in the post-Bronze Age period has often been seen as reflecting incomers mobile *by nature* (e.g. nomadic pastoralists). Heurtley, writing in the same era of race/movement-focused archaeology as the Haweses (and citing Hammond's recent ethnographic studies) envisaged inherently mobile groups as characterising north Aegean populations through the whole BA–EIA period, using their movements to explain various cultural transformations in the south mainland from EB III onwards. Equating the Iron Age version of this movement pattern with the Dorian migration, he reified 'the Dorians' as long-rooted, intrinsically nomadic, barbarian venturers – a depiction echoed in other parts of the contemporary literature (Hammond 1932; Heurtley 1932). Pendlebury used the related idea of the conquest/succession of civilised 'Minoan' and then 'Achaean' ('Mycenaean') societies in Crete by 'Dorian' invaders to explain use of defensible settlements across the island in the Early Iron Age (Pendlebury 1933: 303; Pendlebury et al. 1938: 137).

Contrary to Renfrew's optimistic assertion that from a updated linguistic perspective 'there is now no need for the archaeological record to provide indications of a 'Dorian invasion' (Renfrew 1980: 240), piecemeal movement-based explanations citing the Dorian and Ionian migration tropes continue to appear in interpretations of archaeological material. Eder (1998: 63–6; 86–8) uses a model of reified 'Dorians' as destroying/taking over major LBA sites in the Peloponnese to explain shifted uses of LBA settlement areas during the twelfth to eleventh centuries; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou unconvincingly reconstruct invading 'Dorians' as having appropriated major LBA sites in south Crete from c. 1200 BC, while surviving local enclaves retreated to new defensive villages (Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004: 310–4; for critique see Wallace 2010: 310). Willetts (1977: 143–53) offered a comprehensive but largely uncontextualised explanation of all political and social changes between the Bronze Age and EIA–Classical periods in Crete in terms of the impact of Dorian incomers. Despite sophisticated recent approaches to deconstructing ethnic/movement traditions in the Iron Age Aegean (e.g. Hall 1995; 1997; 2007, Malkin 1998; 2002; 2009; MacSweeney (2013), scholars still often seem to expect the archaeological record to supply straightforward evidence for/reflections of migrations at this time (see e.g. Finkelberg 2005; Crielaard 2007 for critique). Circularity and internal contradictions are common in such approaches. For example, when geographical origins for disruptive 'Dorians' at the beginning of the EIA are in question, a northern one is often favoured – in stark contradistinction to the hints now widely seen in the record that conflict/crisis at c. 1200 BC was centred on the Mediterranean.² Another contradiction arises in the fact that models citing Dorian migrations often use the notion of an overwhelming flow of incomers, wiping out much of local culture, to explain culture change in the Aegean, while use of the Ionian myth focuses on the active *export* of distinctively Aegean culture through movement in more or less the same period. We regularly find

assumptions that migrating groups had a high degree of unilateral agency and possessed intrinsically greater cultural or political force than receiving populations, allowing their unhindered movement and straightforward imposition of cultural innovation on receiving areas. I will argue below, and in Chapter 7, that superficial combination of ancient text readings with the archaeological record in the kinds of ways described above does both sources a disservice and is ever less valid as archaeological research on the Iron Age becomes more systematic and better regional contextualisation of archaeological data is possible.

Non-Greek texts: the ‘Sea Peoples’

Alongside the later Greek traditions, a number of Near Eastern texts dating to the Bronze–Iron transition and beyond have been used to interpret evidence for disturbances across the region in terms of long-distance population movement. Direct mentions of large-scale movements in the contemporary east Mediterranean texts are limited, while in the case of later Greek accounts (for the reasons noted above), references to such movements as explaining descent/political histories are frequent. These differences, the structural reasons behind them, and the chronological disparities involved, affect the interpretative weight typically given to each group of texts in scholarly discussions of Mediterranean Iron Age movement, and all need to be borne in mind in the following discussion.

Accounts of major conflicts in the maritime arena, with illustrations, appear in some Egyptian royal mortuary inscriptions of the late thirteenth and early twelfth centuries. These inscriptions are part of established traditions making use of standard visual shorthand and offering typically polarised accounts of Egypt’s strength against enemies (see e.g. Artzy 1997; Figure 6.2). External groups said to be involved in the conflicts are referred to using various ethnonyms. One set of images with accompanying texts shows groups of attackers fighting in boats and on land (apparently in separate battles). All are being defeated by Egyptian forces. These images are inscribed on the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu near Thebes (and refer to the pictured conflict as occurring in the Delta in Rameses’ eighth regnal year, traditionally c. 1177/6 BC (Artzy 1997; Adams and Cohen 2013; Bietak 1993; Cline 2014; Cifola 1991; Killebrew 2005: 202–6; Kitchen 2008: 10–25; Wachsmann 2000: 105–6). Consciously ‘alienising’ features used to portray some of the attackers include bird-headed boats (which are not typical of most contemporary Egyptian boat representations, but are shown on some Aegeanising pictorial pottery of the same period) and feathered headdresses (which in the context of Egyptian art’s established ethnic dress-coding traditions seem likely to represent a distinct ‘foreigner’ identity: perceived sub-identities are possibly indicated by different types of headband pattern on these headdresses; Roberts 2009). Depictions of similar headdresses are seen on anthropoid coffins at some



Figure 6.2 Thebes: Medinet Habu mortuary temple reliefs: (a) Rameses III's land battle; (b) detail of invaders' ship (after T. Dothan, and M. Dothan, 1992. *People of the sea: the search for the Philistines*. New York: Scribner: 20–1).



Figure 6.3 Anthropoid coffin lid from twelfth-century Beth She'an in the southern Levant, from the collection of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (photograph by K. Nowicki).

sites in the southern Levant at the same period (e.g. Deir-el Bal'ah, Tell el Far'ah and Beth She'an; Killebrew 2005: 65–7; Figure 6.3). Polities in this area were under partial Egyptian control/influence and strongly culturally linked to Egypt during the latest LBA, but were developing new cultural practices and representations at the period of the inscriptions (Braunstein 1998: 311–15; Green 2009; 2010; Gilboa et al. 2014: 628–30; Mumford 2014: 78).

Slightly earlier Egyptian accounts of conflict with outsiders in and around the Delta – referring to Year 5 of the pharaoh Merneptah's reign (during the last decades of the thirteenth century) – mention a major incursion on Egypt's west flank, spearheaded by a 'Libu'/'Tehenu' (Libyan) leader (Kitchen 2003: 2–10; 15–19; Lesko 1992; Manassa 2003). Further conflicts with the same

group/area are documented in Rameses III's reign (Kitchen 2008: 44–55). In the Merneptah inscription, the Libyan challengers are suggested to have coordinated a number of other ethnic groups – most of them, if not all, located to the northeast and northwest of Egypt (the epithet 'northerners . . . wanderers of all lands' is used). Given the geography, we can infer that they are thought to have collected at least partly in the maritime sphere (the epithet 'of the sea' is used for one group, the 'Aqa(y)washa', usually read as indicating the 'Ahhiyawa' referred to in the contemporary Hittite documents). Other groups mentioned as being involved in the Merneptah Year 5 attack are the 'Lukka' (other contemporary references to the latter group, especially in the Hittite archives, link them to southern Anatolia); 'Tursha', 'Shaklusha' and 'Sherden'.³ Some of the ethnonyms used (Shaklusha, Sherden) reappear later, in the Rameses III account of seaborne attacks on the Delta. In that account, all the attackers are generalised as northern and maritime in operation: 'the northern foreign countries that were in their isles'; 'the foreign countries that came from their land, from their isles in the midst of the Great Green' (the archaic formula earlier used in association with 'Keftiu' in Egyptian inscriptions). In defeat, their weapons are said to have been 'scattered over the Great Green' (Kitchen 2008: 27–8). Some names in the Rameses III text are, however, completely new in regional reference ('Peleset' (referred to in another Rameses III-period account of the conflict as 'sailing in the midst of the sea'); 'Tjekker'/'Sikilu'; 'Weshesh'; and perhaps 'Danuna': the first group became fairly regularly referred to in texts of the Iron I Levant, as I discuss below).⁴

In the various accounts of these conflicts, frequent references are made to the subjugation of the 'Nine Bows' – a generic term for Egypt's enemies, which throughout the New Kingdom period was most often used to designate the west Levantine territories generally. In the Rameses III text, the epithet is coupled closely with the generic term for people from the western Levant – 'the Asiatics' (Kitchen 2008: 29; 30. Another Medinet Habu inscription concerning the Rameses III Year 8 conflict refers to the pharaoh as 'causing the Asiatics to retreat' and refers to their regional deity, Baal: Kitchen 2008: 32).⁵ Places listed in the text as attacked by the same groups before they reached the Delta are all in the western Levant or Anatolia.

Apart from the Libyans, the Sherden – referred to in both the main attack texts – seem the group most familiar to contemporary Egyptians. In the main Rameses III Medinet Habu account they are described, along with Nubians, as fighting *on behalf* of the Egyptian state, but they clearly had a flexible and significant status in regional politics at the time (Kitchen 2008: 25). Earlier Egyptian texts state that people with this ethnonym fought both for and against the Egyptians in the late LBA Levant, including on 'war boats' (Artzy 1997: 27); in the early thirteenth century they joined the Egyptians in land battle against the Hittites at Qadesh in Syria in (for which they were rewarded with landed estates). These facts could suggest 'home' interests somewhere in the northern coastal Levant: the Sherden

are also recorded as a minority group holding land entitlements in Egypt itself within Rameses III's own reign. Thirteenth-century Ugarit tablets referring to Sherden landholdings and indicating that they had personal names in local forms again tend to place their focus of residence in the northern coastal Levant. They are additionally specified as royal guards at Ugarit, and as living near Byblos, associated with/protected by Rib-Hadda, the king of that polity, in the mid-fourteenth century (Adams and Cohen 2013: 651–2; Moran 1992: 150–1; 201–2; Roberts 2009: 62; Heltzer 1983).

The Tjekker/Sikilu, listed among the attackers of Egypt in the Rameses III texts, are similarly referred to elsewhere at this time as active /based in the coastal Levant – including at Ugarit in the late thirteenth century, where they are reported as ('living on ships') and as engaged in aggressive activity along the coast, including raids on Ugarit, said to have been carried out alongside the Sherden (Lehmann 1979; Singer 1994: 24). Strengthening the picture of disruption centred in the coastal Levant at this time, a letter in the Ugarit archives of the late thirteenth century requests defence ships from the ruler of Alasia (Cyprus) in the face of unspecified attack on the port city; the response to the letter indicates ships could not be supplied because all were currently engaged in supporting Hittite interests in maritime defence (Nougayrol 1968: 24).

All the above texts have been cited in support of archaeologically-based arguments for a physical threat to state systems (rooted in new types and volumes of movement) across the east Mediterranean at this period, which witnessed destructions and disturbances at most coastal centres. They have also been used to try to identify the political/ethnic origin of the groups mainly posing this threat. The latter have often been lumped in this as having a single overriding type of interest and practice (and as such, sometimes designated 'Sea Peoples' in light of the texts' references to the attackers' maritime origins/operations. The first categorisation in this way, by Maspero, following de Rougé, occurred in the heyday of culture-historical and imperial discourses in archaeology, see e.g. Killebrew 2005: 67; Killebrew and Lehmann 2013: 1–2). New forms of cultural practice, some incorporating Aegeanising tropes, developed in many coastal Levantine areas at around the same period – encouraging notions that Aegeans played an important role in this group, or even formed its core (Negbi 1992: 604).

At minimum, texts and archaeology together suggest that groups in several regions of the east Mediterranean were involved in significant conflict, especially around coastal centres, c. 1200 BC, and that some of this involved movement over distance. The mixed ethnicities/origins attributed to the attackers by the Egyptian state and other sources certainly suggest a mixture of regional interests behind these events, but not necessarily the existence of a well-linked disruptive body with consistent driving aims or support. Several groups repeatedly mentioned as aggressive/active in the crisis period ('Peleset', 'Sherden', 'Tjekker/Sikilu') seem consistently textually linked throughout the LB/Iron I period to the Levantine coastal area, where

general decline/disruption of Egyptian control/influence is well-documented at exactly this time (the Peleset are linked to a defined territorial area in the Levant by Year 12 of Rameses III: see Kahn 2011). An Egyptian gazetteer text dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century (the *Onomasticon* of Amenope) notes ‘Sikilu’ groups as resident on the central Levantine coast and Sherden as residing in the same area - placing them in a list alongside the Peleset and Tjekker, and immediately following mention of the locations of Ashdod, Ashkelon and Gaza in the southern coastal Levant. The account of Wen-Amon in the eleventh century mentions Dor, further north on this coast, as a Sikilu city (Lichtheim 1976: 224–30; Scheepers 1991). Other groups appearing in the lists of those attacking Egypt (Lukka, Denyen) are linked to closely neighbouring areas (Finkelstein 2000; Kilbrew 2005: 82–3).

Overall, there are very few hints that Aegean-based groups were major players in the attacks on Egypt and the related Levantine disruptions. The main clear mentions seem to be the ‘Aqa(y)washa’/‘Ekwesh’ reference in the Merneptah Year 5 text and related texts (Adams and Cohen 2013: 652–3). Aegeans – for so long known in Egypt as the ‘Keftiu’ – had never previously been referred to by the Egyptian state in this way, and this reference seems made within a wider west Anatolian context and in the exceptional circumstances of a wide regional coalition against Egypt. The fact that the Aqa(y)washa do not appear again as a specified attacker group in Egyptian or other texts suggests that they did not play a recognised resonant or prominent part in contemporary political shifts in this area. ‘Danuna’/‘Denyen’ have sometimes also been suggested to represent Aegeans, by (weak) equation with the much later term ‘Danaoi’ (sometimes used by Homer to connote Aegean-based groups but never found in LBA Aegean or other texts). Some scholarship has linked the same term to the LBA Egyptian term ‘Tanaja’ (listed on the Kom-el-Hetan texts as described in Chapter 5) and thus suggested an Aegean connection. But the Amenope *Onomasticon* lists the ‘Denyen’ group in a strongly north Syrian/Anatolian-associated grouping, and Phoenician inscriptions of the early first millennium suggest a connection to the Syrian polity of Adana (Adams and Cohen 2013: 639).

Taken as a whole, then, the texts suggest that even if Aegean groups were (or were thought to be) involved in the new kinds of conflict/disruption occurring c. 1200 BC, the centre of disruption and movement was Levantine. There is good background for this. Sociopolitical outlooks in the southern Levant during the breakdown of Egyptian political domination, and the rising influence by Cypriot and coastal Levantine polities over commodity trade in the wider region, discussed in Chapter 5, both seem relevant. Dates for and understandings of full Egyptian political ‘withdrawal’ from the southern Levant at the Bronze–Iron Age transition vary widely. The process was clearly neither unified nor conclusive, and evidently involved repeated contests of power with local groups, many of whom were in vassal relations with Egypt or other largely regional entities well into the thirteenth

century (Bietak 1993; see Finkelstein 2000: 162–3, who notes some Egyptian political presence in the area into the reign of Ramses V; Killebrew 2005: 53–81; Mumford 2014: 76–8). The cluster of evidence for newly-identifying/newly-influential groups operating on and near the Levantine coast as discussed above is hard to ignore in this context. The phenomenon seems likely to have corresponded to/fed back into the weakening of Egypt-based cultural penetration and influence in the region, rather than occurring only after its completion. Somewhat surprisingly, people from Alasia (Cyprus) – which was obviously an important and sometimes aggressive actor in the region during the thirteenth century, sometimes in association with neighbouring mainland-based groups/polities such as Ugarit or Lukka (Bryce 2005: 69) – are not mentioned as attackers of Egypt in the conflict accounts described above. As clear from the shipping request found at Ugarit, they were themselves potential victims of attack in this disturbed period. Overall, the evidence from Cyprus c. 1200 BC, showing major economic reorientations and political disturbances, combines with the intensive character of Cypro-Levantine trade connections seen in the later LBA and evidence for new kinds of cultural and political definition in the neighbouring Levantine coasts to suggest that Cypriot groups were closely involved in the changing power relations of this region (Killebrew 2005: 34; Knapp 2013: 449–50; S. Sherratt 1994; 1998; 2012: 98).

The lumping together (as ‘Sea Peoples’) of the diverse actors referred to in the texts discussed above has tended to assume that movement had a monolithic causative role in crisis, and that it had a fixed origin point and destination – assumptions discouraging exploration of potentially variable and unpredictable modes, experiences and motives within movement at this time. For example, documents showing state authorities responding to upheavals which could have been of either local or more distant origin (such as the urgent shipping needs in Cyprus and Ugarit discussed above) are often interpreted in terms of reaction to a single, rolling external threat. Reified views of ‘the Sea Peoples’ as a group with mixed origins but generalised attributes, motives and strategies have favoured ‘domino’-type reconstructions of their movement and its effects. For example, while the group has sometimes been seen as of largely Aegean composition, it is often simultaneously viewed as an external force when explaining disturbances in the Aegean itself. Reification of the group as an essentially rootless, wandering aggressive unit⁶ is closely bound up with another idea – that of ‘refugees’ as prevalent across the region in this period which I will return to below. Most ‘Sea Peoples’ narratives contain features of classic migration models – intrinsically- or permanently-mobile migrants, the straightforward advent of ‘new’ people as explaining multiple and varied aspects of cultural change, and the assumption of typically violent modes of interaction – whether raiding and looting, or direct military attack. Many existing models of the crisis c. 1200 BC focus on the colourful ‘events’ (conflicts, destructions) potentially associated with movement at this time, while offering only vague reconstructions of the movements’ long-term mode and impact. Use of the ‘Sea Peoples’ concept exacerbates this: since the group is

seen as nebulous/transient in nature, the deep impact of their movement is self-evidently hard to start investigating, and easy to gloss as ‘diverse’ (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 659). For example, vague models of ‘resettlement’ of notional *parts* of the group following the conflicts (drawing on texts such as the late twelfth-century Papyrus Harris)⁷ have been unsatisfactorily used as explanations for a range of permanent cultural changes in various parts of the east Mediterranean coast following the crisis (e.g. Negbi 1992: 601; Stern 2000).

Considering archaeological data alongside the texts encourages us to consider the structure of movement and its cultural impacts in more detail. But archaeological analysis has its own blind spots, irregularities and agendas, and is hard to match up consistently and directly with textual sources. For example, a number of new, partly Aegeanising cultural features in Cyprus and the coastal Levant from around this period have often been used to argue that the ‘Peleset’ group listed in the Egyptian attack texts corresponds to Aegean migrants/refugees, forming a significant part of the Sea Peoples grouping and attacking and settling the south Levantine coast at around the same time as the attacks on Egypt. These have been suggested to equate to the ‘Philistine’ ethno-political group, noted as resident in the southern Levantine area in Old Testament sources. Based on the same sets of cultural linkages, the idea of large groups of Aegeans settling in Cyprus at this period has also been prominent (despite the fact that no tradition of Philistine ethnicity is known in reference to Cyprus). In fact, the concept of ‘Sea Peoples’ has in the past been used in a strongly culture-historical vein, to explain archaeological evidence of sociocultural shifts in three or four separate regions – the Aegean, Egypt and the southern Levant/Cyprus – at about the same time (for overviews see Barako 2003; Dothan 1982; Karageorghis 2000; Killebrew 2005: 197–233; Sherratt 1998; 2006; 2013).

The discussion above shows that texts cannot be diminished or sidelined if we are to do justice to movement – both as a real engine of change in the LBA–EIA Mediterranean and as a structuring factor in the social and cultural consciousness of that period. Yet the urge of many works to date, whether wholly text-based or informed by archaeology, has been to definitively prove or disprove the essential ‘truth’ of the texts in relation to specific hypotheses of movement. This reductive approach fails to recognise either the deeper significance of the texts, or the full role/impact of movement in wider sociocultural context. Here, I hope to use archaeology alongside engagement with text study to develop a balanced, contextualised view of Aegean-linked movement in this period.

‘Crisis’ and new kinds of movement: archaeological evidence from the twelfth-century Aegean

Archaeologically, the most striking features of the crisis hitting east Mediterranean social, economic and political systems around 1200 BC were its scale, its geographical range and its links to the maritime movement sphere (e.g.

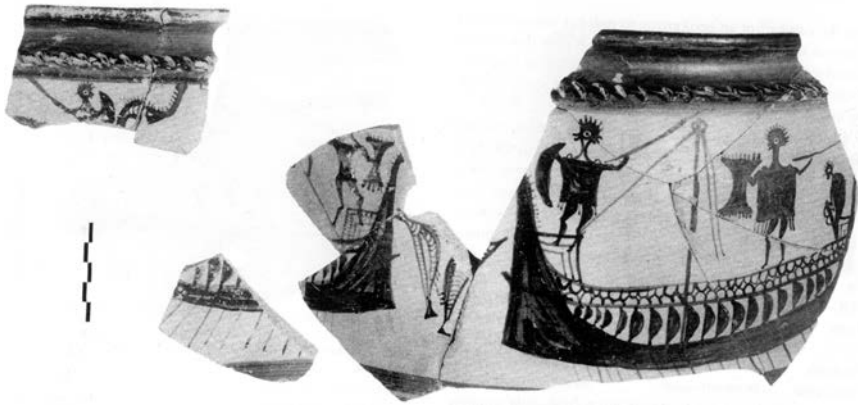


Figure 6.4 Depictions of seaborne warfare on early twelfth-century pictorial pottery (after F. Dakoronia, 2006. *Mycenaean pictorial style at Kynos, east Lokris*. Stockholm: P. Åströms Förlag; fig. 1).

By permission of the Swedish School at Athens.

Drews 1996: 3–33; Killebrew 2005: 21–51; Sherratt 1998: 340; Wachsmann 2000; Ward and Joukowsky 1992). The latter are hardly surprising. Though it cannot be read as reflecting current ‘everyday’ practice, a rising focus in contemporary Aegean(ising) pictorial pottery imagery on *sea-mounted* warfare (using adapted versions of the multifunctional oared galley) placed elite activity in this context for a reason, just as the later Homeric epics, referencing earlier traditions, did (Dakoronia 2006; Figure 6.4). By the end of the LBA, the maritime sphere was for many east Mediterranean regions *the* major arena of economic aggrandisement and power negotiation.

In this context, discussing the crisis and its consequences in this context goes to the heart of ‘Mediterraneanist’ debates. How far did the specific geography and history of the Aegean/east Mediterranean region, with their favouring of both endemic and targeted, long-range maritime movement, make linked-up collapse inevitable at c. 1200 BC, and shape the form of recovery? Did the collapse, and the new kinds of movement apparently associated with it, form part of any long-term cycle of events determined by specifically ‘Mediterranean’ factors? Previous discussion in this book has shown that east Mediterranean regions had disparate histories and structures throughout the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The nature and impact of movement in these periods was always heavily constrained by regional differences in context and structure. Was the shared period of disturbance c. 1200 BC an exception to this, and did it result in new kinds of region-wide social and cultural patterning, via inherent ‘natural’ connections, after existing structures broke down? I will suggest otherwise – that elements

of parallelism in the crisis and in its consequences stem from immediately-preceding history, which created exceptional kinds of links and dependencies between east Mediterranean groups. We will find that there was nothing predictable about the way movement and associated culture change occurred during the collapse period or after it. As other studies have found, ancient state collapse seems difficult, if not impossible, to model as a standard process – though it may incorporate recurring/widely shared features, including high levels of movement (McAnany and Yoffee 2010; Tainter 1990; Wallace 2010).

The Iron Age record also highlights the lack of a standard long-term *impact* for crisis across the region. Aegean communities clearly suffered exceptionally dramatic and permanent consequences: reasons for this seem to have included the region's natural resource constraints and the coastal exposure of most of its major centres (Wallace 2010). Both archaeological data and the Linear B texts show how far Aegean LBA state systems depended on control of the maritime trade sector (notwithstanding the involvement of Aegean-based groups in various market-linked/'franchised' maritime activities at home or abroad ; see e.g. Shelmerdine 2001). Aegean states put substantial resources into cargo shipping and the building up of maritime spheres of influence/security (e.g. via the fielding of coastguards, as documented in the o-ka set of tablets in Linear B from Pylos [Wedde 2005: 32] and the building of specialised infrastructure at ports like Kommos [Shaw et al. 2006a; 2006b]). As I argued in Chapter 5, these strategies sometimes included costly aggressive tactics to defending/extend coastal political and economic footholds outside the main 'bloc' area, as in western Anatolia.

Strong state investment in overseas movement and connections stimulated (while also creating tensions with) the expanded, socially diversified uptake of value goods (including Aegean and Aegean-type pottery) in the wider east and central Mediterranean by the latest LBA. By LH IIIB, increasing numbers of sub-elite and non-elite groups in the Aegean experienced heightened familiarity with foreign goods and people through involvement at various stages of the goods/materials sourcing, manufacturing and export process, as well as through travel and settlement abroad, including in some hostile circumstances. (Artzy 1997: 2). Economic and social shifts arising from these widened opportunities – whether they involved residents of Aegean states, outsiders using Aegean or Aegean-linked ports, or Aegean-originating/identifying groups at the other ends of various trade routes – were likely to provoke responses by Aegean state bodies, contributing to further destabilisation. The nature of the Aegean bloc – with limited internal political or geographic cohesion – offered few sources of aid to individual states encountering such issues. Rising social and economic mobility might quickly become difficult to control, causing conflict at intra-state, intra-bloc and external level – including conflict with Aegean groups resident outside the bloc area, if the latter competed economically with Aegean states themselves. All groups involved might use the sea to push their own interests as opportunity arose; we can thus make no equation between disruptive maritime movement and

the historical, social, ethnic or physical distance between conflicting parties. For example, middle-ranked specialists (potters, merchants, metalworkers, olive oil producers) within Aegean states faced various forms of undercutting and restructuring in the above circumstances. They might mobilise in response at various scales and over considerable distances (including by sea), without constituting culturally exotic, overtly aggressive or permanent migrants in the areas they moved in. Following such attempts to challenge or adjust current structures/supplies/transactions in their own interests, parts of such groups might disperse again, while others renegotiated their economic and political standing directly at regional centres – permanently disrupting the balance of power and control there. Similar kinds of instability seem likely to have developed in coastal Cypriot and Levantine states against the same background.

Security-related adjustments to these scenarios in the Aegean clearly included (a) widespread settlement relocation in some areas, making knowledgeable use of local topography to defend coastal populations against sea-borne attack, and (b) extended protection of some continuing major centres through fortification and/or limited/temporary use of new small defended sites (see e.g. Karageorghis and Morris 2001; Nowicki 2000; Wallace 2010: 52–104; Figures 6.5–6.7). The fact that some of the most important coastal LBA sites in the Aegean were kept partly in use (some following destruction) through the crisis period and its aftermath shows the complex, divided interests operating among Aegean communities. Some members of these communities could clearly continue to benefit from maritime movement and trade, even while the old framework in which these had operated was breaking up. This kind of selective *internal* movement – occurring within or around the territories of previously existing states – has recently emerged as one of the most important (but historically under-researched) ramifications of the Aegean crisis (e.g. Wallace 2010). The sea-penetrated nature of the Aegean region and the contemporary flux in its political systems, together with the linguistically, culturally and socially connected nature of its communities by the late LBA, all promoted and aided this strategy. The prevalence of relatively short-distance or short-term movement and/or *in situ* site contraction seems one explanation for the perception of ‘depopulation’ of parts of the mainland in the twelfth to eleventh centuries, seen in much of the older literature, and used there to support models of mass flight abroad from the Aegean as a response to crisis.⁸

In this enriched context of information we should avoid thinking in terms of *either* simple wipeouts of old territorial/social links *or* significant continuing force in their boundaries (see e.g. Foxhall 1995). Where relocation was common (as in Crete and the islands), a striking lack of size-matching or proximity between old and new sites is apparent, highlighting the socially fragmenting character of movement at this time. We see new site clustering patterns in some areas, particularly those close to valuable sea routes (as on the east coast of the Aegean mainland, which has a concentration of continuing and newly developing sites like Lefkandi, Amarynthos,

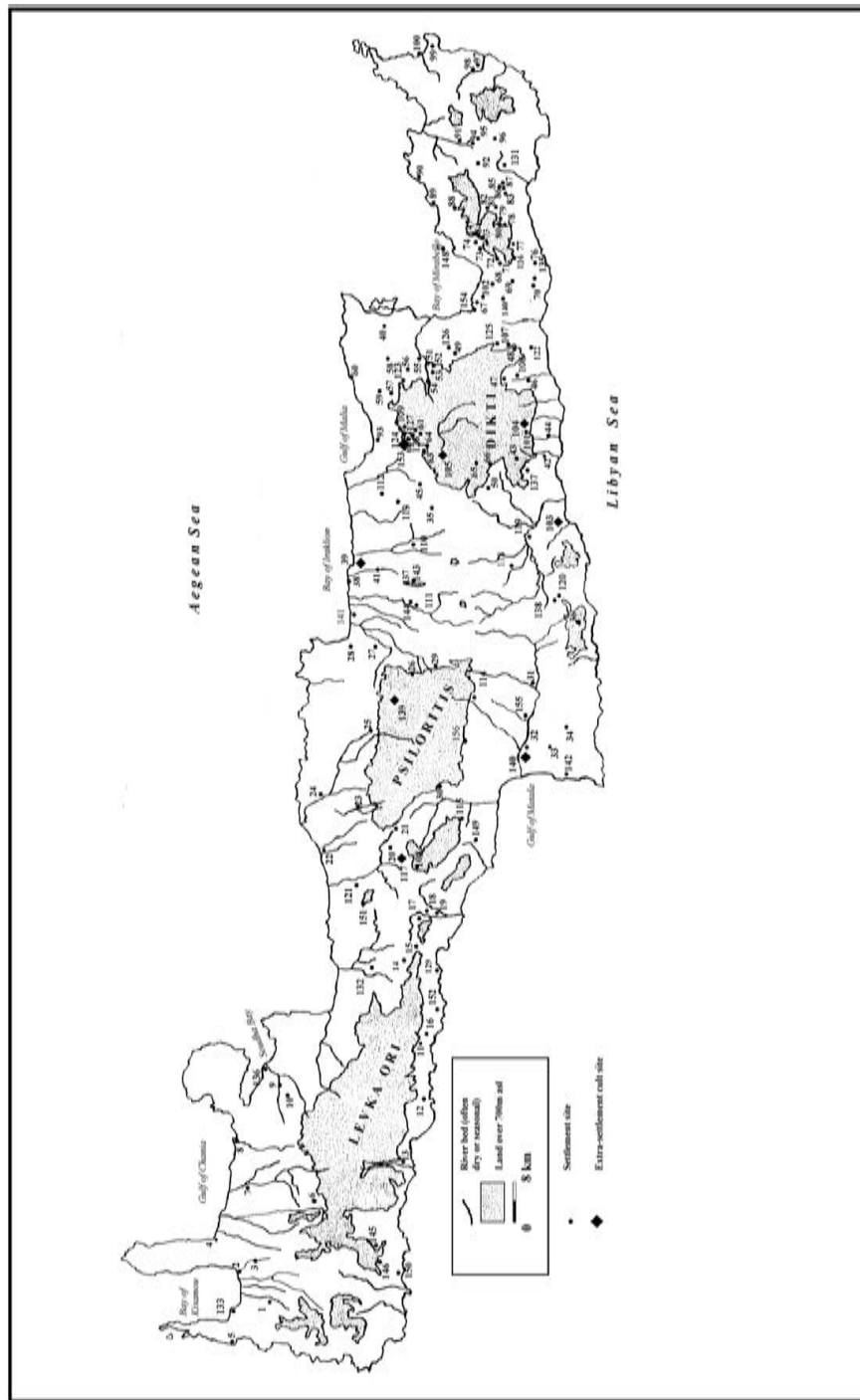
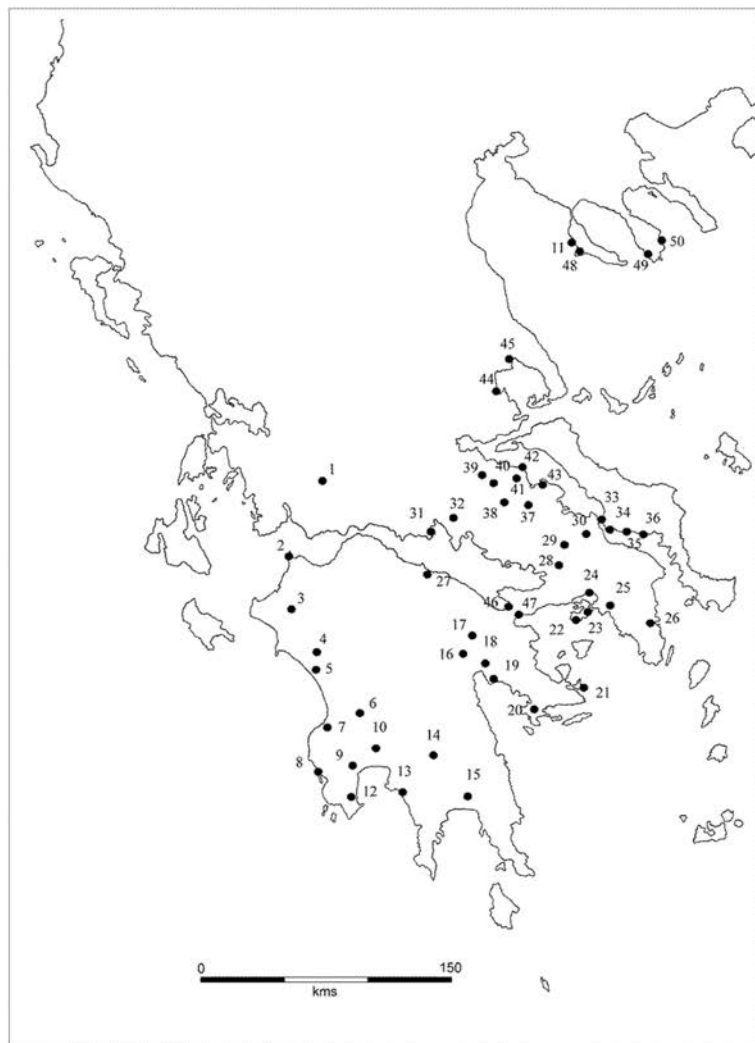


Figure 6.5 Map of new sites in the Aegean from c. 1200 BC: Crete (by S. Wallace).



1. Thermon; 2. Teichos Dymaion; 3. Elis; 4. Olympia; 5. Samikon; 6. Krebeni Kato Melpia; 7. Kyparissia Kastro; 8. Palaiokastros/Osmanaga; 9. Nichoria; 10. Aithaia Ellinika; 11. Kaphirio; 12. Kardamili Kastro; 13. Asteri; 14. Sparta; 15. Mycenae; 16. Argos; 17. Tiryns; 18. Asine; 19. Kranidi Profitis Elias; 20. Modi; 21. Ginani sites; 22. Salamis; 23. Eleusis; 24. Athens; 25. Perati; 26. Aigeira; 27. Thebes; 28. Plataia; 29. Tanagra; 30. Galaxidi sites; 31. Delphi; 32. Chalkis; 33. Lefkandi; 34. Eretria; 35. Amarynthos; 36. Gla; 37. Orchomenos; 38. Elateia; 39. Kalapodi; 40. Atalanti; 41. Kynos; 42. Mitrou; 43. Alos; 44. Volos; 45. Corinth; 46. Isthmia; 47. Mende; 48. Koukos Sykia; 49. Torone

Figure 6.6 Map of new and continuing sites in the Aegean from c. 1200 BC: mainland (by S. Wallace).

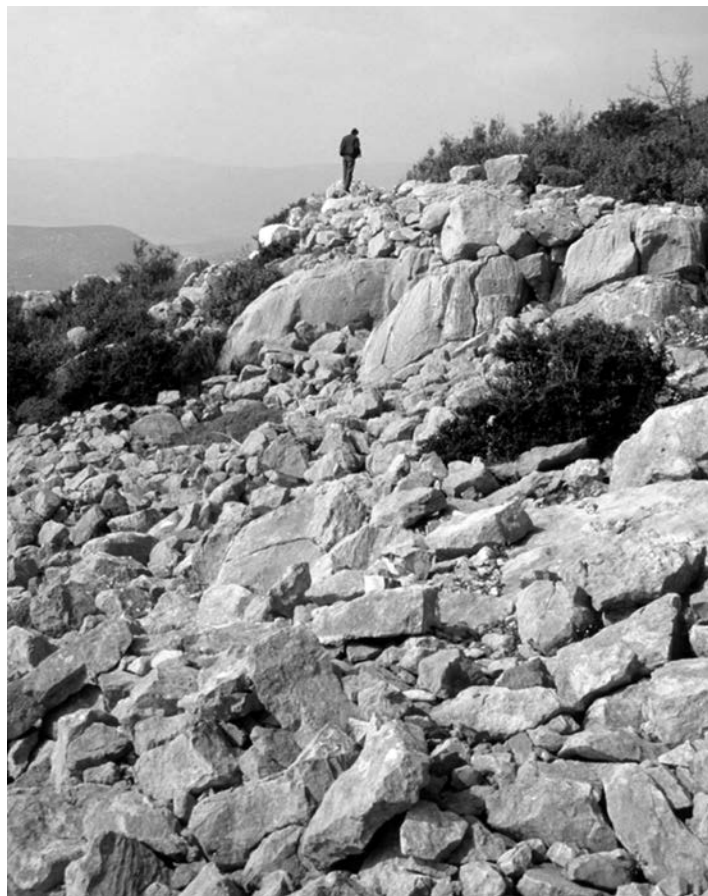


Figure 6.7 Photograph: fortification wall at Kranidi Profitis Elias, from SW (by S. Wallace).

Eretria, Mitrou and Kynos (Mazarakis Ainian 1998; van de Moortel and Zachou 2012; Wallace 2010: 92–5).

Expanding and new sites of this period are not marked by material culture traditions distinct from those of the same localities in the recent past. Close study suggests that local historical context and close familiarity with local landscapes' productive and security features were crucial in relocation choices. Permanent large-scale relocation seems to have been most favoured in areas where some coastal exposure and arable resources were combined with useful defensible topography. The lack of these mixed landscapes in many mainland regions made the long-relocation of large communities difficult to manage in this way without moving long distances. On Crete, where such landscapes are common within short range, new site foundation was much more commonly favoured (Figures 6.8–10). On the smaller Aegean



Figure 6.8 Photograph: site of Zakro Ellinika, Crete, from SE (photograph by K. Nowicki).

By permission of K. Nowicki.



Figure 6.9 Photograph: site of Elliniki Korifi, Crete, from SW (photograph by K. Nowicki).

By permission of K. Nowicki.

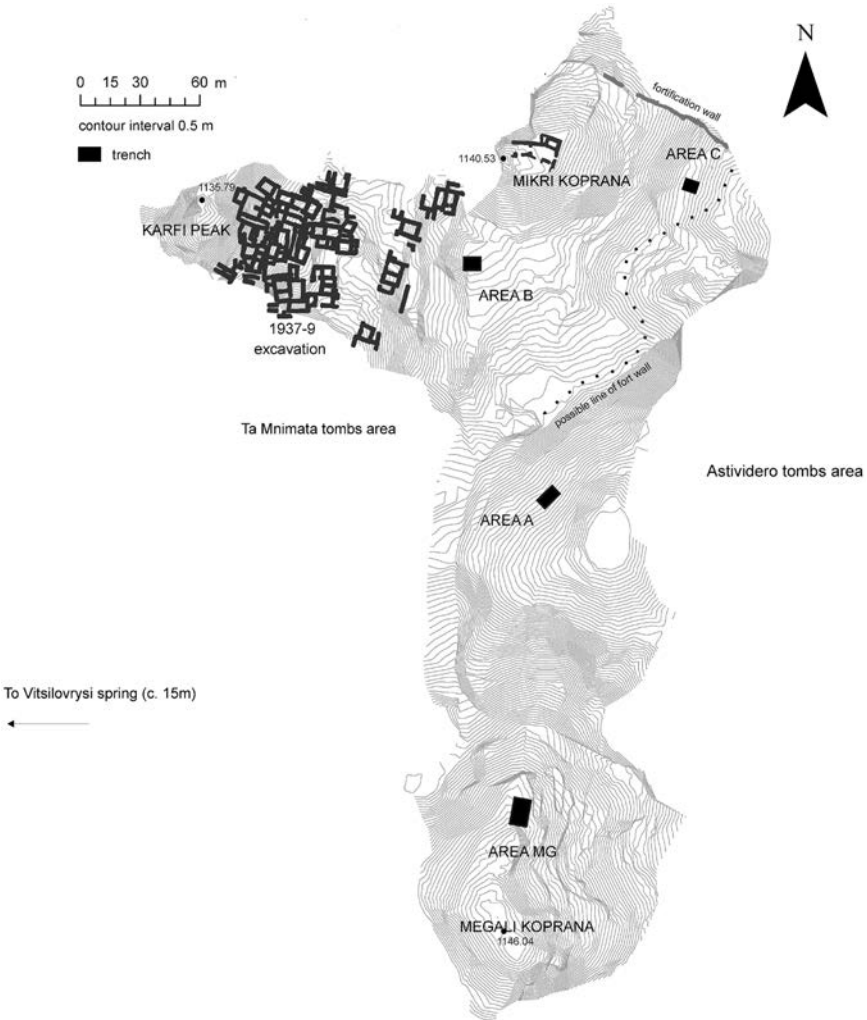


Figure 6.10 Plan: Karfi settlement (by S. Wallace).

islands, the limited scale of the territories involved meant that most relocations were in some sense ‘local’ (e.g. Grotta, Figure 6.11). The choice of whether to remain on existing sites as opposed to relocating seems strongly linked to suitable combinations of topography: direct coastal access was particularly prioritised.

The social fragmentation related to these movements does not seem to have occurred along class lines. It is very hard to see ‘elite refugees’ (discussed below) as the main actors in relocation, except perhaps in the cases of some



Figure 6.11 Photograph: Grotta on Naxos, from E (photograph by K. Nowicki).
By permission of K. Nowicki.

short-lived and elaborately-fortified sites used to back up vulnerable former centres (e.g. Kranidi Profitis Elias in the Argolid, Gla in Thessaly, or Kastrokefala in central Crete; see Wallace 2010; 88–104 and references). Newly-founded Aegean settlements were not notably richer (or otherwise alternatively structured) than continuing ones. The kinds of stratified or specialised elements seen in Aegean LBA societies seem to be lacking at most new sites – but are also largely absent (or transformed) at continuing (contracted) large settlements (e.g. Tiryns; Knossos). The distribution of new versus continuing sites does not suggest major divisions in subsistence economy. Sociopolitical maps certainly changed in the course of these physical shifts, but this occurred in ways we do not yet fully understand, potentially linked into structures of extended kinship and changed levels of access to former subsistence territories/assets.

These Aegean movement patterns contrast with some of those in the wider east Mediterranean. Many large coastal Anatolian sites (e.g. Ephesos, Limantepe, Miletus, Teichiussa, Smyrna, Phokaia, Teos, Kinet Höyük) apparently saw direct continuity, though there was clearly adjustment in this region as well through the LBA–EIA transition – including the destruction of some major sites, the favouring of use of defensible points nearby, and various kinds of cultural reorientation (Gates 2013; see Greaves 2011: 503–4 for the problems in tracing continuity of site use in this context; Figure 6.12). As in the

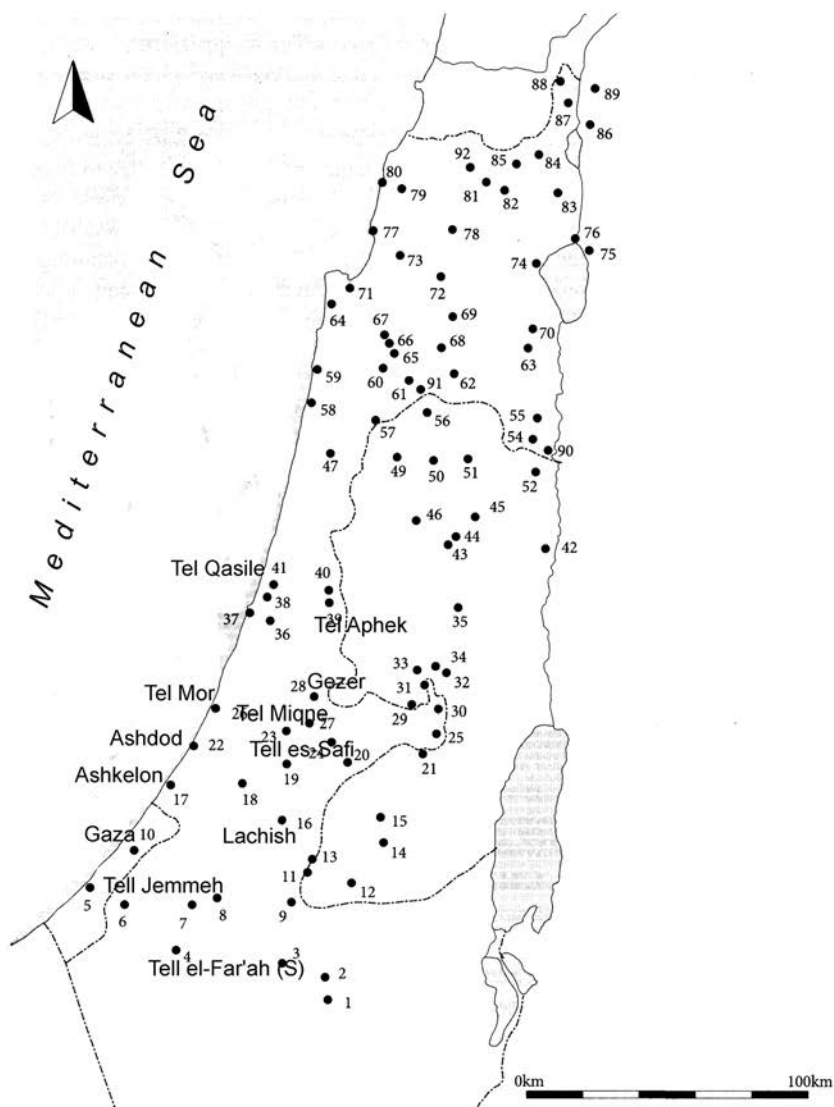


Figure 6.12 Photograph: defensible acropolis near the Knidos promontory, western Anatolia. From S (photograph by K. Nowicki).

By permission of K. Nowicki.

Aegean mainland, scholarly focus on the Archaic–Classical remains at large settlements has often under-emphasised the presence of EIA occupation (Büyükkolancı 2000).

Urban entities in much of the coastal Levantine area (including Cyprus) generally seem to have been better-equipped to withstand upheavals by absorbing the entities/pressures challenging LBA systems than was the case for many Aegean polities (Figures 6.13; 6.14). This does *not* mean that there were no new site foundations in the Levant, or that any such patterns there must represent ‘refugees’ from distant areas. Political and economic instability, linked to new forms and directions of movement, clearly affected the region in some of the same ways to be seen in the Aegean. Destructions occurred at many major sites. However, most of the latter, though showing signs of stress (e.g. the caching of bronze cult figures at Enkomi: Papasavvas 2012) were occupied and rebuilt through the crisis, and some even expanded thereafter (e.g. Ras ibn Hani, Tel Mique, Tel Dor, Tel Abu Hawam, Tyre, Sarepta; see e.g. Caubet 1992; Karageorghis 1990; Steel 2014: 586–7; Voskos and Knapp 2008). Despite high ongoing levels of wealth and external engagement, sites in this Levantine recovery group nonetheless saw notable shifts in sociocultural practice – including physical movements away from/ downsizing of the palatial/public building zones of the latest Bronze Age (as occurred at Ras ibn Hani: Du Pied 2011).



Map of Iron Age I sites in the southern Levant (Cisjordan). (1) Tell Esdar; (2) Tel Masos; (3) Beersheba (Tel); (4) Tell el-Far'ah (South); (5) Deir el-Balah; (6) Tell Jemmeh; (7) Tel Haror; (8) Tel Sera; (9) Tell Halif; (10) Gaza; (11) Tell Beit Mirsim; (12) Kh. Rabud; (13) Tell Eitun; (14) Hebron; (15) Beth Zur; (16) Lachish; (17) Ashkelon; (18) Tel Zippor; (19) Tell es-Safi (Gath); (20) Tel Yarmuth; (21) Giloh; (22) Ashdod; (23) Tel Mique (Ekron); (24) Beth Shemesh; (25) Jerusalem; (26) Tel Mor; (27) Tel Batash; (28) Gezer; (29) Gibeon; (30) Tell el-Ful; (31) Tell en-Nasbeh; (32) Ai; (33) Kh. Raddana; (34) Bethel; (35) Shiloh; (36) Azor; (37) Jaffa; (38) Tel Gerisa; (39) Aphek; (40) 'Izbet Sartah; (41) Tell Qasile; (42) Bedhat ash-Sha'ab; (43) Shechem; (44) Mount Ebal; (45) Tell el-Far'ah (North);

Figure 6.13 Map: Iron Age I sites in the coastal Levant (after A. Gilboa, 2014. The southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Iron Age period. In M. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew, eds., 2014. *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000–332 BCE*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 624–49: fig. 41.1).

By permission of A. Gilboa.

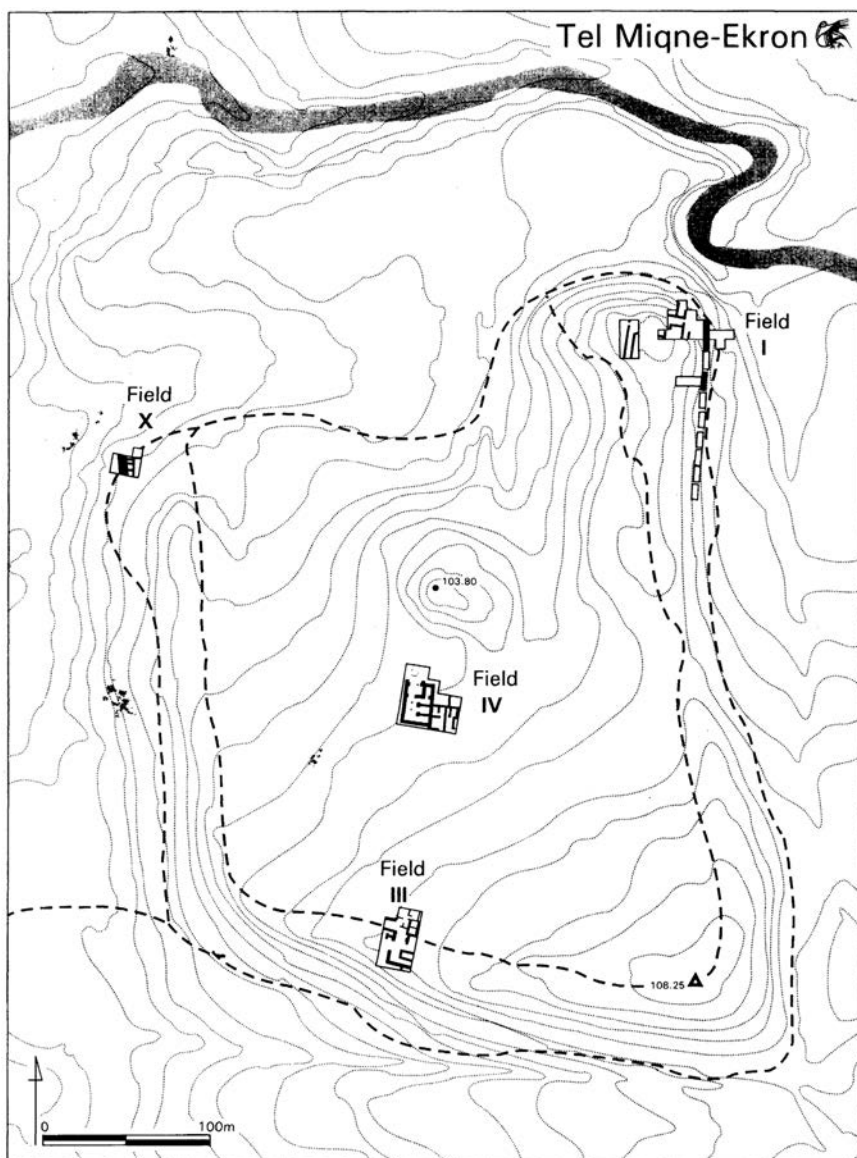


Figure 6.14 Tel Migne: site plan (after T. Dothan, 1998. Initial Philistine settlement: from migration to coexistence. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, eds., *Mediterranean peoples in transition: thirteenth to early tenth centuries BC*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 148–61: fig. 1).

The resilience of the relatively small Cypriot polities in contrast to their Aegean peers seems linked to their special location and resources, which in the contemporary context promoted heavy external pressure/support for some kind of functional trade system. In fact, a distinct boom can be identified as taking shape on the Cypriot and Levantine coasts, with a whole set of existing towns flourishing in new ways and expanding/reshaping their external connections through the twelfth and eleventh centuries. This process clearly involved significant a rebalancing of power and population. Finkelstein (2000) notes a contraction of settlement on the south Levantine coastal plain into large urban foci during Iron I (c. 1200–1000 BC), with an increase in the average size of settlement from 1.7 ha to 3.2 ha (see also Killebrew 2005: 105; Mazar 1989: 97). The original status of some relatively small LBA sites in the area, such as Tel Mique (formerly a likely satellite within the hinterland of the Lachish polity), seems transformed: Mique increased in size and economic weight in Iron I, while Lachish itself, though continuing as a settlement (like its former peers at Tel Batash, Beth Shemesh and Gezer) operated at the periphery of the new regional economic boom (Bunimovitz and Faust 2006; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 121). There seem to be few newly-founded sites in this Levantine recovery pattern, and apparently no major change in overall regional population size (see Finkelstein 2000; *contra* Stager 1995). We do, however, see a strong new selective focus on coastal or near-coastal sites (with expanding inland sites like Tel-es-Sa'afi and Mique, both somewhat smaller than the booming coastal settlements, on access routes between the coast and the interior hill zone [Maeir and Uziel 2007; Maeir 2012: 16–26]). Most coastal or near-coastal sites in this area had been heavily involved in trade (including trade in Aegeanising pottery) during the late LBA, figuring significantly in international economic and diplomatic relations.⁹ Now, many of them became marked by a newly and heavily 'internationalised' cultural outlook/practice, largely separating them from their contemporaries in the interior (and discussed further below). From an early date after the crisis, some of their residents apparently identified themselves culturally (and were seen by others) as a group with certain widely shared outlooks and associations. This changed/heightened role for ethnic identity, likely linked to the recession of Egyptian power in the area, chimes with strong textual evidence for reshaped identity traditions in the coastal Levant during the early Iron Age, including that of the Peleset/Philistines (Machinist 2000: 66).

The operational significance of such redefinition was high. The next few hundred years were characterised by a rewardingly wide and dynamic kind of economic outreach by polities in the south Levantine coastal zone, as well as the rise of newly-distinguished ethnopolitical units in the Levantine interior – including the Israelites and the Assyrian empire – against which coastal-zone societies defined themselves. Retrospective references (like those in the Old Testament) to extraneous origins¹⁰ for the Philistine polities must be read vis-à-vis these processes of developing ethnopolitical distinction. New kinds of cultural behaviour, including the

concentrated consumption of Aegeanising pottery in the coastal-zone sites in the 12th–11th centuries BC, look like part of the same process. Neither the new consumption practices, nor the contrasts between the booming Levantine coasts and the fragmented political and economic scene in the Aegean, imply that the latter region was the ultimate source of the cultural and political readjustments here (e.g. via a refugee influx). Rather, Aegean polities seem to have been especially vulnerable victims of the same broad kinds of social and economic change, and/or had to handle them differently.

The kinds of settlement movement/refocusing described above appear to be separate from the long-range sub-elite mobility (social and physical) which promoted the crisis c. 1200 BC. They occurred mostly *after* the latter had their effects. Yet some well-established models treat all movement in the period in one ‘catastrophe’ narrative, conflating the causes and effects of crisis under movement-related labels including ‘settlement’ (implying ‘new settlement’ even where pre-existing settlements are being discussed), ‘invasion’, ‘refugees’ and ‘colonies’. These models often lack deep contextualisation (see e.g. Vlachopoulos 2008: 489–90 for critique). Incentives to (and structures for) long-distance refugee-type migration and successful settlement in and out of the Aegean at this time have often been assumed on a limited basis of evidence and in the kinds of historically-coloured perspectives discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g. Karageorghis 1998; 132; 2001).¹¹ Some more recent studies have paid better attention to context at either end; for example, Yasur-Landau (2010) acknowledges the likely difficulties of organising any large-scale, long-distance maritime movement in the collapsed/fragmented Aegean societies of the period. However, the model of high-volume, long-distance flight by Aegeans still remains attractive as a way of explaining complex regional changes in culture at this period. In discarding maritime refugee models, Yasur-Landau instead simply envisages large bodies of Aegean residents moving overland through the Levant to settle intensively in the southern part. The structuring, experience and benefits of this movement are left hazy in his account. In fact, in the context of Aegean crisis as reviewed above, transport, access and reception circumstances for such a movement were all likely to be especially risky/poor, and its motivations and structure remain unclear, as I discuss below.

Aegean ‘elites’ and movement

As discussed above, the very definition of ‘eliteness’ was in flux at this time in the east Mediterranean, and especially the Aegean. Amidst the breakdown of old political certainties, opportunities for significant power shifts were emerging, with struggles over existing group rights or territories implicit in the record of destruction/disturbance and settlement relocation. There seem to have been incentives for existing elites in some Aegean areas (especially where topography and settlement history favoured it) to hold on to (reduced) areas of territory if security allowed – whether through selective

use of existing settlements or a temporary retreat to defensible sites. But even where this worked, it almost certainly involved a significant contraction of power and/or reinvention of status for these groups, alongside loss of the specialised support frameworks which had previously distinguished them. In contrast, other groups (including those whose rising social and economic mobility during the later LBA had contributed to the crisis) may have been able to boost their economic and political status in new or restructured locations, such as the cluster of prosperous sites on the east mainland seaboard referred to above.

Notwithstanding the recently-enhanced evidence for these complex local readjustments in the Aegean, a number of models have tried to isolate/simplify one kind of movement – seaborne or coastally-focused flight over distance – as consistently associated with Aegean *elites*. The latter are usually seen as originating on the central Greek mainland, based on assumed ‘Mycenaean’ dominance of the Aegean during the later LBA. They are envisaged as fleeing independently to a variety of destinations in the Aegean and beyond, including Cyprus and the Levant, and as maintaining a distinct cultural and status identity abroad in the period after 1200 BC, whether by isolating themselves, or by automatically transforming the local cultural and political scene through their presence (e.g. Desborough 1964: 222; Hood 1973; Iacovou 2008: 630–1; Kanta 2001; Karageorghis 1998: 130; 2001). Most such models imply that ‘ordinary’ Aegean populations had been decimated/incapacitated as a result of conflict at home (while ‘elite’ elements alone were able to move). Recent in-depth investigations of the EIA Aegean record, as discussed above, provide little to support these assumptions. A dominant inference in these models is that the *innate qualities of elites* (rather than complex social structures more generally) were directly reflected in the LBA prestige culture of the Aegean mainland. Thus, when elements notionally related to that culture – such as fortifications, painted pottery and weapons/war imagery – appear at post-crisis sites in the Aegean or beyond, they are seen in these models as directly attached to elite migrants (see e.g. Kanta and Kontopodi 2011: 129; Cadogan 1973 for an early critique/qualification). This focus on highly-selected classes of material culture has meant that striking *gaps* in the evidence for elite transfer have often been passed over in discussion – such as the total lack of any Aegean-type script use either in the post-crisis Aegean or at supposedly Aegean-founded sites abroad. Models positing Aegean refugee settlers with fossilised ‘elite’ traits and the status, skills, drive and numbers to transform the regional economy of already well-settled areas overseas (something which Aegean states rarely, if ever, achieved in the LBA) do not explain why these groups failed to import any version of the Aegean script system, or to reconstruct the social contexts in which, from their assumed positions of power, they might have adapted/developed other forms of written language. In fact, there is every indication that the people using scripts in the supposed Aegean ‘elite refugee’ destination areas (Cyprus and the coastal Levant) were well-grounded in the *local* LBA context of writing: they continued long-established local linguistic

and script practices even as they became newly-defined and -connected in ethnopolitical terms (see e.g. Iacovou 2008).¹²

Based on their assumed innate status/qualities, and on shared cultural features between some new/expanding sites in the east Mediterranean, the supposed 'Aegean elite' settlers are often characterised as operating in aggressive modes – land grab, piracy, raiding, looting. We see a tendency here to lump the causes, the mode and the consequences of crisis. In fact, while there is a high likelihood of general severe disruption of/conflict over existing economic power bases at this period (see e.g. Hitchcock and Maier 2014), it is hard to identify either incentive or workability for these kinds of high-investment, large-scale aggrandisement as a main strategy by any group originating in the highly-disrupted Aegean context. The idea of the east Mediterranean as a chessboard with empty squares waiting for Aegean elites (surely the most vulnerable of all the groups in the region at this period) – to settle at will, with little regard for local integration or support, is highly problematic (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 660; Yasur-Landau 2012: 193).

Many older or older-type models, especially for Cyprus, have suggested a colonising relationship of Aegean elites to local populations (see e.g. Cadoogan 1993: 95; Catling 1973: 34; Desborough 1973a and b: 79; Dikaïos 1971: 509–23; Hood 1973; Karageorghis 1990; 2002: 71–113; Nicolaou 1973: 60; Spyridakis 1973: 62). The influence of culture history is pervasive here, as is the notion of Cyprus as a familiar, natural and timeless area of extension for 'Greek' influence (see recently an overview by Iacovou 2008: 630–1; 2012; 2013, who largely fails to re-evaluate the role of culture history in these kinds of analyses, and more trenchant critiques by Knapp 2013: 452–3; Leriou 2007a; 2007b: 27; 2011; Voskos and Knapp 2008). Hector Catling, for example, saw the impact of Aegean movement to Cyprus from c. 1200 BC in terms of cultural imposition and fossilisation, with Aegeans as 'establishing themselves and their material culture in a form still recognizably the same as in their former home'. In support of this model, he cited the newly-founded fortified site of Maa *Palaeokastro* in southwest Cyprus, where large quantities of Aegeanising wares were found (Figure 6.15). Maa's excavator, Vassos Karageorghis, has often built on similar views. Noting Maa's distance from any earlier settlement, Catling offered a classic colonial scenario of immigrant settlement on, and dominance of, what was effectively virgin territory. Karageorghis's recent review of the evidence from Maa *Palaeokastro* modifies this only slightly, adopting a more integrated paradigm of colonisation and subsequent power creep (Karageorghis 2011a: 19; see also Karageorghis and Demas 1988; Karageorghis 1990: 26).

I will show below that the various kinds of cultural innovation seen in the Cypro-Levantine region at this time cannot be straightforwardly sourced to the Aegean in the ways influentially suggested by past and current scholarship. I have stressed above that the Aegean societies assumed to have been the 'parent stock' were undergoing deeply transformative changes of complex kinds at this period, rather than simply splitting into refugee

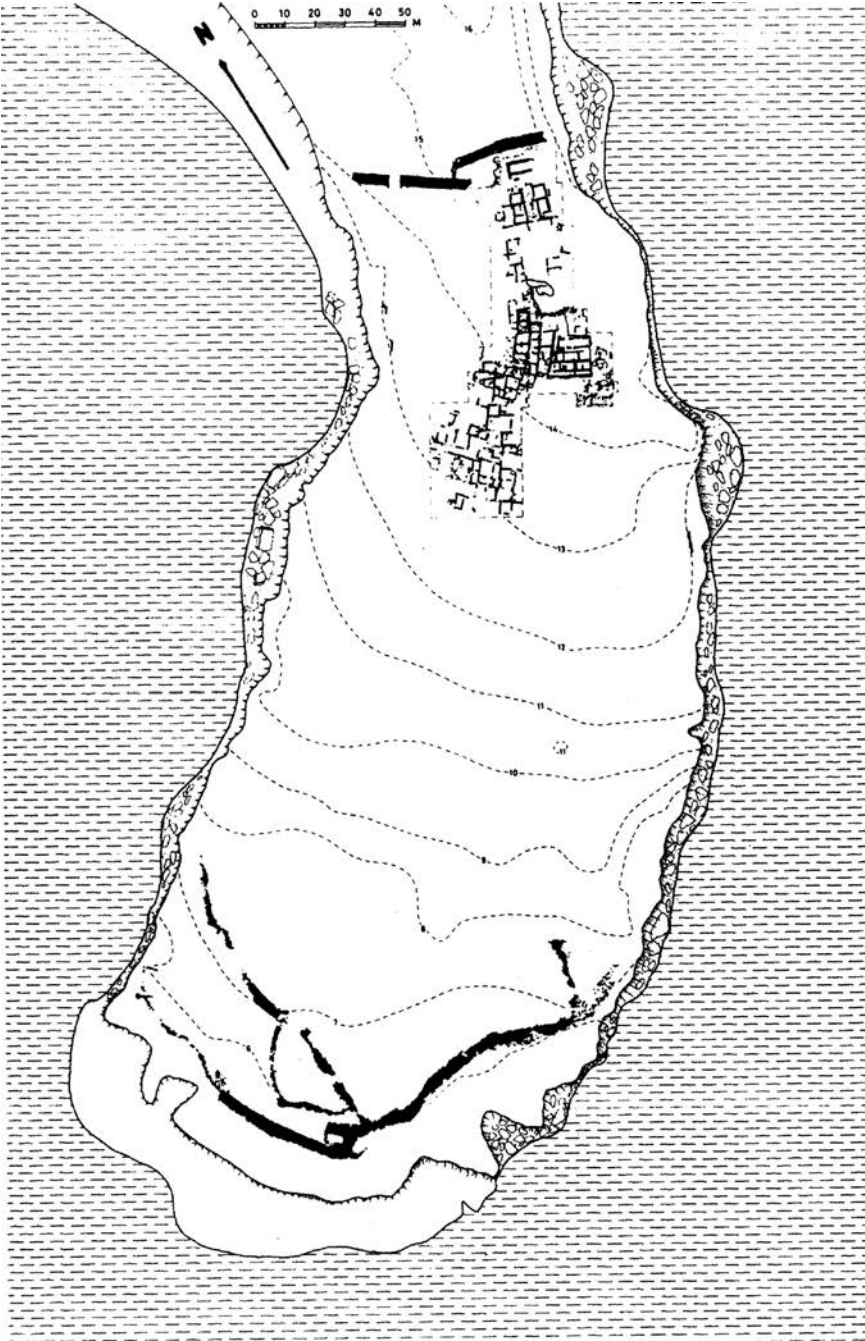


Figure 6.15 Maa Palaeokastro: site plan (after V. Karageorghis, ed., 2009. *Early Cyprus: crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications: figs. 157–8).

By permission of V. Karageorghis.

‘elites’ and a decimated remainder. New or newly-successful settlements in the coastal east Mediterranean are usually *not* found in otherwise uninhabited areas, of which there were rather few examples by this time in any case. There would be high risks in long-distance relocation by sizeable parts of Aegean society, even supposing they could easily have settled empty areas. Aegean LBA elites had lost standing and security, while the subgroups whose expanding interests had contributed to crisis in the region now found themselves without good support systems for complex long-distance commodity trade. Some resilient Cypro-Levantine polities reframed and housed such a trade in the twelfth to eleventh centuries. However, in the absence of high-volume specialised Aegean exports by this time, there was no obvious economic niche for large autonomous groups of Aegean-based traders. Areas which experienced a generalised hiatus in formal control soon after 1200 BC – e.g. the southern Levant after the disruption of Egyptian dominance – are more likely to have seen shifting power vacuums filled by emergent *local* entities than by groups of long-distance immigrants – especially immigrants from the Aegean, given the context of disruption there. That disruption also precluded Aegean inhabitants’ engagement in any highly organised conflict around east Mediterranean territories. Even in areas with especially strong and deep links to the Aegean, such as Cyprus or coastal Anatolia, such operations had been rare in the pre-crisis period, as I discussed in Chapter 5.

East Mediterranean consumption patterns from c. 1200 BC – the ‘Aegeanising’ pottery boom and its significance

A major reference point in arguments for expansionary Aegean settlement in the east Mediterranean after c. 1200 BC is a newly high prevalence of Aegean-type fine wares in the region (Figures 6.16; 6.17). The residents of most new and continuing coastal/coast-linked sites in Cyprus and the Levant increased their use of locally-made fine wares with a strong Aegeanising heritage from this period, though to variable extents by site and region. At most sites, this pottery always remains in a minority vis-à-vis other local ware traditions. Its styles show that most communities involved were aware of contemporary Aegean and wider regional production in this tradition during at least the first half of the twelfth century (Dothan and Zukermann 2004: 43). Intensification of already-established local imitative production of Aegeanising forms is in itself unsurprising, following the collapse of Aegean producer centres and exchange systems. But the new specific attraction and volume of the Aegeanising tradition is striking. Close cultural links between sites with high volumes of Aegeanising pottery and other settlements in the same local region are always visible (in both coarse and fine ware traditions). Yet no regular fall-off patterns in Aegeanising wares are seen within regions, suggesting a highly selective, controlled uptake at relevant sites.

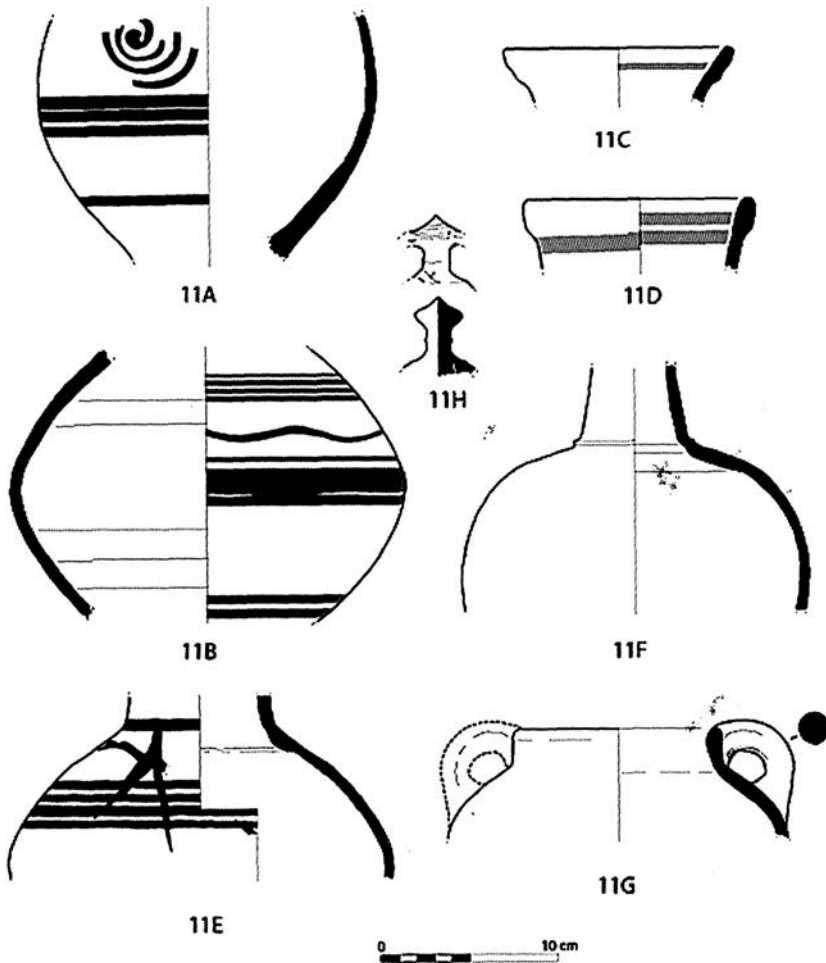


Figure 6.16 Locally-made Aegeanising fine wares (11A–D); contemporary Cypriot imports (11E–F); and jug-type cooking pot (11G) from Tell Kazel, Syria (after L. du Pied, 2011. *Early Iron Age society in the northern Levant: architecture: pottery and finds*. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., 2011. *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 219–36: fig. 11).

Some differing regional patterns can be seen in the types of Aegeanising vessels made and used across the affected zone. However, that zone is now known to have been large enough (and the pottery forms and distributions recognised to have been broadly similar enough across it) to prevent simple equations between concentrations of Aegeanising wares and the individual

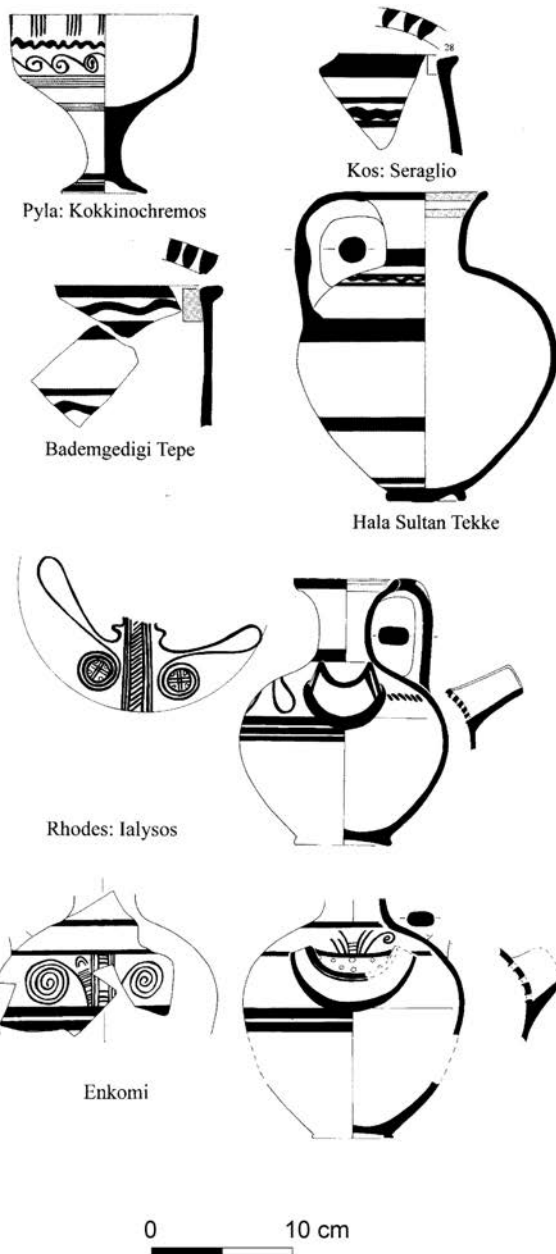


Figure 6.17 Pottery of Aegeanising type from Bademgediği Tepe and other east Mediterranean sites, early twelfth century BC (after P. A. Mountjoy, 2009. *Cyprus and the east Aegean: LH IIIc pottery connections*. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., *Cyprus and the east Aegean: intercultural contacts from 3000–500 BC*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 59–71: figs. 1; 2; 5).

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settlement of different Aegean/‘Sea Peoples’ groups through the Levant, as some previous models have argued. I will argue instead that the general post-disturbance context of the region (and particularly the new political arrangements/expressions and economic strategies of communities in the Cypriot/coastal Levantine zone), favoured and enabled the valuing of ‘Aegean’ pottery styles in increasingly diverse, freed-up and localised forms, especially at sites active in coastal outreach and exchange (see Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005; Karageorghis 2011a). Notably, in west Anatolia, despite pre-existing targeted/endemic links to the Aegean, it was often only after 1200 BC (in the context of the restructured wider interregional economy and related shifts in cultural emphasis/access) that a very broad range of Aegean-type fine wares started to be manufactured in bulk and over large areas. This occurred on the southwest coast and in Cilicia, adjacent to the Levantine coastal boom zone, rather than in the core area of endemic connections with the central Aegean, located further north (French 2013; Gates 2013; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002).

Alongside this trend, much of the east Mediterranean coastal region shows indications of strong ongoing connections with *Cypriot* cultural practice, including the use of imported or imitated Cypriot forms of Aegeanising pottery (but no Aegean imports). In the contemporary Aegean itself, links to Cypriot types of production are much weaker (see Chapter 7). Given the strong cultural associations between the Aegean and Cyprus through the LBA, the notion of a *staged* movement of Aegean refugees into the Levant, with a ‘stop’ in Cyprus and the creation of Aegean ‘bases’ there, has been one approach to explaining this phenomenon (Gilboa 2005: 55–6). Yet in the context discussed above, the spread of Cyprus-linked cultural material and practice, including Aegeanising aspects, seems more generally to reflect the effects of disruptions/adjustments in the east Mediterranean trade and political sphere. These produced a newly vibrant and politically assertive set of communities on Cyprus and the southern Levantine coast – procuring and producing, adapting and circulating partly similar kinds of commodities in an environment where major directional trade systems had been disrupted and new routes, opportunities and preferences were being developed from their remains (Sherratt 1994; 1998). Importantly, the way in which different parts of the Levantine coastal region were involved with Cyprus-based manufacture and trade *differed* from the very start of the Iron Age, and remained different over time (as I discuss further later in this chapter). This suggests ongoing multiply-centred connections, rather than any single set/period of settled arrivals from Cyprus (or via Cyprus) in the early twelfth century (Gilboa 2001; 2005: 66; 2007).

Given these features of the evidence, increasingly exposed and quantified through systematic excavation – and recognising the burden of previous assumptions about Aegean movement in this period – explanatory models of change in east Mediterranean pottery consumption are becoming more nuanced. Examining the continuing port site of Ras Ibn Hani in coastal Syria during the twelfth century, Du Pied (2011: 228) encapsulates

the malleable role of ‘exotic’ ceramic forms in newly-destratified east Mediterranean societies:

By using customs and symbols that were related to high elite status in Late Bronze Age society and adopting the products and styles of these groups . . . a social or socioeconomic group, possibly of traders . . . used Late Bronze Age elite status symbols to define, confirm, and negotiate their ‘new’ social identity in a changed economic and political landscape.

The same view – of selective, constructive and ongoing uptake and modification of established international prestige styles in a changed east Mediterranean economic and political environment focused on non-state, coastal trade – has been recently put forward by other scholars (Artzy 1985; 1997; 2006; Sherratt 1998; 2013; see Stockhammer 2009; Hitchcock and Maeir 2014; see Zukerman’s [2013] argument for a selective, conscious focus at this time on aspects of ‘Aegeanness’ in ceramics [especially in the dining sphere] in isolation from many aspects of actual former or contemporary Aegean or Cypriot practice).¹³ Some (e.g. Killebrew 2005) have tried to incorporate this kind of identity construction via selective consumption *into* models of transformative large-scale Aegean/Cypriot migration. But the two types of models increasingly seem to lie directly at odds with one another. If locally-made Aegeanising pottery *was* manipulable in complex and socially resonant ways – as we have every reason to expect, given its LBA history – it can surely never be taken as face-value evidence of direct or settled Aegean presence.

Pottery and other cultural items as ‘diagnostics’ for Aegean movement to the east from c. 1200 BC – a review

Many existing models of Aegean movement into the coastal Levant and Cyprus c. 1200 BC have cited a set of intrinsically ‘Aegean’ cultural features or items, claimed as permanently linked to people of Aegean (or Aegeanised Cypriot) origin, in support. I discuss the most commonly-referenced, including fine Aegeanising pottery, below. Catling’s commentary on Cyprus (1973: 35–7) represents an early and sophisticated encapsulation of the notion that Aegean migrants in the east can be identified by a range of type features. His model offers vague room for manoeuvre by postulating (somewhat tortuously) a change in the intrinsic nature of Aegean culture ‘on the way’ to Cyprus during the twelfth century, followed by successive waves of Aegean immigrants in the island, to explain differences from LBA Aegean styles and practices (see also Dikaio 1967; Leriou 2007b: 27). The model is nonetheless rooted in a fixed type of culture-historical equation of ‘Aegean’ culture with a particular set of people from a particular territory. Hood, also espousing the idea of a significant migration of Aegean

inhabitants to Cyprus c. 1200 BC, added further nuance to this model, noting the especially high visibility of change in the painted pottery sphere while pointing out that other elements of cultural change in Cyprus, including new tomb forms and settlement abandonments from the late twelfth century, might have various causative factors. Karageorghis has been a tireless exponent and tester of Aegean migration models of this type over the last forty years, especially in regard to the evidence from the defended sites of Maa *Palaeokastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (e.g. Karageorghis 1990; Karageorghis and Demas 1984; 1988; Karageorghis and Kanta 2014).

For the Levant, there exists a huge body of work arguing for Aegean settlers as the forefathers of the Philistines (referred to as a distinct ethnic group in Iron Age Levantine texts) based on the distribution of assumed cultural ‘ethnofossils’. Two of the most recent examples – synthetic monographs putting forward newly detailed, contextualised and nuanced migration models – have notwithstanding viewed various new sets of features in the record as directly diagnostic of moving ethnic groups (Killebrew 2005; Yasur-Landau 2010). Killebrew reconstructs large-scale direct migration east out of Aegeanised Cyprus, rather than the Aegean, to explain the variability of Aegeanising features in the Levant. Yasur-Landau modifies older models of Aegean seaborne, elite-based migration in various other ways to get round the same problem, including by placing stress on the social mix and degree/rapidity of local integration of migrant groups. Throughout all this, the notion of certain cultural types as directly representing Aegeans or related groups remains embedded. Only a minority of approaches have questioned it in detail. These in turn, however, have usually failed to investigate or imagine the actual process and effects of contemporary movement patterns and experiences in any depth. This leaves an interpretative gap which models of ‘travelling’ cultural forms as directly equatable to immigrants continue to fill. Below, I bring together and evaluate the most commonly-cited categories of ‘travelling’ Aegean-linked culture with attention to deep context.

New settlement sites

I noted above that ‘new’ site foundations have often been seen as diagnostic of Aegean migrants (whether found within the Aegean itself or other east Mediterranean regions). Yet large-scale, extended rebuildings on continuing LBA Levantine town sites like Tel Mique are not ‘new’ in the same way as completely new foundations at places like Karfi in Crete, or Kranidi Profitis Elias in the Argolid. Many of these truly new sites of the period, clustered in island/coastal settings, represent fairly short-term (though often complex and radical) local adjustments to crisis, and went out of use by the tenth century (in some cases already in the twelfth). Their numbers vary hugely in proportion to those of established and continuing sites

in the same regions. There are relatively few on Cyprus, where ‘recovery’ of coastal centres was strong, and almost none in the Levant, while parts of the Aegean have many (Wallace 2010: 52–104). The wider historical and cultural context, as discussed above, suggests that the foundation of new sites reflected and tied into specific kinds of regional adaptation, rather than representing a portable, ethnically diagnostic practice.

Structurally, there is no reason to expect Aegean-origin people living abroad at this time to have operated as tight settlement enclaves. Before c. 1200 BC Aegean-based travellers, like others, had engaged in highly integrated connections with overseas groups and accepted/promoted the circulation of generic versions of their material culture in the LBA interaction sphere, rather than developing enclaves. The crisis period, with its radical shifts in the balance of economic influence in the east Mediterranean, provided less impetus than ever towards enclave development or other kinds of exclusivity in cultural production/trade. The development of later Iron Age settlements in the central Mediterranean with strong ‘Greek’ cultural identities and written traditions of colony foundation from the Aegean have been rused as a comparison model for this period (e.g. Yasur-Landau 2010). Yet the circumstances are actually very different. On east Mediterranean shores after 1200 BC the almost complete absence of Aegean imports on one hand, and the wide prevalence and diverse uptake of local Aegean-style pottery on the other, BC meant there was no direct benefit to Aegeans from operation within ethnicity-focused enclaves. A very different situation applied in the central Mediterranean between the eighth and sixth centuries BC (as discussed in Chapter 7). In sum, the idea that new sites/settlement patterns of any particular type are contemporaneous with expatriate Aegeans is highly doubtful on various grounds.

Fortifications

Fortifications varied greatly in their type and frequency of use within regional settlement patterns of the period, and required varying levels of investment. Massive fortifications had characterised many LBA east Mediterranean polities, including some in the Aegean. Their use differed according to regional topographic and political context. Where sites continued in use after c. 1200 BC and into the Early Iron Age, existing fortification walls often saw some re-use. Many continuing large coastal and near-coastal Levantine sites retained or rebuilt their walls between the LBA and EIA. Protective walls built on newly-founded coastal/insular Aegean, Cypriot and Anatolian sites around 1200 BC usually lacked the monumental, high-investment character of LBA defence walls in the same regions. While these sites usually seem to have required strong security provision, this was often partly or wholly achieved by focus on naturally defensible topography. Where it did involve new fortifications, these frequently acted only as an enhancement, blocking the most exposed sides of a site (Nowicki 1992;



Figure 6.18 Fortification wall at Kritsa Kastello, Crete, from W (by S. Wallace).

2000: 41–6; Wallace 2012a; Figure 6.18). In this context, where we see walls constructed only on the inland-facing side of a coastal settlement, it does *not* follow that defence was targeted by incomers against local populations (as has been argued in the case of Maa *Palaeokastro*, where the density of functional weaponry in the settlement (arrowheads and slingshots) points up concerns with protection. The natural and strategic defensibility of the other sides of the site must be considered. Nonetheless, the evidence for walls reinforces the importance of defending many new sites physically, given the particular circumstances of the period.

Crete provides a good illustration of the above points. Only at a minority of sites in the dominant pattern of new settlement here is fortification used to enhance natural defensibility. For example, the large settlement of Kastrokafala in central Crete lacks defensible topography but has a fortification wall, was established very early in the crisis period, and may have housed some of the island's wealthiest groups during its relatively short lifespan (Kanta 2003; Kanta and Kontopodi 2011). By contrast, on the Aegean mainland, *most* of the limited number of new site foundations (which also often look like refuge-type sites for existing prosperous communities) used fortification to enhance very limited defensible topography in population-heavy areas. In both cases, fortified sites formed a minority within a new regional settlement pattern. Local needs and background were the foremost affective factors in their use. On small Aegean islands, where a limited range of choice in

relocation was available, fortifications seem to have been vital in a higher proportion of cases, at both continuing and new sites. Coastal Cyprus and Anatolia, which contained some usefully rugged topography adjacent to coastal zones with large populations, show varied kinds of correspondence with this complex Aegean picture, including some new use of defensible topography and, where the latter was inadequate to protect large communities, partial or modest-scale walls – rebuilt or re-used in the cases of some continuing LBA sites. In conclusion, the variety and context of their use suggests that fortified sites in the east Mediterranean at this time cannot easily be seen as diagnostically ‘Aegean’, or indeed as ethnically diagnostic at all.

Fineware innovations

Pottery is the main plank in nearly all existing arguments for large-scale Aegean movement east in the early EIA. In assessing these arguments, it is vital to investigate local contexts of use and meaning for Aegeanising styles and practices in pottery in the period *after* fine pottery stopped being produced as an export good by Aegean centres but *while* a well-recognised Aegean stylistic heritage (already widely imitated in the east) remained open to further substitution/development.¹⁴ I argue the need to recognise that consumption of Aegeanising fine wares formed its own specific, and selective, category of practice at this time, and to be prepared to look at it separately from other forms of pottery consumption.

The relatively small proportions of locally-made Aegeanising fine wares found at north Levantine sites and sites off main coastal routes suggest that the main locus of interest in their use was the economic growth zone of the southern coastal Levant and Cyprus, where imports and imitations of Aegean finewares had been highly concentrated in the LBA (Janeway 2011). Yet the proportions of Aegeanising finewares consumed were variable even between sites in the latter zone. They also altered quickly over time, rather than forming a constant or permanently embedded cultural tradition. One of the best-quantified assemblages comes from Tel Miqne, one of the group of south Levantine boom polities distinguished by high quantities of Aegeanising wares as well as other features, including documented membership within the emerging ‘Philistine’ polity group during the course of the Iron Age. Data published for the main excavation area show progressively lower figures for Aegeanising pottery forms through the course of the Iron I period, starting c. 1200 BC. For example, Field IV Stratum VIIB, dating in the earliest Iron I, has 52% Aegeanising, as opposed to 48% ‘local’, forms; Stratum VIIA has 50/50, VIIB has 39/50; VIA 15/59 (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 5; Killebrew 2005: 219–30). During the same period, local-tradition fineware production was developing in new directions here, as elsewhere in the region.

Though the Miqne pottery statistics are clearly set out, published data on ‘Aegean-type’ pottery from other sites in the same region are often in

a form which inhibits direct comparison – e.g. the use of rimsherds only for statistical counts, or the lumping of Aegeanising pottery found in early twelfth-century deposits together with ‘Bichrome’ pottery: the latter develops only in the second half of the twelfth century and draws on established Aegeanising reference alongside other traditions (e.g. Faust and Lev-Tov 2011; see Sherratt 2006; Zukerman 2012). Despite this, stark contrasts are apparent between the proportions of Aegeanising forms in use in the coastal boom zone and the wider inland region. Bunimovitz (2011: 239) gives figures of 3–5% (contrasted with the ‘31–47%’ generalised for Miqne, Ashkelon and Ashdod) for ‘intrusive’ types of pottery at inland Iron I sites in the southern Levant, such as Bet Shemesh, Gezer and Aphek. This pattern is not easily equatable to the simple advent of new large-scale (immigrant) producers on the coast (which would surely encourage greater inland penetration of new forms through various modes of exchange/emulation). Rather, the ‘coastal growth’ area seems to have defined itself as separately-orientated in terms of fine pottery consumption from a very early stage.

A marked increase in the *range* of Aegeanising fineware types consumed appears at relevant sites in this region from the early twelfth century. Again, this is very well-mapped at Miquene, where the range of preferences nonetheless still differs greatly from any contemporary Aegean context (unsurprisingly, given the wholly local manufacture of the assemblage). Rutter (2013) notes, for example, the lack of monochrome decoration on two-handled drinking vessels and of some small closed vessels, and the favouring of linear decoration and of a specific ‘feeding bottle’ type). Alongside this expansion of range are site- and region-specific preferences in the kinds of Aegeanising pottery types manufactured/consumed within the east Mediterranean area. Rutter notes contrasts, for example, between Aegeanising assemblages in the southern Levant and Cilicia. A special focus on open shapes associated with drinking characterises the Miquene assemblage right through into the eleventh century (Dothan and Zukermann 2004: 44), while Cypriot assemblages show specific preference patterns within drinking shapes (e.g. Kling 1989: 94–168; Knapp 2013: 456).

Many movement-based models have seen this range-widening as reflecting the new large-scale presence of new Aegean immigrants introducing a full ‘home’ range of types (e.g. Yasur-Landau 2010: 240–62). In this view, the decline in/absence of Aegean imports to the region shows a new lack of ‘need’ for imports at all – immigrants are assumed to have become automatically and immediately engaged in pottery-making at a scale covering all requirements.¹⁵ The expanded range of pottery forms is assumed to have travelled intact with settlers from an ‘original’ production region. Yet the fact that the nature of range expansion not only fails to match any ‘home’ Aegean range, but varies so much in different parts of the uptake zone, makes it difficult to equate generically with Aegean immigrants. People living at sites heavily involved in the Aegeanising local fineware trend were

clearly highly aware of, and interested in, traditional and current manufacturing fashions in the Aegean. Yet they seem to have adapted them from the beginning in freed-up, experimental ways, without adherence to any actual or ideal 'standard' range (Mazow 2005: 167–8).

Cookware/cooking practice

Changes in cooking wares and practices have been recently highlighted in models of Aegean movement at this period, as new types of analysis are applied to excavation data, and anthropological approaches influence traditional Classical/Near Eastern archaeology. An interest in trying to identify 'deep change' (as potentially most diagnostic of immigrants) through study of 'domestic' cultural practices has recently gained ground (Yasur-Landau 2010: 14–33; 2011). Significant volumes of a new 'cooking jug' type (also seen in the Aegean from this period) appear on some Levantine sites, some of which also have newly high concentrations of Aegeanising fine pottery forms (Figures 6.19; 6.20).

The combination is most characteristic of the booming coastal south Levantine and Cypriot sites. High proportions of the jugs are seen at Ashdod (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005); Master (2011: 262) notes that cooking jugs form 54–85% of the whole cooking assemblage at Iron I Ashkelon. In Tel Miqne Stratum VII (the earliest Iron 1 layer), 95% of all cooking wares are reported as comprising the new jug type (Dothan and Zukermann 2004: 5; Killebrew 2000; 2005: 219–30). The jugs are also, however, the second most numerous vessel category within the *whole* Aegeanising/exoticising pottery assemblage at Miqne – a figure completely out of kilter with either the 5% representation of cooking pots as a proportion of total local wares, or with cooking jug proportions in typical contemporary Aegean settlement assemblages. Such figures suggest there can be no straightforward reading of the pattern in terms of a standard/basic core set of equipment attached to incomers' everyday needs. Though the uptake of these jugs has recently been used to support the idea of Aegean foundations across the Cypro-Levantine coastal area (e.g. Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008; Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 120; Dothan and Zukermann 2004: 5), the fact that correspondences between types/consumption levels of cooking jugs and of other Aegeanising wares *vary* greatly within and between sites in this area undermines this notion. At the north Syrian coastal site of Tel Kazel, for example, Badre (Badre et al. 2005; Badre 2011) notes strong representation of new cooking wares and practices (including locally-made cooking jugs), many closely resembling contemporary Cypriot examples. But the site has nothing like the volume and variety of Aegeanising fine pottery seen in the south Levantine coastal region. Cypriot cooking jug imports and the use of new 'Cypriot-type' cooking fabrics are seen at nearby Ras ibn Hani (and in the wider Amuq/Orontes area; Du Pied 2011: 225). Yet in contrast to the

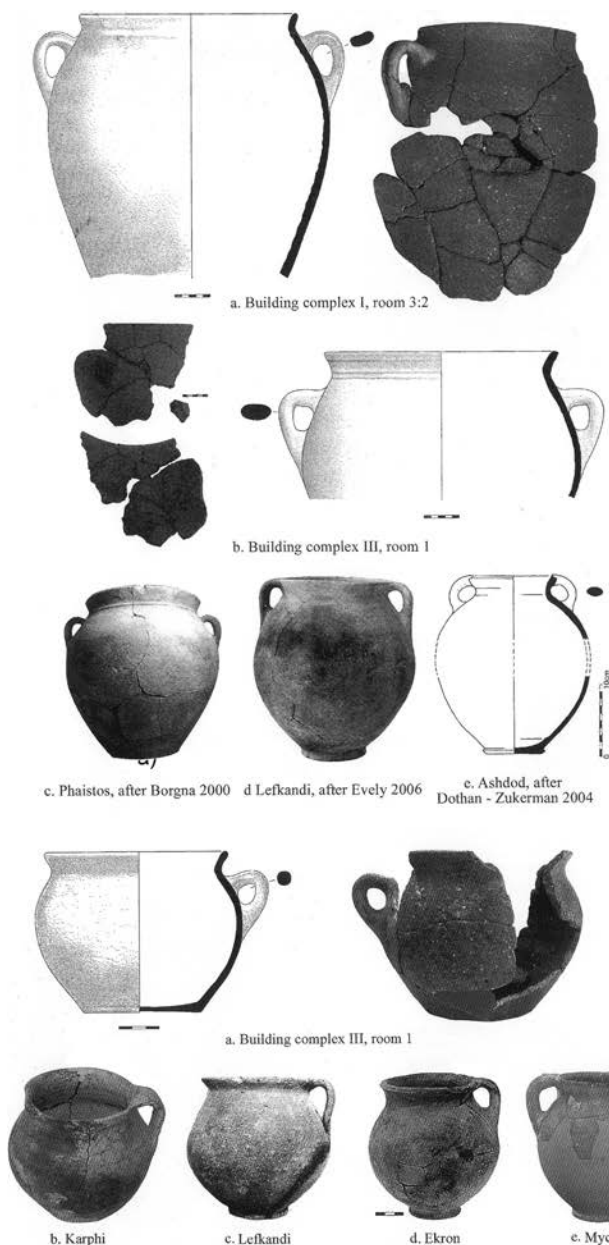


Figure 6.19 'Cooking jug' type gaining popularity in coastal east Mediterranean sites from c. 1200 BC: one- and two-handled cooking jugs from Crete, mainland Greece and Ashdod in the southern Levant (after A. Kanta and D. Kontopodi, 2011. Kastrokefala (Crete): strangers or locals in a fortified acropolis of the 12th century BC. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., 2011. *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 129–49; figs. 10–11).

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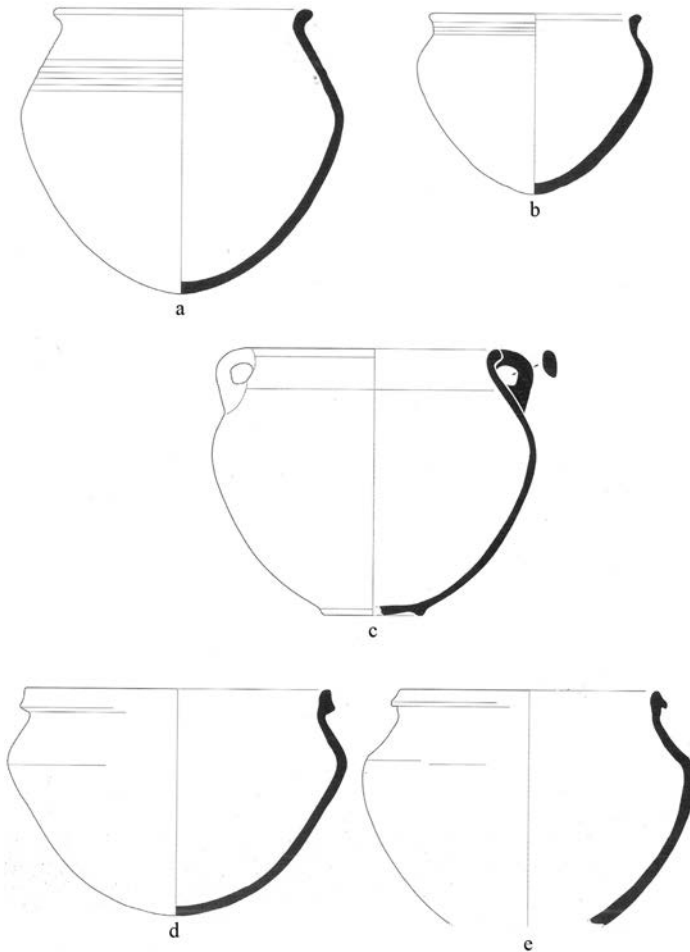


Figure 6.20 Local and other types of cooking pots from Tell Kazel (after L. Badre, 2011. The cooking pot tradition at Tell Kazel. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 149–67: fig. 7).

situation at Tell Kazel there is no general move to a cooking jug tradition here, and only a limited range of Aegeanising fine pottery.

In assessing the significance of cooking jug uptake, I suggest we may need to take account of the way that participation in ‘coastalising’ or ‘internationalising’ culture at this time occurred within a *linked group of visible/public activities* centred on food choice (discussed below), cooking, and

consumption (but not, for example, storage: see Yasur-Landau 2011). No kind of ‘original’ provenance can easily or meaningfully be pinned down for the cooking jug or its users in this context. Like the intensified and extended use of Aegean-type dining wares, its use formed a new and important kind of interregional cultural link, highlighting the conscious importance of association with an ‘international’ and ‘heritage’ prestige culture for post-crisis Mediterranean coastal communities when engaging in certain public consumption activities. Locally-made cooking jugs have been found in Levantine destruction layers dating c. 1200 BC, indicating that the form was present in the area already during the pre-crisis period, with opportunities to circulate in limited ways through systems of non-elite trade (Vansteenhuyse and Bretschneider 2011; Jung 2011). The form only appears in the Aegean in the latest thirteenth/early twelfth century (often in much smaller proportions than at contemporary southern Levantine sites (Kanta and Kontopodi 2011: 130–1; Popham and Milburn 1971: figs. 2.5–6; Wallace 2012b: 28). Master (2011: 262) notes that late IIIB/IIIC Aegean cooking assemblages are in fact typically mixed, with the full range of cooking wares involved (trays, spits and tripods, the latter especially common in Crete) never taken up as a package anywhere in the east Mediterranean (including Cyprus) before *or* after c. 1200 BC.

Evidence for shifts in cooking practice linked to the jug form, while important in the same context, offers no easy picture of migrant-led transformative change. The jug was suited to small-volume, direct-heat cooking – a practice obviously appropriate only to certain contexts, and not likely to represent an entirely new or a universal cooking mode in any area (Yasur-Landau 2010: 234–41). The specificity makes sense, however, if contexts of cooking jug use were most often associated with specialised drinking/eating in distinctively ‘exotic’ fine wares in a public/display setting – a practice which may have become especially accessible/important at this time in coastal ‘boom’ communities. A contemporary new interest in open hearths at some coastal Levantine sites seems possible to connect to other new practices in public cooking/dining. Yet as with the other new cultural forms, patterns of hearth use clearly had their own strong local context, form and history. At Kazel in Syria, the hearths associated with the new cooking jugs in ordinary buildings had a u-shaped or pebbled ‘doughnut’ format, well-established in local tradition, and were used alongside with traditional clay tanour ovens (Badre 2011; Figure 6.21). The booming city of Ashkelon in the southern Levant shows an especially broad variety of established and novel cooking forms, including external hearths and pebble, shell and ‘keyhole’ hearths (Master 2011). The latter (which have no contemporary or precedent Aegean connections) *are* paralleled in the wealthy international centre of Enkomi on nearby Cyprus (Jung 2011; see also Ben-Shlomo 2011; Charaf 2011; Maeir and Hitchcock 2011; Mazow 2005: 213). This socially, historically

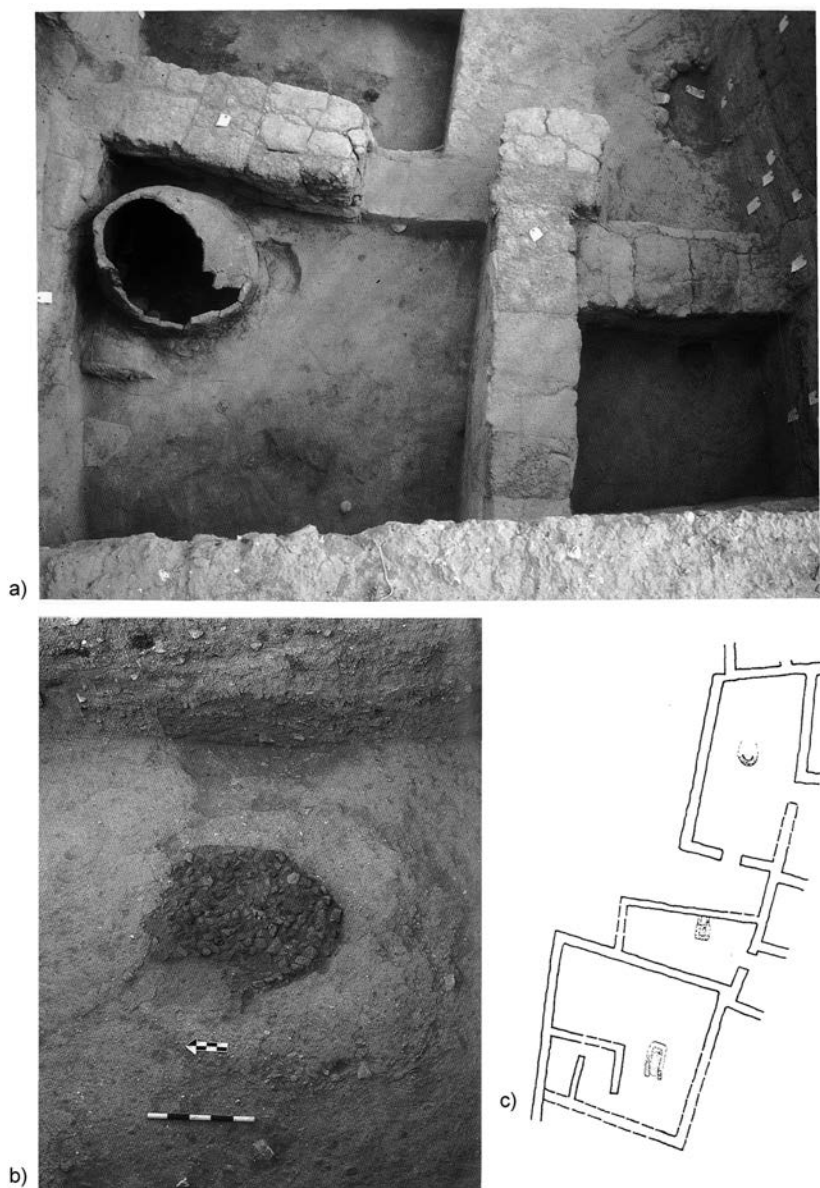


Figure 6.21 Hearths in the Levant post-1200 BC: (a) tanour ovens, Tel Jemmeh; (b) pebbled hearth, Tel-es-Sa'fi; (c) Maa Palaeokastro (after D. Ben-Shlomo, 2011. Food preparation habits and cultural interaction during the late Bronze and Iron Age in southern Israel. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 273–87: figs. 3; 5).

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and geographically complex variety of cooking practice contrasts with other cases of cooking practice linked to large-scale directional travel/settlement over distance – as in Late Chalcolithic/EC I Cyprus, where distinctive hearth forms of established Anatolian type were rapidly and widely taken up alongside a whole set of other deeply-embedded Anatolianising features (Knapp 2013: 243). Even when flat baked-clay circular hearths (of the type most common in the LBA–EIA Aegean) are found in the Levant post-1200 BC, pushing all uses of these hearths back to a single LBA Aegean origin point, as some models have done (e.g. Karageorghis 1998: 128), is deeply unsatisfactory. It ignores not only the complexity of earlier and current Aegean practice across the social spectrum, but also the wider context of social and cultural change in the Aegean itself from c. 1200 BC (see e.g. Figure 6.22).¹⁶

The points made above are reinforced when we look in more detail at the find contexts and technology of cooking jugs and related features in the east Mediterranean. Houses at twelfth-century coastal Levantine sites exhibit mixed types of cooking installation, alongside mixtures of ‘local’ cooking pots and the new jug form (just as most houses seem to contain fine wares of both Aegeanising and local traditions; Yasur-Landau 2011: 241). Yasur-Landau ambitiously interprets these new cultural mixtures/changes in ‘ordinary’ lifestyles in terms of intermarriage – both by ascribing different ethnicities to specific cooking forms and by making standard assumptions about gender roles: ‘Aegeanising’ cooking practice is seen as representing marriage of Aegean women into the local community. Questionable attributions of gender roles in other contexts of assumed ancient ‘colonisation’, e.g. Pithekoussai on Ischia (discussed in Chapter 7), are cited in support. Such approaches reiterate, without examining, aspects of colonial as well as culture-historical discourse. Women, migrants and natives are seen as functionally united groups: sexual or formal partnership relations are assumed to result automatically in cultural hybridity, with no account of experience and agency as structuring these relations or their culture (Mohanty 1998: 204; see e.g. Shepherd 1999: 271 for a more reflective approach).

The manufacture technologies of cooking vessels, alongside their form and use, have been cited by recent models of large-scale Aegean migration to the Levant. At Tel Miqne, both the small minority of local-tradition cooking pots and the dominant new jug form were made using new technologies from around 1200 BC (Iron IA). The wheel (a technique well-established in the region) was newly used in cooking pot manufacture. A completely new use of shell temper also appeared, restricted to the cooking jug form only (Dothan and Zukermann 2004; Killebrew 1998; 2013: 101–4). The novelty and ‘otherness’ of the cooking jug is thus marked out by its technology. At the same time, there is no standard, distinct production process for this type across the contemporary coastal Levantine region which could suggest the advent



Figure 6.22 Hearths in LM IIIA/B and LM IIIC Aegean rural households: (a) Kefali Chondros Viannou, Crete (after L. Platon, 1997. *Caractère, morphologie, et datation de la bourgade post-palatiale de Képhali Chondrou Viannou*. In A. Farnoux and J. Driessen, eds., *La Crète mycénienne: actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'Ecole française d'Athènes*. Paris: Boccard: fig. 2). By permission of L. Platon. (b) Monastiraki Chalasmeno, Crete (after M. Tsipopoulou, 2012. *Living at Halasmenos, Ierapetra, in Late Minoan IIIC: House A1*. In A. Mazarakis Ainian, ed., 2012. *The Dark Ages revisited. Acts of an international symposium in memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007*. Volos: University of Volos Press: 463–77: fig. 1). By permission of M. Tsipopoulou.

of externally-originating potters working in a broadly shared original tradition. Outside the arena of specialised drinking wares and cooking jugs, potting practices tend to continue and adapt existing traditions (e.g. lamps, strainers and a number of other domestic items at Mique retained pre-existing local forms and technologies during the twelfth century and were used within existing local traditions, including, for example, as foundation deposits in major buildings (Mazow 2005: 440–2). Intra-site crossovers in manufacturing techniques also argue against the straightforward identification of ‘migrant’ versus local potters based on technology. At Mique again, storage jars of the period are all made in the established local style, but sometimes borrow the fabric of locally-made Aegeanising finewares – perhaps because other modes of fineware production were now in limited use at the site. The same kind of explanation, relating to majority production context, may apply to occasional use of the wheel in making the minority category of local-tradition cooking pots (Mazow 2005: 159–61). Thus, even in this region of high Aegeanising pottery uptake, the whole technology of pottery making was *not* uniformly transformed – only shifted in ways intended to produce similar-looking products in new categories (Dothan and Zukermann 2004: 2; Killebrew 2013; Zukerman 2012). There is no standard regional production mode which would suggest a blanket introduction of new technology – yet nor is there a technological free-for-all equatable to the over-running of the south Levant by multiple, diverse groups of external settlers. Instead, we see relatively centralised manufacture of the new ‘international’ kinds of cooking and dining forms at the settlements where they were consumed most heavily. Standardisation is much more pronounced at the big southern Levantine and Cypriot sites than, for example, the small site at Maa *Palaeokastro*; Jung (2011) confirms greater conservatism in local-tradition wares at the latter than at the large centre of Enkomi, where much greater investment in innovation is seen; see Rutter (2013) for the high levels of form standardisation at Mique.

Handmade ware

The kinds of handmade burnished wares (HBW), often with applied or incised decoration, which had circulated in the east Mediterranean trade/port sphere during the latest LBA appear with increasing frequency in twelfth-century Aegean and east Mediterranean contexts – where they have often been cited as evidence for Aegean migration (Karageorghis 2011b; Figure 6.23). The vessels – always a tiny minority in pottery assemblages, suggesting special use or manufacture circumstances – have a form and technology separate from that of the new jug cooking pots. Like the latter, and like Aegeanising fine wares of this period, they are usually locally-made, and are found in a range of ‘ordinary’ contexts. Like the other two groups of items, they have a strong coastal distribution, and their generic exoticism



Figure 6.23 Handmade burnished ware vessels from Sinda, Maa Palaeokastro and Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus (after D. Pilides, 1994. *Handmade burnished wares of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag; pl. V).

By permission of D. Pilides.

and Aegean-linked heritage seem to link them closely to the new interests in a set of 'internationalised' consumption practices, partly drawing on older notions of prestige/luxury associated with Aegeanising painted pottery, seen at prospering coastal sites. In the latest LBA of the Levant the appearance of HBW pots (imported or locally-made) was often associated with trade in, and/or consumption of, Aegean imports. In the Aegean, too, the LBA/earliest EIA consumption context of these pots seems to have been one of exoticism: some wares of this type were clearly directly imported from Italy (as at Kommos) by late LM IIIB, and the whole uptake phenomenon seems strongly linked to Aegean encounters with central Mediterranean societies and their products (d'Agata et al. 2012; Pilides 1994; Watrous 1992: 168–9). Though not all LBA Aegean consumption contexts for these objects are prestigious or ritual ones, the vessels were clearly curiosities. Unsurprisingly, in view of Cyprus' longstanding Aegean and developing Mediterranean contacts, HBW-type vessels had a notable presence in the island by around 1200 BC. Their production in and occasional importation to the island (and [through it?] to the coastal Levant) supports other twelfth-century evidence for ongoing Cypriot connections to the central Mediterranean, probably increasingly often of a direct nature, as well as strong Cypriot interests in traditionally Aegean-linked pottery forms and associated networks and practices (Pilides and Boileau 2011).

As with other types of 'internationalising' consumption at the period, there are strong elements of selectivity and regionality in consumption of these wares. For example, though concentrations of Aegeanising fine wares are particularly high at coastal sites in the southern Levant, HBW pottery is especially frequent further north on the Levantine coast where communities had strong and direct connections to Cypriot pottery production technologies and consumed Cypriot exports too (e.g. at Kazel, Tweini and Beirut: the latter site includes an HBW sherd of direct Italian origin, while an imported Sardinian vessel of this type was also found at Pyla Kokkinokremos on Cyprus (Karageorghis 2011b: 97). Given the history of HBW consumption, these patterns of diachronic and regional contrast in its volume and distribution in the east Mediterranean post-1200 BC suggest it cannot easily be treated as an inherent cultural attribute accompanying large-scale Aegean immigrants.

Pork consumption

Another feature of east Mediterranean coastal culture from c. 1200 BC – stressed in recent movement models adducing scientific data – was only innovative in a small region. Like a number of other prominent cultural changes of the period, it relates to food consumption. This is a proportional increase in the amount of pork meat consumed on an everyday basis in the southern Levant. There is some limited evidence for pork consumption

in the region, perhaps mainly in ritual contexts, during the LBA.¹⁷ But at Iron I Ashkelon, there are around 15–20% pig bones in the limited settlement levels excavated (Master 2011; Mazow 2005: 46). Pig represents only 1–3% of the LBA–Iron I transition assemblage at Miqne, but rises from 13% in the subsequent Stratum VII to 24% in Str V, suggesting a gradual and sustained uptake (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011; Killebrew and Lev-Tov 2008). Interestingly, this gradual pattern is not matched by many other aspects of cultural change at these sites, such as consumption of Aegeanising finewares and new cooking wares. Data from other coastal or near-coastal Levantine sites of this period is poor or poorly-reported. In the Aegean, Cyprus and Anatolia, pork was consumed fairly regularly and widely in household contexts throughout the LBA and EIA periods, but was never a majority food in the diet, and varied widely in use between sites and contexts (at the twelfth- to eleventh-century settlement of Karfi, for example, pigs were less than 20% of the assemblage; Wallace 2012b: 70–2; Snyder and Klippel 1999; D. Mylona pers. comm.; see Trantalidou 2012 for a later Iron Age assemblage at Minoa on Amorgos, where pig bones represented 1–11% of the animal remains per building).

In this light, assertions that Aegean-specific immigrants can be identified through the rise in pork consumption at Levantine coastal sites post-1200 BC are problematic – e.g. Faust and Lev-Tov’s claim that pork consumption practice was an ethnically diagnostic practice at this time (‘it was in the Aegean world, admittedly among other regions to the west of the Levant, where consumption of large quantities of pork was the norm’: Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 20). Apart from their lack of attention to the wider context of socioeconomic change discussed above, such models often fail to note evidence from historical ethnography and anthropology showing that dietary change is not a straightforward or predictable part of large-scale foreign settlement in an area (Gasco 2005: 92). It is the wider context of change in food-related consumption activity in the coastal Levantine region which seems important in explaining why increased pork use in some coastal Levantine groups seems to have occurred *at this time*, while close, multi-level contacts with pork-consuming regions by people living in the same area during the LBA had not caused this to occur. I suggest that rebalanced use of pork in the diet may have been part of the wider post-crisis cultural (re)definition seen in the coastal Levant, discussed above. Significantly, we know that pork consumption was recognised from early in the Iron Age as a significant part of self-defining cultural practice by the ‘Philistine’ inhabitants of south Levantine coastal communities. Faust and Lev-Tov note a *decline* in the regularity of pork consumption in the Levantine region generally by the Iron II period (though the pattern still has uneven resolution). They argue this relates to developing political definition at the subregional level, with emerging formalised social prohibitions on pork in the Israelite polity, consciously rooted in older (LBA) practice, being

positioned against pork consumption as an overt identity statement in the 'Philistine' coastal zone.

In the context of sociocultural change described above, seeing pork consumption as part of an inherent 'Aegean' or other migrant trait package/lifeway imported to the Levantine region (a position denying, or only partly addressing, its socially loaded nature) is unsatisfactory, and fails to explain why so many other notionally 'basic' practices, such as storage and many aspects of cooking, remained unchanged. We need to be prepared to read this aspect of practice not as a basic 'lifeway', but a highly selective, socially-embedded and symbolic choice – i.e. as part of conscious structuring of/participation in new identity structures. Lev-Tov and McGeough themselves identify socially-decontextualised treatments of pork consumption as a direct indicator of ethnicity as characteristic of Biblical archaeology's culture-historical tradition (Lev-Tov 2006; Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007; Killebrew and Lev-Tov 2008). Pork consumption's slow uptake and decline, compared to other more explosive aspects of change on the Levantine littoral may, notwithstanding, relate to its deeper implications for agricultural strategy and lifeways. In this regard (and without diminishing the social significance/consciousness of the shift observed from c. 1200 BC), we can note factors which potentially favoured more pig farming in the region at this time, including the disturbance of large-scale, high-investment subsistence systems involving cattle and sheep, and some settlement rebalancing (Maier et al. 2013). A reverse analogy for this is seen in the *decline* of pig consumption in the MBA Levant as large-scale, centralised herding systems grew up (Horwitz and Milewski 2001).

Weaving technology

My argument for the symbolic importance and linkage of changes in the cooking/dining sphere at this time suggests that new kinds of cooking wares on the one hand and new forms of loomweight on the other in the contemporary east Mediterranean are not necessarily linked as evidence for migrants simply by virtue of being 'ordinary' objects, as some studies have claimed (e.g. Yasur-Landau 2011: 248–9). A shift towards use of a spool-shaped loomweight across the east Mediterranean from the early twelfth century is sweeping, though not comprehensive: older forms of loomweight continue in use at many sites (Figure 6.24). Unlike some of the other changes discussed above, this shift is *not* focused on the boom area of the coastal southern Levant/Cyprus (Rahmstorf 2005; 2011; 2012; Zukerman 2013; see recently Cutler 2016; Gaignerot-Driessen 2013; Wallace in press). It affects sites which do not have either jug cooking pots *or* Aegeanising pottery in their assemblages, such as Tel Afis and Tarsus in the north Syrian/Anatolian area (du Pied 2011). The relatively hidden domestic context and use of loomweights additionally suggest that the type may



Figure 6.24 Twelfth-century spool-shaped loomweights: (a) Tel Afis (after S. M. Cecchini, 2011. Loomweights and the textile industry in north Syria in the Early Iron Age: 129–49: fig. 4). By permission of S. Cecchini. (b) Karphi (after A. Kanta and D. Kontopodi, 2011. Kastrokefala (Crete): strangers or locals in a fortified acropolis of the twelfth century BC. In V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, eds., 2011. *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An international symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th 2010*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 195–203: fig. 4). By permission of A. Kanta.

not form part of the deliberately internationalising public consumption package discussed above.

The spool type is not clearly Aegean in origin, though it *is* newly important in use in the twelfth-century Aegean, as elsewhere in the east Mediterranean (see Jung 2011; Rahmstorf (2011) notes late thirteenth-century examples of spool weights in the inland Levant [Beth Shean] and their use as far away as Italy in the same period). The increase and spread in use of the type post-1200 BC may relate to the rise of new forms (warp-weighted looms) and new social contexts of weaving, as shifts took place in regional economic structures and ranges/volumes of textile production and exchange. There is some evidence that the takeup was closely embedded in local economic context (e.g. Cecchini 2011 notes evidence of especially large-scale looms using this type of weight in big Levantine polities). None of these patterns suggests that loomweights can be treated as a simple ‘travelling trait’ connected to mass Aegean incomers in the Cypriot/coastal Levantine region.

Figurative art

For as long as the pictorial tradition continued in Aegean and Aegeanising pottery (i.e. through much of the twelfth century), the ‘warrior’ trope (and its links to traditions/statuses recently highly valued in Aegean social life) survived in it. New clusters of production developed in prosperous, externally-linked communities such as those on the eastern Greek seaboard (Papadopoulos 2009). Even as former reference/use points for such traditions (e.g. palatial apparatus and ceremonial) disappeared post-1200 BC, the clearly still-functioning heritage of prestige associations attached to warrior imagery warns us against viewing the appearance of that imagery as directly representing either fossilised kinds of ‘Aegean elites’ on the move, *or* an intrinsically aggressive status/outlook for the groups currently producing or using it. Yet past interpretations in culture-historical vein *have* frequently made direct correlations between war scenes in art and the Aegean origin/characteristics of those making/consuming that art.

In another arena of art – ceramic figurines – Aegean exports had not figured strongly in the LBA Levantine world. But with the widening range, resonance and scope of Aegeanising ceramic production, the loosening of social barriers to consumption, and the dropping out of former Aegean export centres after 1200 BC, some new social opportunities/incentives to adapt specialised Aegean forms seem to have arisen in this connection, as in pottery manufacture. Various kinds of Aegeanising figurine forms are found in twelfth-century Cyprus and the coastal Levant (usually at sites also with generally high levels of locally made Aegeanising pottery, e.g. Mique, Aphek, Qasile and Ashdod) – and have regularly been interpreted in terms of Aegean immigrants (Dothan 1982: 234–44; Killebrew 2005: 217–18; Figure 6.25). They have a strongly archaising tendency in their style, rather than making



Figure 6.25 Aegeanising figurines in the southern Levant – example from Ashdod Stratum XII (after A. Gilboa, 2014. *The southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Iron Age period*. In M. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew, eds., 2014. *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000–332 BCE*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 624–49: fig. 41.8).

By permission of A. Gilboa.

any attempt to reproduce contemporary Aegean cult forms, such as the large hollow wheelmade goddesses known from Crete (see e.g. Gesell 2005). This point, and the wider context, suggest there is no imperative to read the trend as indicating the adoption of LBA or contemporary EIA Aegean cult practice in the Levant at this time. The figurines' deposition context is often personal in character and was certainly well outside the sphere of contemporary public town cult in Cyprus or the coastal Levant, where other kinds of imagery were dominant. (Knapp 2013: 460). These products seem best read in the context of general changes in regional production and consumption of Aegeanising pottery as an 'international' prestige good (Knapp 2013: 449; 464; Sherratt 1998: 302).

Tomb and other architecture

The burial record is a natural focus for scholars attempting to trace Aegean migrants in the east around 1200 BC using traditional culture-historical approaches – yet it is one of the least rewarding. Burial practice was changing in the Aegean itself in various ways from this period, but there is no straightforward match between these changes and those seen in the Levant. Burial in chamber tombs of various forms – a practice rapidly becoming obsolete in the Aegean – appears in Cyprus and parts of the southern Levant, at both new and existing sites, at or after the crisis period c. 1200 BC (e.g. Kition, Salamis, Lapithos, Tell Far'ah; Iacovou 2013; Knapp 2013: 464; Laemmel 2013; Maier 1973: 78; Voskos and Knapp 2008: 672–3; Figure 6.26). Though a new feature locally in some cases, this chamber tomb use does not appear in strong patterns of correlation with any of the other cultural features discussed earlier in this chapter. Often differing in many respects from that of Aegean chamber tombs (e.g. in the use of a central floor depression and of anthropoid coffins at south Levantine sites), the form usually coexists with various forms of shaft- and pit-grave. By the eleventh century, some of these tombs still appear in intra-settlement contexts, indicating ongoing social rules and mechanisms around their use deeply different from those applying in the LBA Aegean (Iacovou 2008: 632; Hatzaki and Keswani 2012: 318). The content of Aegeanising ceramics in such chamber tombs of the post-crisis period is sometimes minimal (e.g. at Tell Far'ah): i.e. no standard or coherent package of Aegeanising culture traits is present. If we reject the notion of migrating Aegean elites imposing fossilised LBA practices on east Mediterranean communities, the adapted use (and sometimes selective re-use) of chamber tomb forms in the Levant in this period seems most likely to reference a highly-abstracted (archaising?) concept of prestige in restructured, newly interlinked communities – potentially only tangentially connected to current 'internationalising' practice in the sphere of public consumption (Janes 2010).

Other architectural changes in the coastal Cypriot/Levantine area have also been interpreted as impositions by Aegean elite migrants, or natural accompaniments for the latter. Some sizeable restructured coastal sites have new public temples/monumental buildings at this time. They are largely constructed within an established basic Levantine tradition (though in a form clearly reflecting changed political circumstances and shifted kinds of prestige reference; see e.g. Gilboa et al. 2014: 632). Smaller, more irregular and variable versions appear at sites of apparently demoted regional importance, such as Lachish, while at some expanding/prospering sites (Enkomi, Kition) buildings of this type seem elaborated. Some make reference to historically embedded prestige/exotic forms in new ways – e.g. at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Kition and Kouklia in Cyprus, historically Aegean-linked tropes such as 'horns of consecration' (not used in contemporary Aegean cult environments) were foregrounded architectural elements in cultic settings

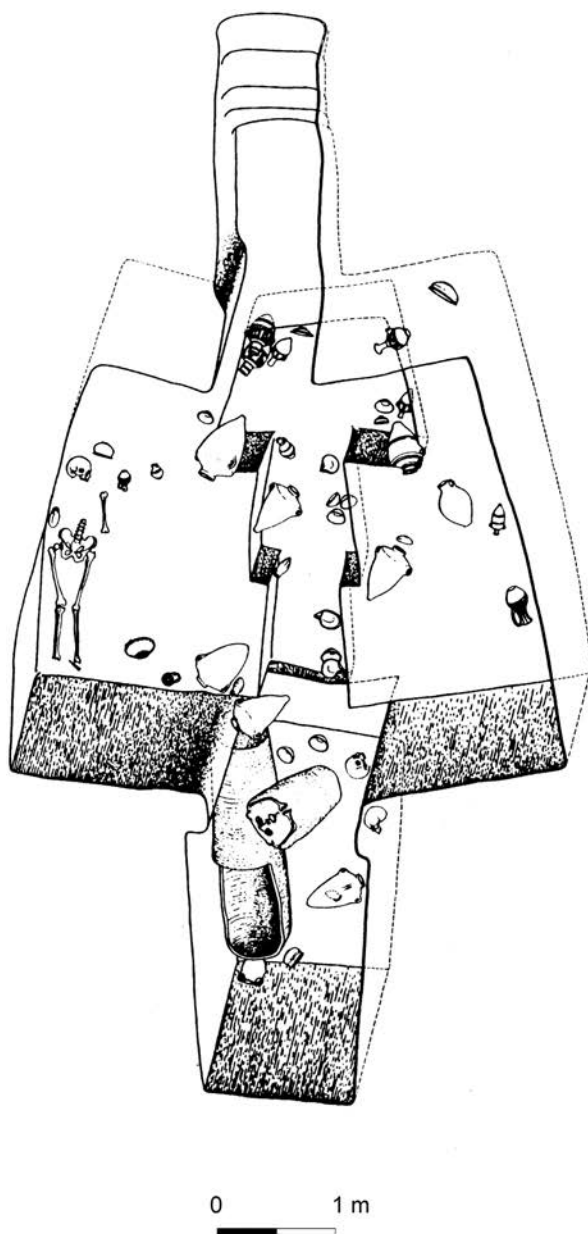


Figure 6.26 Reconstruction of a chamber tomb from thirteenth-century Tell el-Far'ah (after T. Dothan and M. Dothan, 1992. *People of the sea: the search for the Philistines*. New York: Scribner: 66).

(Alt 1944; Burdajewicz 1990; Hägg 1989; Negbi 1986; Voskos and Knapp 2008: 667; Figures 6.27–6.30).

In this context, Building 357/352 at early twelfth-century Tel Mique has sometimes been frequently read as an ‘Aegean-type’ temple, and thus as proof of Aegean (elite) immigrants in the Levant c. 1200 BC. Certain features of plan have been isolated in this analysis – the entrance porch and inner hall, for example, are pointed to as recalling the megaron plans of some public buildings at major LBA Aegean sites, though the latter were already out of use/changed in use by the twelfth century (see Wallace 2005; 2010: 127–36). Similar interpretations of partly similar monumental buildings at Tell Qasile have been made (and then used circularly to argue for that settlement as a ‘daughter site’ of assumed Aegean-founded polities like Mique; Mazar 2000: 220). However, many other distinguishing features of the Mique building have neither earlier nor contemporary parallels in the

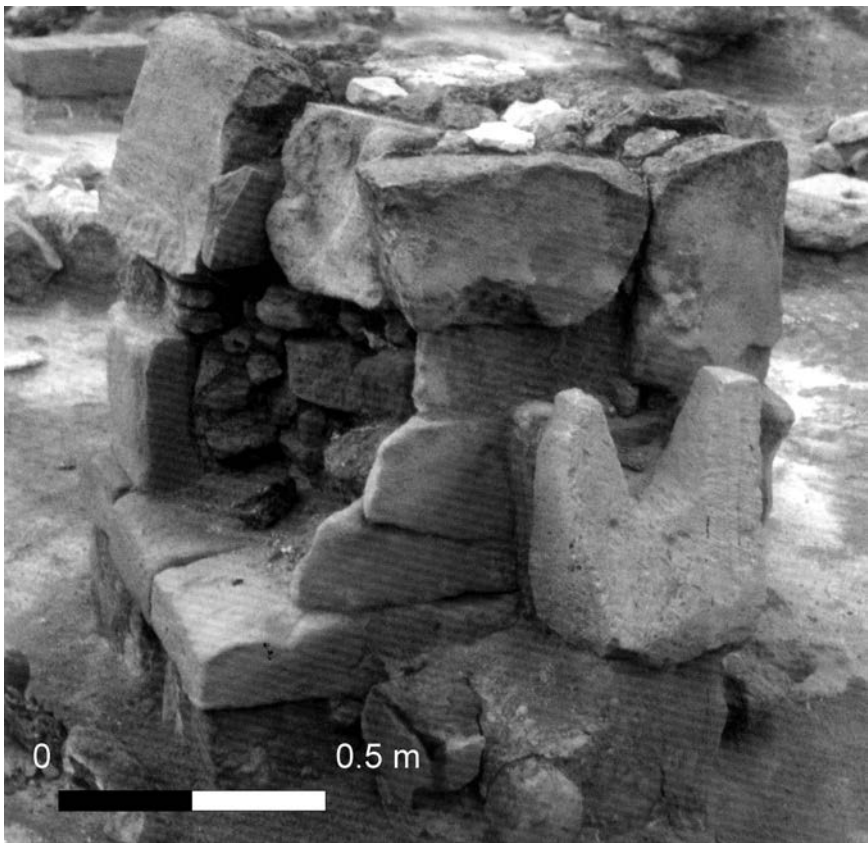


Figure 6.27 Altar D with horns of consecration, Kition Kathari. From SE (after J. Smith, 2009. *Art and society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pl. IV.29).

By permission of Cambridge University Press.

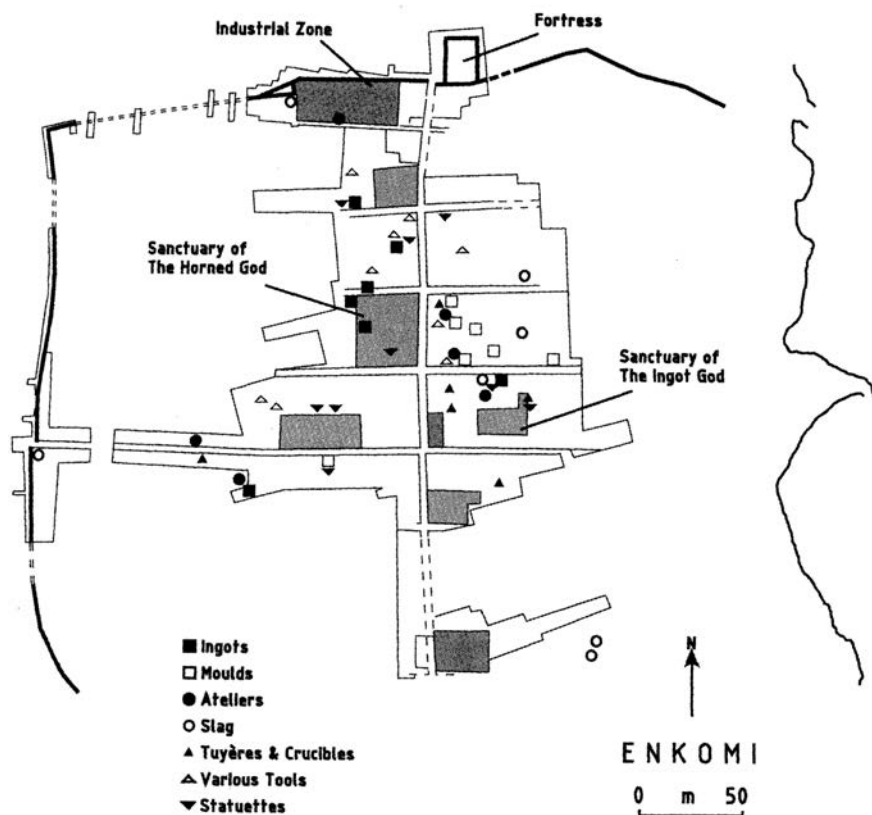


Figure 6.28 Enkomi: town plan showing locations of LC IIIA temples (post-1200 BC), redrawn by L. Sollars (after A. B. Knapp, 2013. *The archaeology of Cyprus: from earliest prehistory through the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: fig. 105).

By permission of A. B. Knapp.

Aegean, as Mazow (2005) has recently pointed out. They include rectangular raised hearths with pillars, and sunken pithoi (both of which are paralleled in ceremonial structures/areas in the contemporary wider Levantine region) as well as a stone ‘bathtub’ (a feature paralleled at contemporary Ashkelon and Ashdod, where it is thought to have specialised craft-associated uses; see Collard 2008 for similar features in contemporary Cyprus). Whatever the function of the Mique building, it can hardly be seen as a directly-imported standard Aegean form, whether of LBA or EIA type. Value artefacts deposited inside it have various kinds of exotic associations – they include, for example, Aegeanising locally-made pottery, as found across the site, and incised bovid scapulae – the latter objects are paralleled in contemporary Cypriot cult, but have no Aegean presence or links.

**Enkomi
ASHLAR BUILDING
Level IIIA**

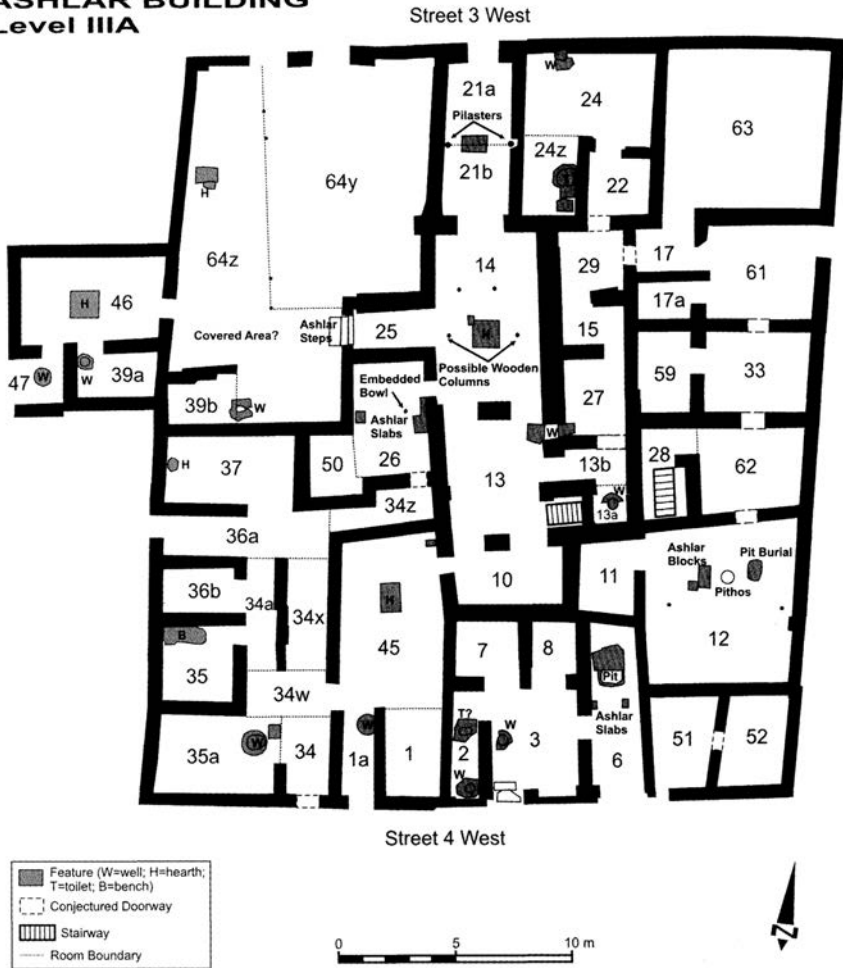


Figure 6.29 Plan of ‘Ashlar Building’ housing the Horned God figurine, in LC IIIA. Drawn by K. Fisher (after A. B. Knapp, 2013. *The archaeology of Cyprus: from earliest prehistory through the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: fig. 106).

By permission of K. Fisher.

Summary on ‘ethnofossil’ evidence

Migration models built on the identification of ‘diagnostic’ Aegean cultural features in Cyprus and the coastal Levant often seem grounded in unrevised culture history, and/or to echo particular historical discourses, particularly those of colonialism and conquest. They focus on mapping specific origin points for new consumption practices, rather than studying the context in which those practices emerged and operated. The occurrence at this period

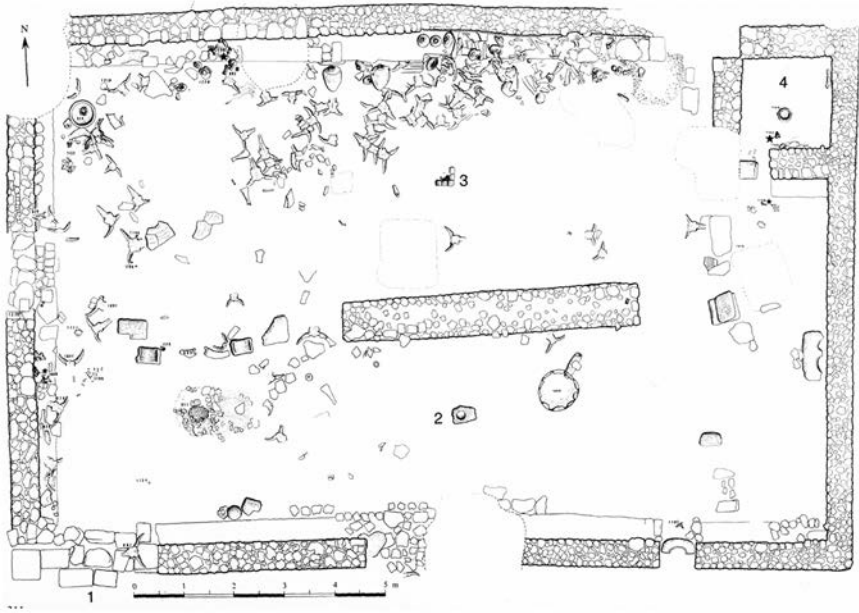


Figure 6.30 Enkomi: plan of 'Temple of the Ingot God'. The bronze figurine was found in room 4 (after V. Karageorghis, ed., 2009. *Early Cyprus: cross-roads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications: 211).

of sociocultural shifts on a large scale and at a number of levels is indisputable; the overtly Aegeanising associations of some areas of cultural change are striking. But the history of Levantine and Cypriot interest in Aegean-type painted pottery and associated drinking practices in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries offers vital context for this phenomenon, and cannot be ignored when explaining it. I will draw on all the discussion so far in this chapter, including my evaluations of claimed ethnofossils often used in migration models, in briefly re-examining, below, the background and assumptions of one of the highest-profile movement models for this period: the interpretation of the Iron Age 'Philistine' communities of the coastal southern Levant as migrants from the Aegean c. 1200 BC.

'Philistines': review of a classic migration model in the present data context

In most existing models on this subject, the migrants assumed to be responsible for cultural change in the EIA Levant are redefined as 'Philistines' right from their supposed arrival date in the region – i.e. they are seen as immediately and irrevocably joined with the local population and its history (see e.g. Dothan and Gitin 1990; Macalister 1965; Mazar 2000). By having travelled, the movers

are seen as having lost or given up their Aegean identity, yet *at the same time* as preserving innate Aegean attributes able to be freely displayed/exercised in the newly settled territory. Further cultural shifts in the same region by the eleventh century, especially in pottery styles, are presented in these perspectives as reflecting ‘resurgent’ local traditions, and/or as a form of cultural adaptation/hybridisation by the notional core of settlers (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011). In such approaches, there has often seemed little need to provide an account of the internal structures and practices of the assumed settler groups vis-à-vis those in the contemporary Aegean itself: i.e. to look at deep context.

In typical readings equating the volume of ‘new’ cultural forms in the region with volume of immigrants, Philistine settlement is usually supposed to have occurred at specific sites only – those where very high concentrations of Aegeanising pottery are found and which are *also* textually documented as taking on an overt ‘Philistine’ identity during the course of the Iron Age. Few models attempt to explain how the assumed choices in settlement were made or implemented, or why the assumed settlers’ cultural production had strong links with a range of sites in the wider region, yet did not spread in recognisable patterns of trade fall-off or emulation. The culture-history-grounded, origins-focused nature of archaeological field research and interpretation in Israel before and since 1948 (see Davis 2011: 39–42; Hallote and Joffe 2002: 87; 99; Killebrew 2005: 3–21; Kletter 2006; Masalha 2006; Rosen 2003: 171–3) and linked features in the scholarship of postwar and post-Turkish-invasion Cyprus (Given 1998; Knapp 2013), as well as elements of traditional Classical archaeology, including conceptions of ‘Greeks’ as having certain inherent and permanent qualities, have all been influential here. The supposed arrival of Aegean immigrants in the southern Levant is ultimately seen as an act of takeover in colonial vein (Yasur-Landau 2012: 193; see e.g. Mazar 1985: 106: ‘The erection of large urban settlements by the Philistines just after their arrival . . . may be taken as evidence for their origin . . . the Philistines became overlords in an area which remained to a large extent populated by Canaanites.’). Such models have high popular profiles and resonance. The recent excavators of Ashkelon, for example, cite the Rameses III attack texts from Medinet Habu mentioning the ‘Peleset’ in support of a simplified claim that ‘the Philistines conquered Canaanite Ashkelon in ca. 1175 B.C.’ They identify an Aegean origin for the group on a purely culture-historical basis (‘the Philistines used local clays to produce a monochrome pottery, decorated with either red or black paint, that is very similar to the Mycenaean pottery of the Aegean’) as well as adducing the presence of the spool loomweight type (<http://digashkelon.com>; see Hitchcock 2011; 2013 for critique).

Further political and economic readjustments occurred in much of the coastal Levant as new intra-regional tensions arose by c. 1000 BC, including destructions and subsequent contractions at the major sites of Dor, Ashdod and Mique. Migration-based explanations have been applied to these events, too, highlighting the engrained nature of culture-historical thinking about archaeological material in the region and revealing contradictions within the

latter. Trude Dothan, for example, used two ‘waves’ of incomers to explain the appearance of large quantities of Aegeanising pottery at Philistine sites in the early twelfth century, followed by the emergence of the partly-related Bichrome pottery style at the same sites by the end of the century (Dothan 2000). Stern reconstructed two waves of ‘Sea Peoples’ settlement at Dor to explain that site’s history, with Sikilu settlers arriving in the twelfth-century disturbances being replaced by ‘Phoenicians’ – seen as responsible for cultural changes following a destruction c. 1000 BC (Stern 2000; see critique by Gilboa 2005: 47). Recent scholarly literature shows the rise of nuanced views on social and ethnic relations in the region through this longer period (Dothan and Zukermann 2004; Dothan et al. 2006; Gilboa et al. 2006; Killebrew 2005; Sherratt 2005; 2006: 369; Yasur-Landau 2012). Many of these, however, still ultimately equate the period’s new cultural features of the period with the arrival of new people, rather than with a changed socioeconomic context involving new forms of interaction, display, identity assertion and procurement (e.g. Killebrew 2005: 197). Killebrew’s summary of the evidence she sees as supporting migration (from Cyprus) to explain the south Levantine changes 1200 BC conflates a number of the problems explored above: ‘a rich assemblage of material culture traits completely foreign to Canaanite cultural traditions suddenly appears in a restricted geographical area known from written sources to have been occupied by a specific group of people – the Philistines’. There are obvious points of elision in such statements (Aegeanising pottery [local or imported], pork consumption, HBW, and other assumed ethnofossils discussed above are *not* new to this area from 1200 BC; it is in itself problematic to treat ‘Canaanite’ traditions as regionally isolatable in the Late Bronze Age, given the multiple cultural and political connections operating in the area at this time; these features are not restricted in any coherent way to the group of sites textually documented as claiming a ‘Philistine’ identity by the later Iron Age. Killebrew’s account, like many others, fails to highlight the significance of the mainly cooking-/dining-linked character of innovation explored above. Other recent models, while rightly noting the complex and variable embedding of the new cultural elements in local societies, and seriously addressing issues around the construction of identity (thereby questioning older assumptions about conquest and imposed culture change; see e.g. Zukerman 2013) retain the idea of change as necessarily extraneously produced. Yasur-Landau, for example, reconstructs several thousand settlers ‘*carrying* Aegean culture’ in the Philistine area (2011: 252; citing Finkelstein 1996). The notion that ‘Aegean’ culture was potentially able to be carried as an alienable package is never reconciled with the idea (in this and other models) that it was *at the same time* intrinsic and representative of people from a specific origin point (the Aegean).

Replacing one set of assumed migrants with another does not address this gap, or others, in culture-historical models. Killebrew’s identification of cultural innovation in the Philistine area with Cypriot, rather than Aegean, migrants fails to explain the regionally variant alignments between aspects of Cypriot culture (especially pottery) and those of the coastal Levant during the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Some Aegeanising fineware imports

from Cyprus travelled through the southern Levant in the twelfth century, apparently replacing direct Aegean imports (d'Agata et al. 2005; Gilboa 2005: 55–6). Contemporary with this was a strong crossover of manufacturing techniques (and travel/exchange) of various transport and coarse vessels of *non-Aegeanising* type between Cyprus and sites further north on the Levantine coast (such as Dor) by the late twelfth century (Bikai 1987; Gilboa 1989; 2001; 2005; 2007; Gilboa et al. 2006; Zukerman 2013: 28–9). New patterns of Aegeanising fineware consumption were thus apparently only a *part* of variable Cyprus-linked cultural practice in the Levant, rather than representing interaction with Cypriots *per se* – and thus require explanation in terms other than that of movement by a single ethnic group.

Conclusions: Aegean movement east, 1200–1000 BC

Models of Aegean inhabitants' relocation in 'bubble'-type groups, retaining diagnostic cultural attributes, often emphasise a 'freed-up' character for movement in the east Mediterranean following the weakening of state control over maritime trade (Demand 2011: 220–56). Important gaps had indeed been opened up in the fabric of the LBA political economy – creating opportunities and pressures for major social and cultural change, including through movement over distance. But early post-crisis movement was only as free as the regional historical context allowed. Truly 'open' cultural or physical territories were few or absent in most coastal areas of the east Mediterranean. Though some major sites had been downsized or were going out of use, no large area provided a blank slate for settlement as a result of depopulation. In much of the region, relatively complex socioeconomic structures seem to have been modified *in situ*, rather than disappearing. Small groups not previously embedded within these systems had little chance of being able to penetrate these structures directly through physical relocation over distance, and no chance of dominating them. This was especially the case in regard to the large, well-rooted Cypro-Levantine polities, which were profitably engaged at this time in shifting and interlinking their external alignments.

The context of regional insecurity (in conjunction with selected features of the record like the continued use of traditional warrior imagery well into the twelfth century on Aegeanising prestige pottery, and the use of fortified/defensible sites in some areas), has been adduced in support of a picture of aggressive conquest and colonisation by Aegeans, as both a cause and consequence of the crisis c. 1200 BC. While physical security issues *were* important elements in the crisis, social and political insecurity lay at its heart. 'Domino' models, in which generic ethnic groups reified through cultural attributes ('Aegeans' or 'Sea Peoples') are seen as having attacked or colonised different parts of the east Mediterranean world in turn, lack adequately sensitive explanation of movers' context, motivation, experiences and reception – undermining their reliability and usefulness. Approaches in this vein have paid very limited attention to the contemporary Aegean context of response to crisis, instead often making assumptions about the agency of supposed Aegean migrants in ways which recall traditional colonial

discourse, and seem to privilege ‘Greekness’ in particular ways. Aegeans are attributed with fast-dyed characteristics – seen not only as able to preserve their status and cultural identity through crisis, but to export and maintain them abroad through force. These types of ideas, echoed in many other case studies in this book, tie into older Classical archaeology scholarship, some of which reconstructed a violently depopulated Aegean post-c. 1200 BC as ‘cleared ground’ for the emergence of a ‘new’ Archaic–Classical Greek world. In fact, though, recent research highlights a strong sense of embeddedness in place for LBA–EIA Aegean populations through the socioeconomic and political shifts c. 1200 BC (Wallace 2003).

Ecologically-grounded models of movement, recently proving attractive to scholars trying to explain the scale of disturbance to LBA systems, have as yet been applied only sketchily to the archaeological data. Recent research on Near Eastern pollen cores suggests increased levels of aridity for the twelfth century, while heightened cold and drought have also been postulated for the Aegean specifically, based on predictive climate modelling (Kaniewski et al. 2008; Moody 2005; 2009; Rohling et al. 2009). However, local contradictions in and/or misconceptions of the evidence often show up quickly in attempts to interpret the record of cultural change in primarily ecological terms. Much more detailed and contextualised levels of explanation are needed. Though environmental shifts may well have exacerbated elements in the crisis, we need not only to prove those shifts occurred but also to show exactly how they affected contemporary societies in terms of movement and other adjustments. For example, the boom in Levantine coastal centres as Aegean states declined permanently at the end of the LBA is not straightforwardly explainable as a result of region-wide climate change. Recent archaeobotanical evidence from twelfth- to eleventh-century Crete suggests a climate wetter than today’s, which would easily support Bronze Age-type subsistence practice even in the lowlands – and thus cannot help support the model of an aridity crisis as forcing movement, whether in terms of relocation to new local sites, or emigration from the island (Wallace 2012b: 70). Even if increasingly dry conditions had pertained in the Aegean lowlands, they would not explain the variable patterns of relocation within the region as a whole, discussed above. Most new Aegean sites were not at high altitudes or in an environment otherwise differentiated from the majority of LBA settlements – many simply had more defensible topography. Models of twelfth-century Aegean inhabitants adopting or spreading a mobile pastoral economy have also been used to explain aspects of the evidence for movement and culture change in the EIA. Yet the increasingly well-mapped and -studied Iron Age settlement and palaeoeconomic record for the Aegean shows no signs of a specialist pastoralist economy at crisis-period sites, nor is there large-scale favouring for settlement of landscapes amenable to pastoralism.

Instead of a straightforward explanation or driver in itself, movement (together with contemporary, changing *conceptions* of movement) emerges as a complex, embedded element in socioeconomic change through and soon

after the crisis. The Aegean's special shared physical and historical features (enabling intensive forms of maritime movement) were closely linked both to the nature of state collapse and its consequences, but in a subregionally-variable, highly agent-determined context.

Notes

- 1 Even thoughtful recent approaches like Crielaard's (2010) fail to fully embrace the evidence showing that a broad regional tradition like that of 'Ionian' identity in the central/eastern parts of the Aegean could be closely adapted, extended and adjusted over time. Crielaard's reconstruction is, instead, of a two-stage development of 'Ionian' identity, directly correlatable with population movement from the central Aegean, and thus in some senses still a very literal reading of the traditions. He reconstructs EIA populations from Attica (the 'original Ionians') as moving at large scales into west Anatolia in order to explain the identity linkage under the 'Ionian' umbrella concept in operation by the sixth century.
- 2 Though accounts like Sandars's (1985) try to reconcile these points within a very wide-ranging 'Sea Peoples' model.
- 3 Accepted transliterations with vowels added are used here for the ethnic terms appearing in these texts (cf. recently Adams and Cohen 2013). Where multi-text/multilingual references to the 'same' group are cited, the references equated are always those broadly accepted and fully reasoned as such in the specialist literature.
- 4 However, a group called the 'Danuna' are referred to as Levantine residents in Amarna text EA 151.49 and may also appear in the Hittite LBA archives, where they are connected to the north Syria/southeast Anatolia region (Moran 1992: 238–9; Roberts 2009).
- 5 Part of the text on the 'Israel stela' (a triumphal hymn of Merneptah's reign inscribed at the Karnak sanctuary) reads as follows, suggesting the main centres of threat indicated by the generic 'Nine Bows' term, also periodically used to include areas like Libya and Nubia (Kitchen 2003: 15):

All the rulers are prostrate, saying 'peace';
Not one among the Nine Bows dare raise his head,
Plundered is Tehenu [Libya];
Hatti is at peace; carried off is Canaan with every evil,
Brought away is Ascalon, taken is Gezer,
Yeono'am is reduced to non-existence,
Israel is laid waste, having no seed,
Khurru has become widowed because of Nile-land.

- 6 See Artzy (1997) on the echoes of recent colonial narratives found in many models, including assumptions that women and children were left behind in 'home' regions by buccaneering male explorers, some of whom settled down in the conquered areas.
- 7 See Gilboa et al. (2006) for readings of the latter (dating to the reign of Rameses IV) as stating that the Delta attackers were 'resettled' by the Egyptian pharaoh.
- 8 The perception of an exodus from the mainland also seems partly to arise from preoccupations in Classical archaeology with origins for the Classical 'Greeks' in subsequent major inflows like the Dorian migration, as well as being linked to the poor preservation and modest/contracted quality of early EIA deposits on many mainland sites. The latter are often 'sandwiched' and partly obscured between the remains of large-scale Bronze Age and Archaic–Classical occupation.

- 9 For example, Mique (upper tell) has numerous LBA Cypriot imports, as has Ashdod (settled from the MBA, with an important port at Tel Mor, and referred to in fourteenth- to thirteenth-century Ugaritic texts: M. Dothan 1973). Ashkelon was an important vassal polity in the LBA, referred to in the Amarna letters (Moran 1992: 287; 230–2; 370).
- 10 A trope increasingly common across the Iron Age Mediterranean to explain contemporary cultural and political alignments, as discussed in Chapter 7.
- 11 For example, Schilardi (1984) argues that the residents of a newly-founded defensible site at Koukounaries on Paros, where the central building had a notable number of wealth items, were refugees from a palatial centre on the mainland; see also Barber (1987: 227).
- 12 There are cylinder-, lyre-player and anchor-shaped seals at Ashdod, as there are in twelfth-century Cyprus. The find of a possible Cypro-Minoan inscription at Ashkelon is unsurprising in view of the multitextuality of the Cypro-Levantine contact and trade zone during the late LBA; adapted use of the same script continued in Cyprus through the crisis. A Semitic inscription recently excavated from Tell-es-Safi/Gath dates as early as c. 950 BC (Beck and Kochavi 1983: 68–9; Cross and Stager 2006; Dothan and Porath 1993: 81; Heltzer and Lipinski 2004; Knapp 2013: 461; Maier et al. 2008; Mazar 2000: 225; Singer 1994: 335–7).
- 13 Though Zukerman still ultimately assumes immigrant Aegeans were the main groups behind the construction of such an identity – which she suggests was partly developed in *contradistinction* to Cypriot groups operating in the same Levantine areas. My wider arguments above on the conditions and factors affecting the likelihood of significant self-contained Aegean resettlement in the east Mediterranean apply to this, as to other versions of the ‘mass/transformational Aegean settlement’ model.
- 14 In the twelfth century as in the late thirteenth, imitative manufacture of ‘Aegean-type’ pottery could clearly operate in its own long-range exchange systems within the Cypro-Levantine sphere: we can note the Cypriot provenance of limited amounts of LH IIIC-type pottery consumed across a number of inland Levantine sites including Beth-Shean, Megiddo and Dan (d’Agata et al. 2005).
- 15 The essence of this approach is not entirely escaped in Gilboa’s recent critique of straightforward equations between ‘Aegean’ pottery and Aegean immigrants, where she argues that the narrower range of Aegeanising pottery forms found in the northern Levant may represent ‘smaller groups’ of incomers (Gilboa 2005).
- 16 Aegean LBA communities had used central hearths, wall-attached hearths, and ovens in a variety of combinations, in both special and ordinary buildings, and at variable scales (see e.g. Shaw 1990; Driessen 2012; Tsipopoulou 2012; Wallace 2005). In any meaningful analysis of cooking customs, we cannot lump together the use of hearths at LH IIIB Pylos (where a palatial building had a huge central hearth at its heart, used for feasts) with that LM IIIA–B Kommos (a port with hearths concentrated in a large [public] harbour building) or at LM IIIB Viannos Chondrou (a village where a central medium-sized house, and probably other houses, had a hearth in the main room) as a single diagnostic reference point for ‘Aegean’ practice (*contra* e.g. Karageorghis 1998). Adjustments in social structure, and related shifts in settlement balance, form and layout, clearly affected the organisation of cooking at Aegean sites from c. 1200 BC, but this too occurred in highly localised ways: cf. the use of wall-positioned and central hearths in most buildings at Karfi, with few ovens, versus Kavousi Vronta’s pattern of hearths and ovens in the main room of each house; Day et al. 2009; Wallace 2010: 118–21).
- 17 Though there is evidence for wild boar consumption outside these contexts and little evidence overall for the proportions of animals consumed at LBA coastal sites (Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007: 95–6, citing LBA assemblages at Hazor and Megiddo; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011; citing Vila and Dalix 2004).

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7 Later Iron Age Mediterranean movement and ‘Greek colonisation’

Introduction: changes in Aegean-based travel c. 1200–1000 BC

We saw in Chapter 6 that high-volume Aegean pottery exports went missing from the wider Mediterranean world soon after 1200 BC. This effect of collapse shows how far the region’s LBA export trade had been locally-driven, within an international support context. No external player was able to restart or take it over *in situ*. However, though the export gap is dramatic and indicative, I want to stress that it is only one part of the story on Aegean-based movement post-1200 BC – and is not equatable to a total lack of external travel and engagement by Aegean residents. In fact, travel seems central to understanding changes in Aegean society from the tenth century on, as emergent institutions drew on, and helped drive, new kinds of long-distance interaction. By the eighth century, the people living in multiple, small and structurally-similar Aegean *polis* states were equipped to rapidly expand their systems of export trade and travel over distance. As the existence of the earlier export gap highlights, there was no ‘natural’ or predictable radius for these systems. Their nature and development were rooted in specific regional history, context and agency, in ways I will look at below (Figure 7.1).

Much recent literature on long-distance east Mediterranean interactions through the EIA has used a model of gift exchange to characterise them, drawing on anthropological models in conjunction with readings of Homer (e.g. Coldstream 1983; Crielaard 1998; Hodos 2006: 4–5; Morris 1996). This approach usefully highlights the high political valency of long-distance contact in the absence of Aegean state frameworks, the internationalised nature of many value goods circulating in the post-crisis Mediterranean, and the existence of some ongoing direct contacts between the Aegean and the Cypro-Levantine area throughout the period. There are problematic flattening elements in this model, however. The twelfth- to tenth-century gap in Aegean exports tends to encourage views of Aegeans as passive consumers in these gifting transactions (operating in purely fictive relations of equality with Levantine exchange partners). This in turn requires reconstruction of an abrupt shift or external stimulus to commercial-type trade somewhere in the

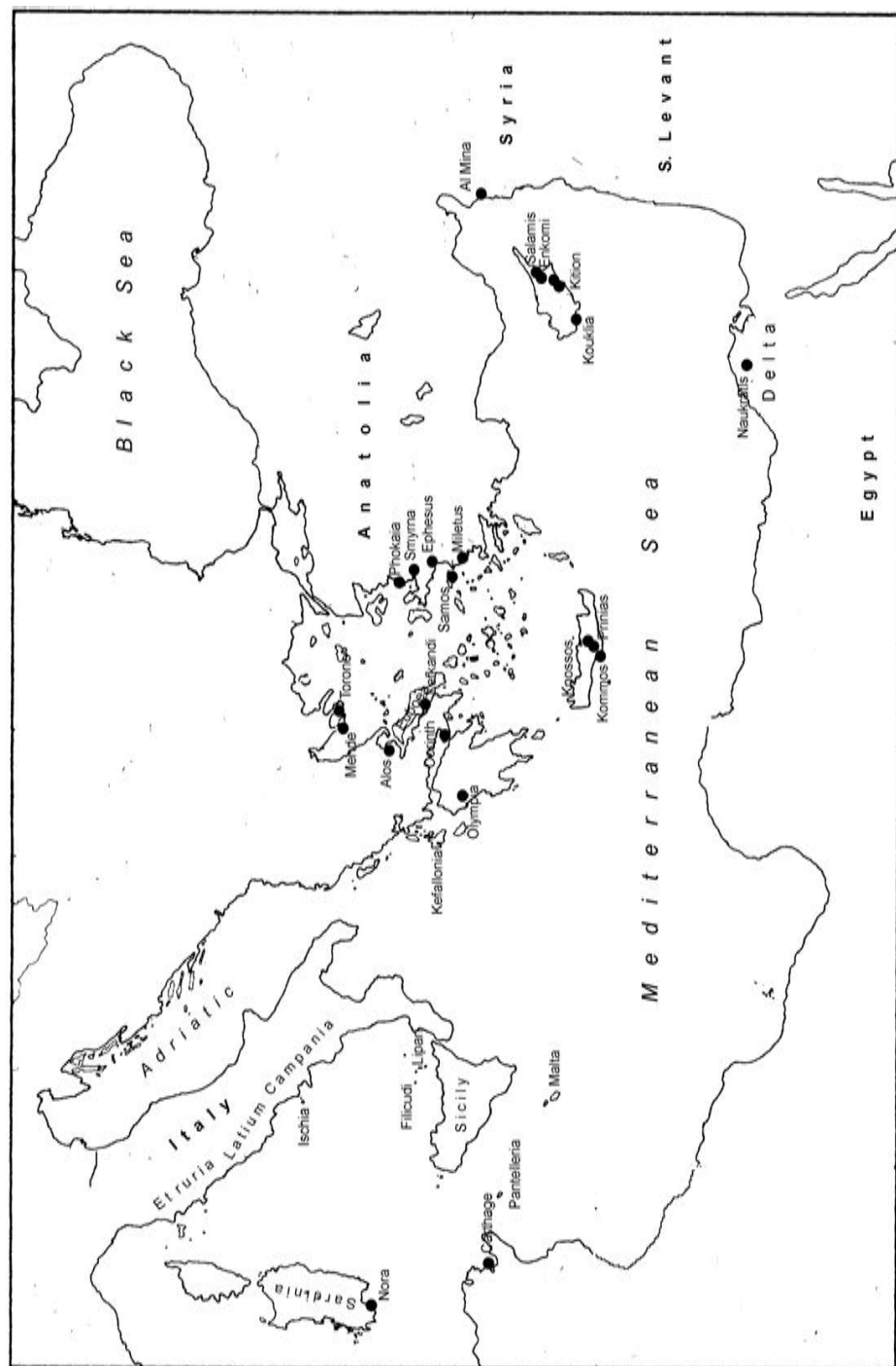


Figure 7.1 Map of sites mentioned in the text (detail of Italian sites mentioned is given in Figure 7.22); by S. Wallace.

EIA in order to accommodate the evidence for active, intensive long-distance export of a specific range of Aegean-made goods by c. 700 BC. I suggest we need to better contextualise and historicise interaction *through the course* of the EIA if we are to understand how Aegean and east Mediterranean groups became real trade and travel peers by the end of the period. Aegean-made fine pottery was already starting to be consumed again in Levantine prestige contexts from the tenth century BC – rapidly increasing in volume and expanding in distribution thereafter. The conscious distancing of Aegean from Levantine socioeconomic outlooks and practice, which had taken place in the export 'gap' period to 1000 BC (rather than the two regions' continuous membership of a homogeneous political/exchange network) seems important in this development: I will start by examining the evidence for it.

Some of the best pieces of evidence for long-range travel and transactions relating to the Aegean in the immediate post-crisis period c. 1200–1000 BC are imported/imitated Cypro-Levantine metal objects, consumed as rare luxuries in the Aegean and including items made in the new iron technology, first developed in contemporary Cyprus and the coastal Levant (Figure 7.2). Most such goods were probably routed through the Cypriot arena, with its previous very strong direct travel and trade connections with the Aegean. In the context of the period, their presence in the Aegean does not suggest systematic A-for-B 'return trade', but does point to ongoing Aegean engagement with east Mediterranean groups in the course of their acquisition, whether on home shores or abroad. The ongoing nature of contacts is also evidenced by the use of pottery referencing current Aegean styles in Cyprus and the coastal Levant in the twelfth century (discussed in Chapter 6) and, from at least the mid-eleventh century, the borrowings from some current Cypriot and Levantine pottery styles seen in some Aegean fine wares (see e.g. Kourou 2012: Figure 7.3).

At the same time, the lack of Aegean exports in these two centuries clearly suggests a reduced number of Aegean people in regular contact with the east, and changed structures of interaction between the regions' inhabitants. Most people involved in long-distance travel and exchange at this time – whatever their home base – seem likely to have had the same general profile as those who had helped precipitate the LBA crisis – small, simply- or irregularly-structured groups. Prospering especially in the coastal Levant after its contained collapse, such groups evidently continued to factor Aegean ports into their routes after 1200 BC, but in a sparing manner – perhaps now mainly using them as provisioning/guide points. Given the longstanding and often exceptional connections between Cyprus and the south-central Aegean, some Cyprus-based voyages to the central Mediterranean, evidenced from the late thirteenth/twelfth century and with a clear interest in trading and sourcing metals, may often have included some Aegean participants and supplies (Sherratt 2000: 187). But the concentration of Cypriot or local Cypriotising bronzework (including smithing tools with no Aegean parallels) in Sardinian hoards of this period, the presence of early iron objects associated with

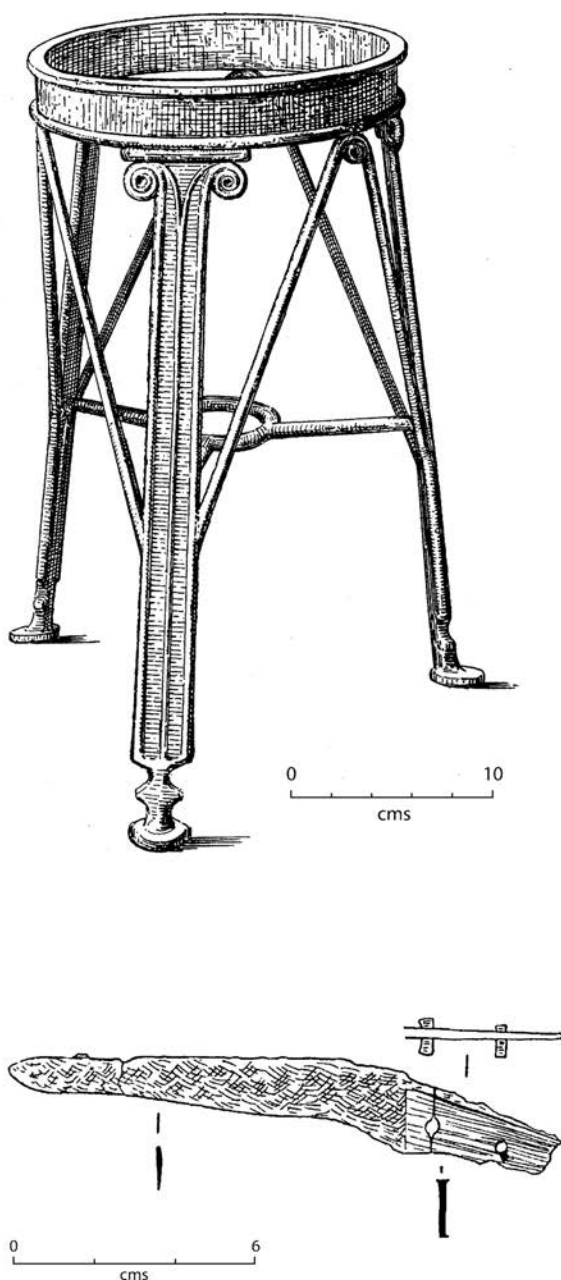


Figure 7.2 Cypriot-type bronze and iron items in the twelfth-century Aegean: (a) bronze stand from chamber tomb I at Vrokastro, Crete (after E. Hall, 1914. *Excavations in eastern Crete: Vrokastro*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press: fig. 97); (b) iron knife from Gypsades grave VII, Knossos (after M.S.F. Hood, G. L. Huxley and N. Sandars, 1959. A Minoan cemetery at Upper Gypsades. *ABSA* 53-4: 194-262: fig. 80).

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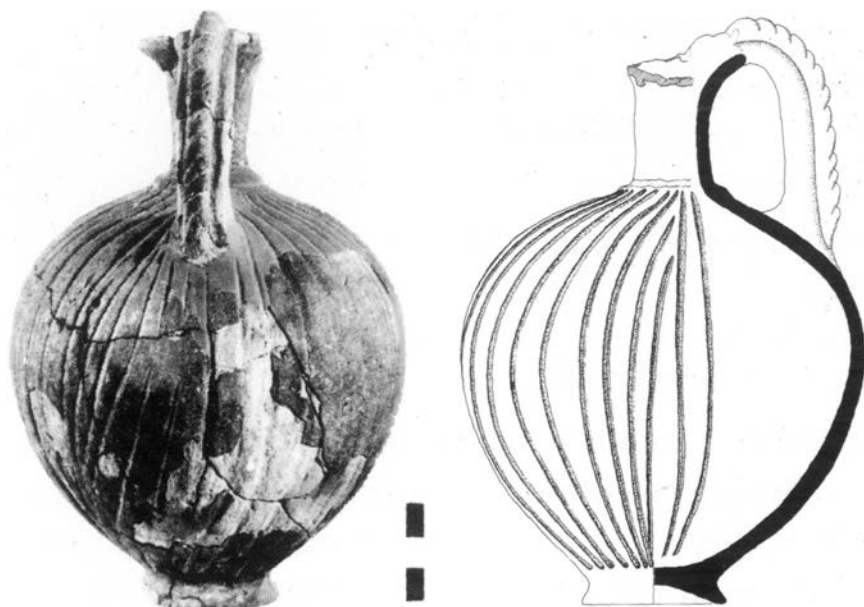


Figure 7.3 Juglet of Cypriot Base-Ring type from a tomb near the settlement of Veni, west Crete (after E. Tegou, 2001. *Tholotos tafos tis proimas epochis tou Sidirou stin Pantanassa Amariou, N. Rethimnis*. In N. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, 2003. *PLOES: sea routes and interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c. BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete September 29th–October 2nd 2002*. Athens: University of Crete/A. G. Leventis Foundation: 121–53; fig. 6).

finds of Cypriot pottery on the same island (where contemporary Aegean pottery imports were now absent); and notable links between Levantinising bronzework forms found in Sardinian and south Iberian locations, all show where the main eastern source of investment in travel to the central/west Mediterranean lay (Lo Schiavo 1985: 35–51; 2003; Ridgway 1992: 26–9; Figure 7.4).

The circumstances of political and social breakdown c. 1200 BC produced notable regional variety in how Aegean communities structured their limited external engagement. At some large continuing Cretan sites (Knossos; Phaistos/Kommos), residents seem to have been interested in preserving involvement in long-distance exchange systems, perhaps taking advantage of Crete's route position to undertake some provisioning/trade activities. These brought in exceptional (though still small) amounts of eastern imports (and some western ones, such as the Italian items already discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). In mainland east Greece, similar strategies/opportunities helped to support a substantial set of coastal settlements (Andriomenou 1972; Boardman 1957;

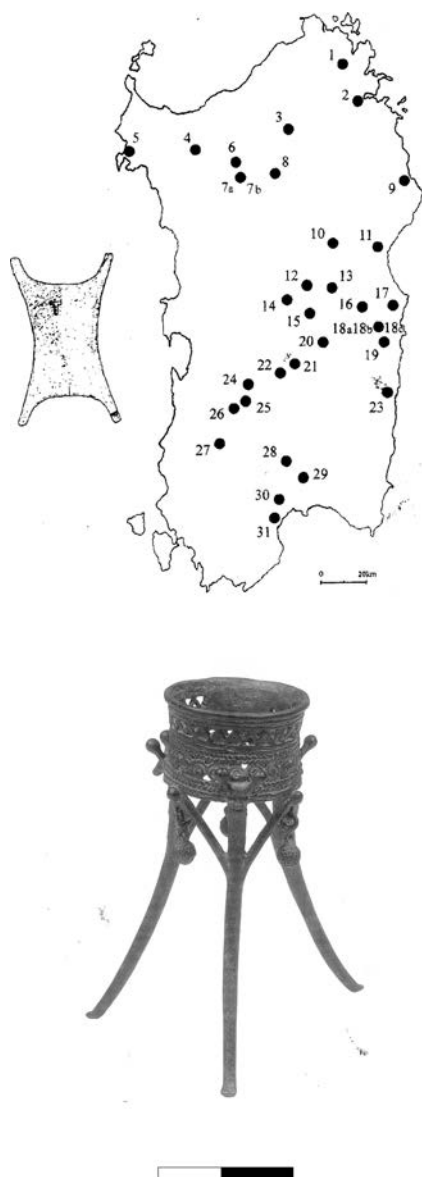


Figure 7.4 Finds of Cypriot-originating or Cypriot-type metal objects in Sardinia: (a) ingot distribution map (after F. Lo Schiavo, 2009. The central Mediterranean: Sardinia. In F. Lo Schiavo, J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin and A. Giumlia-Maier, eds., *Oxhide ingots in the central Mediterranean*. A. G. Leventis Foundation/CNR Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell'ege e del vicino oriente: 225–411: fig. 1). By permission of F. Lo Schiavo. (b) Miniature tripod stand from ritual cave site of Pirosu-Su Benatsu, near Cagliari (after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *PLOES: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: fig. 1; pl. 732). By permission of N. Stampolidis.

Dakoronia 1993; Evely 2006; Lemos 2007; Mazarakis Ainian 2007; Popham et al. 1980; Popham and Lemos 1996; van de Moortel and Zachou 2012). But as state-based systems of connection fell apart, outlooks in other Aegean regions diverged. For west Greece, Crete may now often have functioned as the bridge through which eastern contacts/goods were accessed. Some direct participation of local inhabitants in Levant-based travels to the central Mediterranean probably occurred here, nonetheless, given the combination of historic practice and positioning (see Cazzella 2009; Eder 1998; Jung and Mehofer 2008, [noting twelfth-century amber concentrations in the Veneto region and Kefallonia]). In the north Aegean, large polities had engaged in Balkan and Anatolian interactions in the later LBA, while maintaining trade links to south-central Aegean centres (Horejs 2007: 298–301). The region lacked the state-level organisation and direct east Mediterranean connections of the south-central Aegean zone, and thanks to this less-exposed political and economic structure, groups here seem to have suffered less directly from the upheavals in c. 1200 BC. The expansion of rewarding external interactions after this date is suggested at a number of continuing and new sites in the region from the twelfth century on (Wallace 2012a). The size and coastal positioning of sites like Mende, Torone and Alos (the latter with high concentrations of metals deposited in its cemetery) suggests the development/refocusing of important economic networks, especially in relation to metals, linking these communities with the coastal Anatolian and Balkan regions (see e.g. Cambitoglou et al. 2001; Malakasioti and Tsiouka 2012; Papadopoulos 2005b).

The iron technology developing in the central-south Aegean through this period seems most likely to have been learnt about and taken up through direct travel into Cyprus and the Near East by Aegean groups. There were few incentives for external groups to invest in primary smelting and *in situ* working of iron in the Aegean, and it was widely available in the ground and manageable/easily understood by experienced bronzesmiths. Both the limited scale of travel by Aegeans in the Levant and the fragmented economic and social structures in many Aegean regions help to explain the gradual nature of the uptake process: iron use was first concentrated in areas with relatively highly eastern contacts, and retained a prestige status in the Aegean for a fairly long period (Snodgrass 1971: 213–87). Limited Aegean procurement of raw copper/bronze/tin supplies may also be reflected in the high incidence of easternising prestige bronze imports, styles and techniques seen at this period – though the latter tendency also seems part of the wider trend in post-crisis social contexts to consume standard ‘internationalising’ styles of value object (discussed in Chapter 6).¹

Most exotic/value goods procured by Aegean groups in this period ended up in burials. Here, as in other areas of cultural life, social distinctions became notably flattened post-1200 BC, suggesting a limited social drive/support for the procurement of luxuries. In many areas, particularly the southern mainland, the rise of single cist burial is seen (Cavanagh and Mee: 89–98), while in Crete small family-group burial in modest tombs becomes

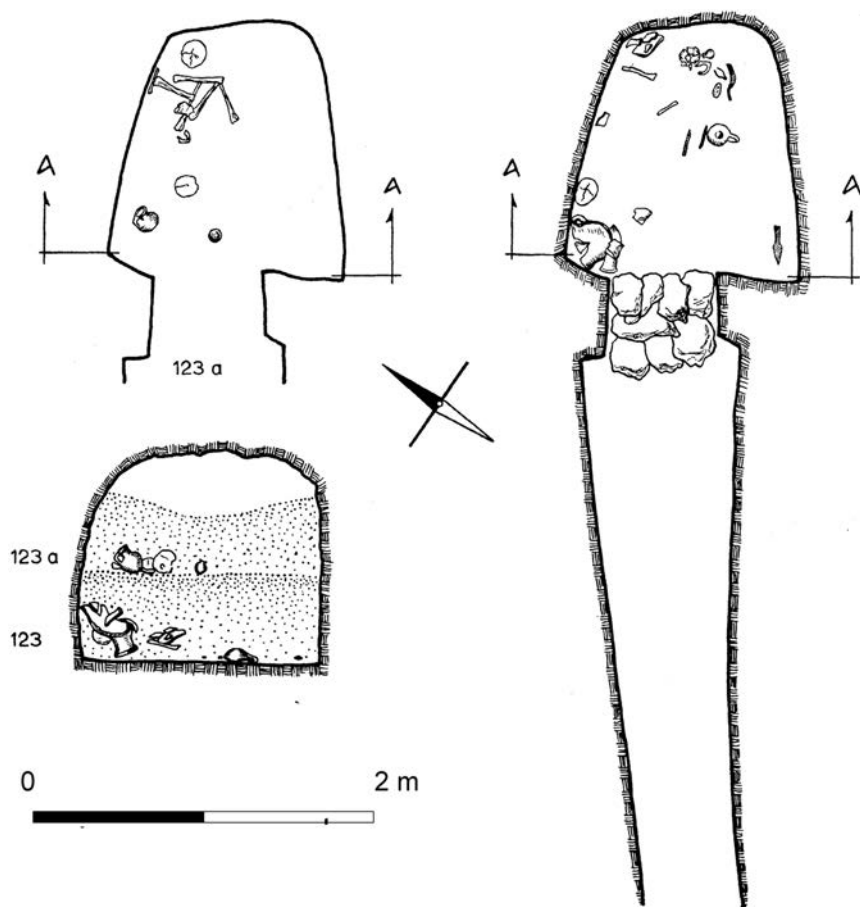


Figure 7.5 Individual cist grave burials of the post-collapse period, Perati: plan of tomb 123 (after S. Iakovidis, 1969. *Perati: to nekrotafeion*: Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens: fig. 140).

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a strong pattern (Figure 7.5). The adoption of cremation in many parts of the Aegean (paralleled in the Balkans/Anatolia and the Levant) from soon after the crisis, with increasing take-up through much of the Iron Age, seems to have been embedded within these new frameworks of social practice, which partly de-emphasised the permanent status or wealth of families (even though cremation shows some initial associations with wealthy/child burials; see Figures 7.6; 7.7; Agelerakis et al. 2001).²

Contexts for long-distance interaction by Aegean-based groups were changing by the tenth century BC – a period only recently recognised and

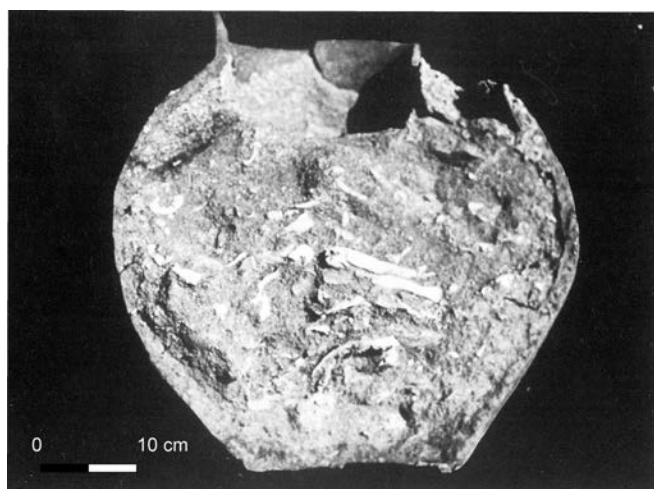


Figure 7.6 Early cremation at Perati: tomb 1, pit 1 (after S. Iakovidis, 1969. *Perati: to nekrotafeion*: Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens: pl. 166).

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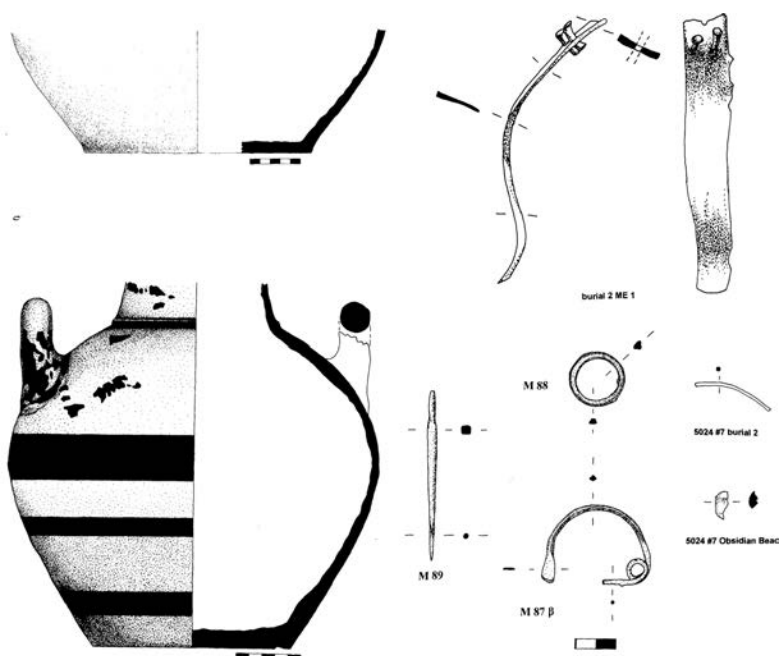


Figure 7.7 Twelfth/eleventh-century cremations at Atsipades, Crete (after A. Agelarakis, A. Kanta and J. A. Moody, 2001. Cremation burial in LM IIIC-Subminoan Crete and the cemetery at Pezoulou Atsipadhes. In N. Stampolidis, ed., *Praktika tou Symposiou 'Kauseis stin Epoxi tou Chalkou kai tin proimi epoxi toy sidirou'*, Rodos, 29 Aprilou-2 Maïou. Athens: Panepistimiou Kritis: 69-83; figs. 7-9).

Drawn by J. Morrison and A. Spiliotopoulou.

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explored as a social and economic turning point for the region (Erickson 2010: 315; Wallace 2010a: 231–325). We see exponential increases in the volume and range of eastern/easternising value goods consumed in some Aegean areas with established connections and high contact potential (especially Crete and the east mainland) as well as the beginning of new kinds of Aegean fine pottery export to the east, based from/through some of the same areas (Negbi 1992: 606; see Popham and Lemos 1996). The evidence – including the prior history of Aegean external interaction described above – suggests that we cannot simply explain these changes in terms of large numbers of new eastern immigrants in the Aegean, as some past models have done. It is difficult to ascribe a hierarchy to likely determining factors. However, in well-studied areas like Crete, we also see a new focus from about the same time on defining communities and territories as bigger political and economic units, and on related investment in subsistence surplus production (Wallace 2010b). The constraints imposed by post-crisis restructuring in the Aegean seem to have been increasingly lifted/challenged, though social and economic legacies from the collapse period still affected the ways in which new growth occurred. Above and in other work, I have noted a kind of levelling approach to social display in the twelfth- to eleventh-century Aegean (seen in architecture and cult as well as burial). As the regional economy changed and grew, this history conditioned the emergence of new kinds of broad-based institutions across social arenas including cult, dining and burial (see e.g. Morris 1987; de Polignac 1995; Wallace 2010a: 104–27; 267–325). Against this background, and that of the continuing 'internationalised' east Mediterranean trade in unguent- and wine-related vessels, an innovative tradition of fine ceramic production, with strong links into east Mediterranean styles and a focus on drinking wares as value goods, emerged in the Aegean by the tenth century. Its core was east central Greece, including Attica and Euboea, where large coastal settlements were clustered and where access to/consumption of east Mediterranean goods was high. It quickly affected local styles all over the Aegean region, suggesting there were growing volumes of interest/investment in intraregional movement and exchange. Symbolic rules governing consumption of the new fineware types (e.g. in burial) developed in the core production areas – forming part of the process of institutional development discussed above. However, the fact that these rules were variously and widely adapted as pottery travelled within the Aegean suggests that the region as a whole lacked strong, political or social cohesion (Coldstream 1996: 137).

By the end of the tenth century, the new kinds of Aegean fine wares were entering the Cypro-Levantine sphere as a prestige good, with some of the earliest examples found in Cyprus (Coldstream 1988; Crielaard 1999a; 1999b; Figure 7.8). Though it was rooted in the wealth-generation and contacts built up around the eastern import boom in the Aegean, the nature of the phenomenon indicates the still-marked cultural and social gap between the

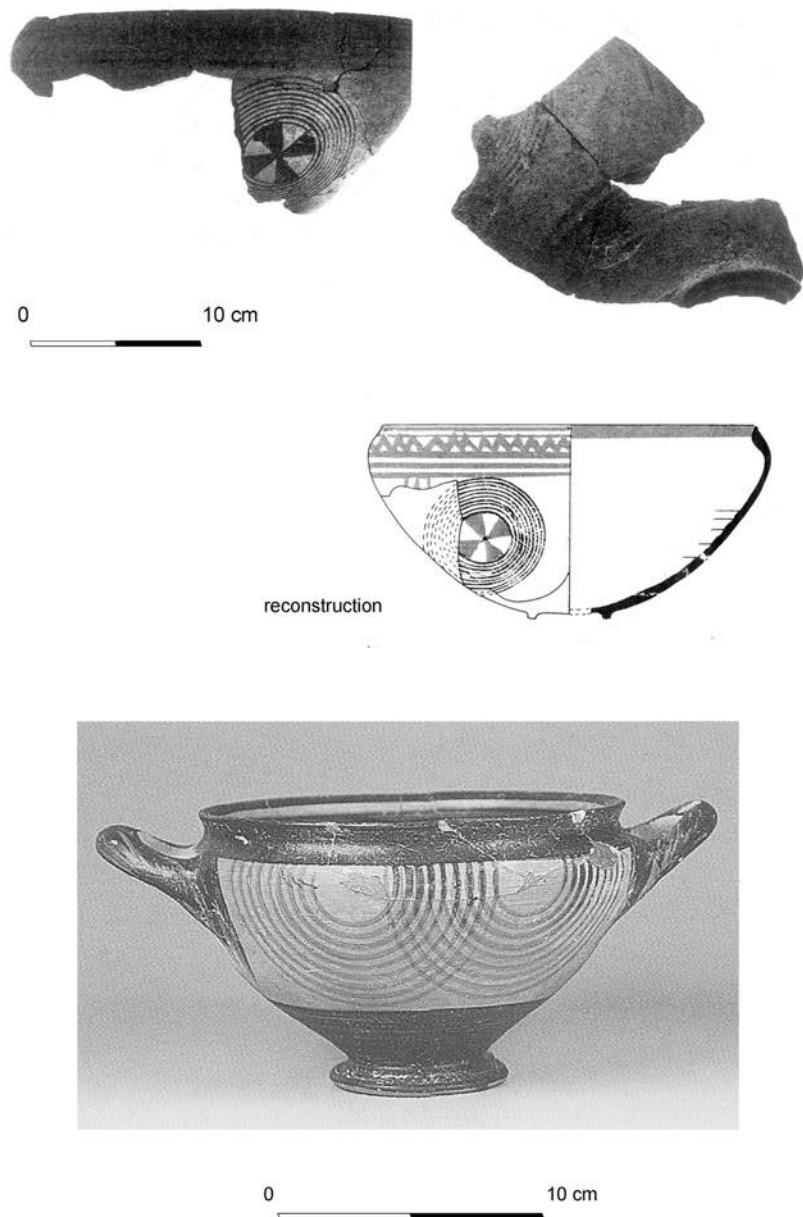


Figure 7.8 Aegean pottery imports of types dating as early as the tenth century BC: (a) Tel Hadar: PG lebes basin (after N. Coldstream, 1997. The first exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: who took the initiative? In S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, eds., *Mediterranean peoples in transition: thirteenth to early tenth centuries BC*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 353–60: pl. 1; fig. 1). By permission of Nicola Coldstream. (b) Amathus: pendent semicircle skyphos, Limassol Museum inv. LM 834/182 (after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *PLOES: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: pl. 359). By permission of N. Stampolidis.

Aegean and Levantine economic spheres. The amounts of pottery involved suggest limited access to/interest in Aegean goods, in a Mediterranean world where prestige definitions resided strongly in Levantine products.

Ethnic actors and Mediterranean growth from the tenth century on

Looked at in context, these changes do not seem to be best explained in terms either of Aegean groups' inherent special qualities (such as 'entrepreneurship') being given their head, *or* of a sudden decision by Cypriot and Levantine agent groups to exploit Aegean markets more intensively following a gap of two centuries (see Lemos 2003; Papadopoulos 1997; 2007; Ridgway 2000; 2006 for various nuances in the debate; Docter and Niemeyer 1994: 103 for general critique). Apart from anything else, clear contrasts between the structure of Aegean pottery exporting in the late LBA and in this period undermine ideas of 'inherent' Aegean abilities/outlooks on trade and travel. Wider regional history (including the Aegean collapse and the subsequent Aegean export gap, both helping to build the role and reach of Levant-based prestige/procurement systems) *and* recent local history (producing the emergence of multiple small and similar nucleated polities across the Aegean from about this time) now positioned Aegean painted pottery as distinctive *and* associated it with new institutions (including collective/ethnic identities) in ways which supported new forms of movement and trade.

Though manufacture of the new pottery styles seems restricted to the Aegean until the later eighth century, it is unlikely that transport of the pottery ever involved solely Aegean personnel, given the close engagement of long-distance travellers and traders based in the east around Aegean coasts during the whole period. At the same time, as new kinds of social complexity developed in the Aegean and beyond, a new crystallisation of regional social/ethnic identities, and a growth in their economic valency, was occurring, in which 'Aegeanness' and ultimately 'Greekness' were to become important. Aegean pottery exports to the east often circulated as a minority product at first, alongside other fine vessels for drinking and unguents. In tenth- to eighth-century Cyprus, for example, the quantity of Aegean-made fine wares contrasts markedly with the volume and consumption context of imports from the adjacent Phoenician coast, and their local imitations (Rupp 2005). Evidence for growth in the reach and volume of Aegean exports to the east appears by the late ninth century. At Al Mina on the Syrian coast (excavated in the 1930s and now recognised as one of many local sites with similar new features) Cypriot, Phoenician and Aegean (including many Euboean) pottery imports appear alongside local products in levels associated with an expansion of the site. Boardman (1999a: 143; 2002b) describes Aegean drinking cups as 'dominant', though no quantification is available. Imports – mainly in the form of open drinking vessels – generally became increasingly concentrated here through the second quarter/end of the eighth century. Aegean

examples came mostly from the core manufacturing/innovation region of the eastern mainland. Though the relevant levels are only partly preserved, these finds have often led the site to be interpreted as a port founded in direct connection with the Aegean fine pottery trade – indeed as a 'Greek' or even specifically 'Euboean' 'foundation'/colony (Boardman 2002a: 36; 2002b; Coldstream 1998: 354; Dominguez 2006a; 2012: 208–10; Luke 2003 for critique). Yet from about 720 BC, when large built structures first become evident in the excavated sector of the site, local and imported Levantine pottery forms dominate the assemblage. The town never claimed a history/identity as 'Greek', as many settlements in the central Mediterranean and west Anatolia did during the following century. Its residents/users from the ninth century onwards did surely include people of Aegean origin, but there is no evidence that they were ever numerically or politically dominant, or that their ways of life/ideology were especially well-embedded here. Indeed, the wider context suggests this is unlikely. Coldstream notes evidence of locally-specific demand for certain Aegean import forms (e.g. plates) in nearby coastal polities like Tyre, contrasting sharply with preferences in the contemporary Aegean itself.

A pervasive scholarly focus on ethnic agency in movement and related settlement in the later EIA seen in the Al Mina and other cases, ties into Classical archaeology's interest in 'Greeks' abroad in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (Papadopoulos 1997; 2007). Work on this subject has been heavily influenced by the very high profile of the 'foundation' concept, and of ethnicity, as explanatory tropes in ancient Greek text traditions – a feature already explored in Chapter 6 and addressed further below (Dougherty and Kurke 2003; Finkelberg 2005: 180; Malkin 1987; 1998; 2002a; 2009; 2011: 8). The perspectives of late imperialism and culture-history have further affected the discourse. The nature and location of the Al Mina assemblage seem most valuable in illustrating Aegean groups' newly sophisticated, and direct, targeting of a large external market. The scale of production involved required considerable organisation at the Aegean end (and there is no reason to suppose that that production was not under local Aegean control), while the process of travel and exchange was clearly heavily entwined from the beginning with the activities of other east Mediterranean systems/groups. Readiness to pursue such strategies clearly did not emerge in the Aegean out of the blue, but developed via unequal engagement with a variety of eastern contacts in the twelfth to ninth centuries. Thus, reifying agency in the changes at Al Mina as either 'Greek' or 'Levantine' is actually of limited use in explaining the generally transformed (and in some cases transformative) nature of Aegean-linked movement from this period.

The new scales and types of Aegean exports from the tenth century on clearly helped to change perceptions of Aegean inhabitants as a cultural, economic and political entity both at home and abroad.³ In its local social context, and in an already-volatile east Mediterranean trade sphere characterised by multiple small-polity players, the growth in Aegean-based exports

and related travel enhanced concerns with identity at state/polity level. Various and overlapping kinds of reference to the cultural past (including both the crisis period and the Late Bronze Age) in the interests of cohering Aegean communities can be identified in textual and archaeological contexts by the late eighth century (see e.g. Antonaccio 1995; Wallace 2003; 2010a: 278–82; 320–7; 384–91; Morris 2000: Chapter 4; Osborne 2012: 26–7). This phenomenon seems connected to the shared, deep-impact history of state collapse across the Aegean region c. 1200 BC, including the subsequent strong degree of social change. As opportunities for economic and political competition increased by 700 BC a high value came to be placed across Aegean societies on notional collective descent as a social bond and buffer. Such references informed and were supported by various cultural forms, including public drinking/feasting involving objects with resonant 'historical' associations. By the early seventh century, if not earlier, Aegean-based and other text traditions were explicitly justifying and explaining contemporary political actions/identities in terms of group descent, including through the trope of polity origination/foundation by specific 'ancestor' individuals or groups, often in a context of heroic conflict/conquest (Malkin 1998; 2002a; 2009; 2011: 8).

We cannot escape from this ancient ethnicity-centred discourse in considering Aegean-based and other long-distance movement in this period: I will return to it repeatedly in the discussion below. We need to be aware of its ramifications when reviewing models which cite inherent ethnic qualities or patterns to straightforwardly explain long-distance movement and related cultural impacts associated with Aegeans in the later EIA. One example is the idea of extensive 'Greek' settlement foundation in west Anatolia and the north Aegean between the tenth and seventh centuries, based on literal readings of ancient texts, including those dealing with 'the Ionians', and on culture-historical approaches to archaeological data. Only recently has this model been deconstructed in any depth (Boardman 2001: 35; Cook 1946; 1958; 1975; 1982; Cook and Nicholls 1998; for critiques see Crielaard 2010; Herda 2009: 83–4; Papadopoulos 1999; 2005b; MacSweeney 2009; 2013). Parallels with central Aegean practice in many aspects of west Anatolian culture were evident by the early Archaic period; traditions of Ionian descent and conscious dialect links to east Greece were prominent, and highly valued, at the same period. Some important polities in the region clearly had a state structure paralleling forms in the central Aegean, used Greek as their main written language, and identified themselves as linked to particular polities within central Greece. As central Aegean communities reaped increasing economic rewards and consolidated their political standing via the export trade in fine pottery, coastal Anatolian groups took part in similar activities, exporting closely similar (though regionally characteristic) pottery forms to a variety of overseas markets (Figure 7.9).



Figure 7.9 Export traditions from coastal Anatolian polities: late seventh-century Ionian kylix found at Carthage (after B. d'Agostino, 1996. The impact of the Greek colonies on the indigenous peoples of Campania. In G. C. Carratelli, *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 109–116: fig. 318).

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As in the Al Mina case, acceptance of 'Greek colonisation' as a generic kind of Early Iron Age movement process has fed assumptions that mass migration from the central Aegean to the west Anatolian region early in the period directly caused these developments. Yet assuming direct take-over/colonial-type movement is problematic in the wider archaeological and historical context. In Chapter 5 I noted the contested, fluctuating incorporation of various parts of coastal Anatolia's population within late LBA Aegean cultural and political networks. In this context, the Greek language seems likely to have been widely familiar in the west Anatolian region, and spoken by a number of its inhabitants (though no polity ever became part of the Linear B-using Aegean bloc). Indications of continuing strong endemic contacts, travel and residence in west Anatolian zone by south/central Aegean inhabitants appear throughout the post-crisis period. Yet the wider political and social environment here contrasted notably with that of the south/central Aegean by the late EIA. Movement in either direction, however well-embedded, had *not* produced parallel or replica social systems. The post-crisis context of early social levelling, one-sided exposure to eastern exotica and the emergence of distinctive, inclusively-based political institutions during economic expansion seems to have been largely specific to the south/central Aegean. In coastal Anatolia, the presence of LBA vassal/client state structures seems to have allowed the operation of many existing large polities as individual ruled territories through the crisis. In conjunction with relatively high continuing levels of access to Levantine and west Asian value goods, the consistent focus on (kin-type) group burial seen in this region (as in Crete and parts of the north-east Aegean), from the twelfth

century onwards suggests that individual prestige consumption had limited political force (Malakasioti and Tsiouka 2012; Mariaud 2012). Perhaps as a result, the kind of strong institutional buffering seen in many south/central Aegean regions rarely arose.

In this light, the 'Greek'-aligned political structures and traditions seen in western Anatolia by the eighth century seem better considered in the context of Aegean/east Mediterranean growth and movement in the later EIA than that of directly transformative mass settlement from the Aegean at any preceding point. The area offered perfect conditions (history, stability, size, connections, positioning) for multiple parties to take a role in and build on the growing fineware export trade centred on the east Aegean mainland (Greaves 2011b: 503; Tsetskhladze 2002). Valuable longer-range interconnections – e.g. with wealthy inland Anatolian kingdoms and with Levantine and Egyptian contact routes beyond the Phoenician/Cypriot sphere – could be accessed by inhabitants of the south/central Aegean through this zone. The value of such connections is visible in the wealth deposited at the major sanctuary on Samos (embodied in artefacts with a broad range of origins) and in the strong coastal Anatolian connections of the Aegean-type pottery found at the trade-specialised site of Naukratis in Egypt in the seventh century. It is also hinted at in later Greek traditions of Ionian polities as exceptionally wealthy. The long-term embeddedness of large, important, rich and historically well-established groups *not* identifying as Greek in this the region are reflected in Archaic sanctuaries of the local goddess Cybele, alongside Lydian-type burial monuments, at the 'Ionian' *polis* of Phokaia (Brize 1997; Crielaard 2010: 66; Greaves 2009: 97–9; 2011b: 505–10; Malkin 2011: 58–9). The *Iliad* mentions a tradition of 'Carians' inhabiting Miletus, another place identified by the Archaic period as an 'Ionian' Greek polity: ongoing ethnic diversity here was clearly embedded in high-profile, formal ways, such as the Carian-language inscriptions at the associated Didyma sanctuary in the sixth century (MacSweeney 2013: 65–6). Diverse traditions of ethnic origin operating alongside the Ionian tradition in the region are notable in various early texts (Crielaard 2010: 45; 57). Cook and Nicholls (1998) note long-term Lydian political and cultural involvement in the coastal polity of Smyrna. Notwithstanding its very long-rooted and high-level cultural links to the south/central Aegean, including participation in the Olympic games, this polity, like a number of others in west Anatolia with close links to south/central Aegean culture, never aligned itself with the 'Ionian' Greek identity, making the notion that Aegean settlement had produced straightforward, congruent cultural and political transformations here at any point in the Iron Age even more unwieldy.⁴

If simple models of entrepreneurial/colonising Aegean movement seem of limited value to explain developments in the east, how far can we link socioeconomic change in the Aegean during the same period with direct intervention/settlement by *easterners*? Some models have explained

the sociocultural shifts of the tenth to eighth centuries in the Aegean by interpreting the growing uptake of eastern-type value items in terms of specialised colonies/enclaves, set up by Levantine groups of settlers/craftsmen to enable onward commodity trade westwards (Brock 1957: 143; Boardman 1961: 128–59; 1967: 63; Coldstream 1984a; 1996: 408–9).⁵ As with models of Aegean colonisation in the east, aspects of these accounts recall recent colonial discourse in polarising incomers and natives, but also draw on the assumptions of traditional Classical archaeology by attaching special values to 'Greeks' – even when the latter are seen as the colonised group (Malkin 2004: 348). For example, Coldstream's view of Phoenician 'colonists' in the later Iron Age Aegean assumes their eagerness to marry into native families at high level, with 'Greeks' naturally acceptable as equal partners. Yet he does not apply this model to contemporary Greek-native relationships in the west, discussed below (Coldstream 1993; 1998; 2007).

Contextual consideration of the Aegean shows that it was *not* well-equipped at this time to become a client or colony region for Levantine groups. The development of distinctive, strongly ethnically- and historically-rooted Aegean social institutions, and their deep entwinement with cultural production and consumption, by the eighth century would make such relationships difficult to control (notably, easterners are explicitly defined against 'Greeks' in texts from Homer onwards: see Sherratt 1996; 2009). This is notwithstanding, and relates to, the evident and continuing Aegean interest in adapting easternising imagery/techniques across many areas of prestige consumption, in ways which suggest regular, multi-sited encounters with eastern production contexts and specialists. Recent reviews/updates of previously-cited evidence for eastern colonists/enclaves in the significant manufacture and trade of Cypro-Levantine unguent vessels in ninth- to eighth-century Crete highlight diverse, multi-centred local production and trade in these items, rather than a highly controlled 'factory' set-up (Kotsonas 2012; 2013: 244–6; Santaniello 2013; Figure 7.10). Phoenician-type cult facilities and practices in Aegean settings, as in the well-known case of a tripillar shrine at Kommos (Shaw and Shaw 2000: 14–21) are increasingly readable in the general context of prestige attached to eastern imports, practices and personal contacts at this time, rather than as direct eastern implantations. Again, recent evidence illuminates the picture: the discovery of a tripillar shrine similar to the Kommos one at the inland Cretan polity of Prinias (with its long Iron Age history going back to the crisis and relocation period c. 1200 BC) argues against the straightforward modelling of these features mainly as service points for Phoenician traders/settlers (Palermo in press; Figure 7.11).

In all this, the settled, integrated presence of easterners in trade-/travel-active parts of the Aegean is not in doubt, given evidence like the entirely innovative Phoenician-type *cippi* (burial markers) used in some Cretan burials of the later EIA (Kourou 1991; Kourou and Karetsou 1998; Stampolidis



Figure 7.10 Levantine-type goods in the Aegean, previously seen as signifying large-scale/exploitative settlement of easterners there: (a) Lekythos: Cretan or Dodecanesian manufacture, Cypriot Black-on-Red style (Eleutherna cemetery); (b) imported Black-on-Red juglet (Ialysos cemetery, Rhodes, tomb 82); (c) imitation of Black-on-Red oinochoe (Camiros cemetery, Rhodes); (d) imitation of Black-on-Red juglets (Ialysos cemeteries, Rhodes) (after G. Bourogiannis, 2009. Eastern influence on Rhoduian geometric pottery. In V. Karageorghis and E. Kouka, *Cyprus and the east Aegean: intercultural contacts from 3000–500 BC*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation: 114–28: figs. 1–4).

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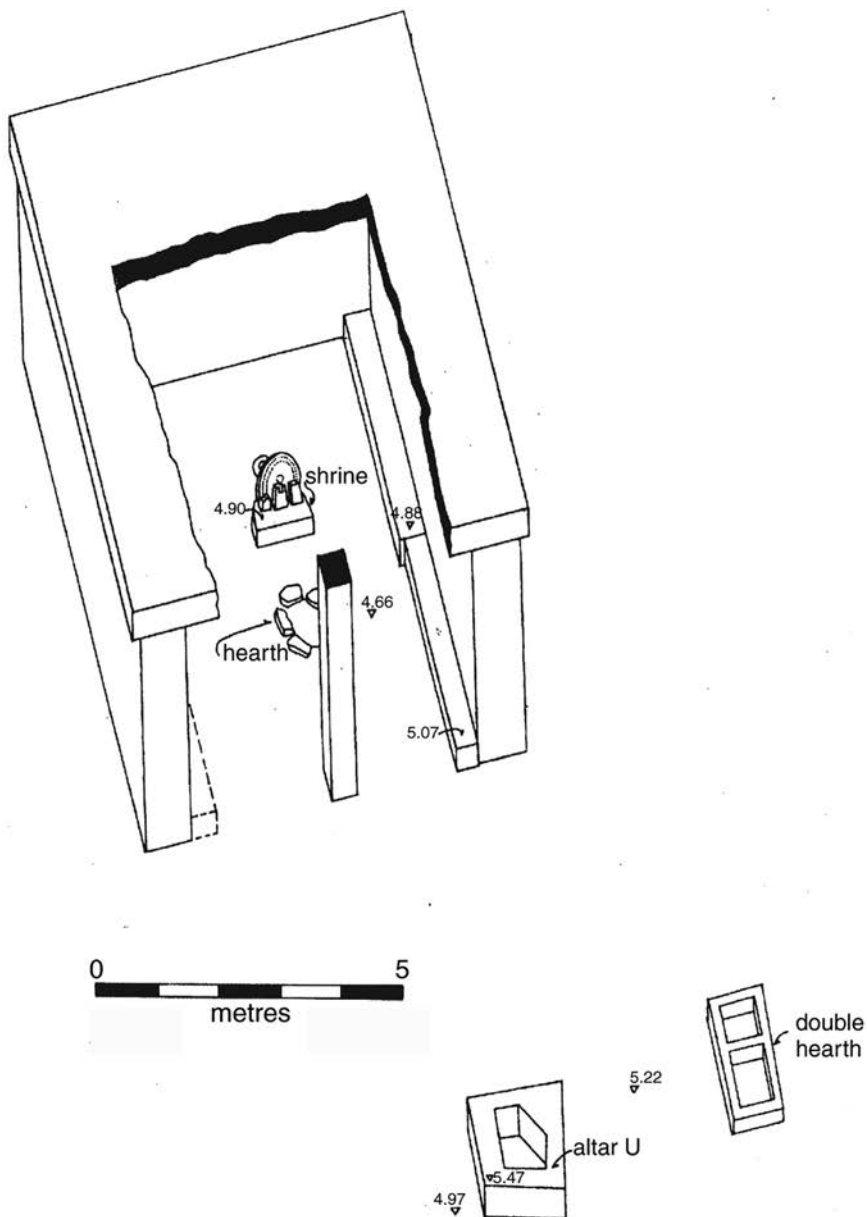


Figure 7.11 Tripillar shrine at Kommos: reconstruction (after J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, 2000. *Kommos IV. The Greek sanctuary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: pl. 1.31).

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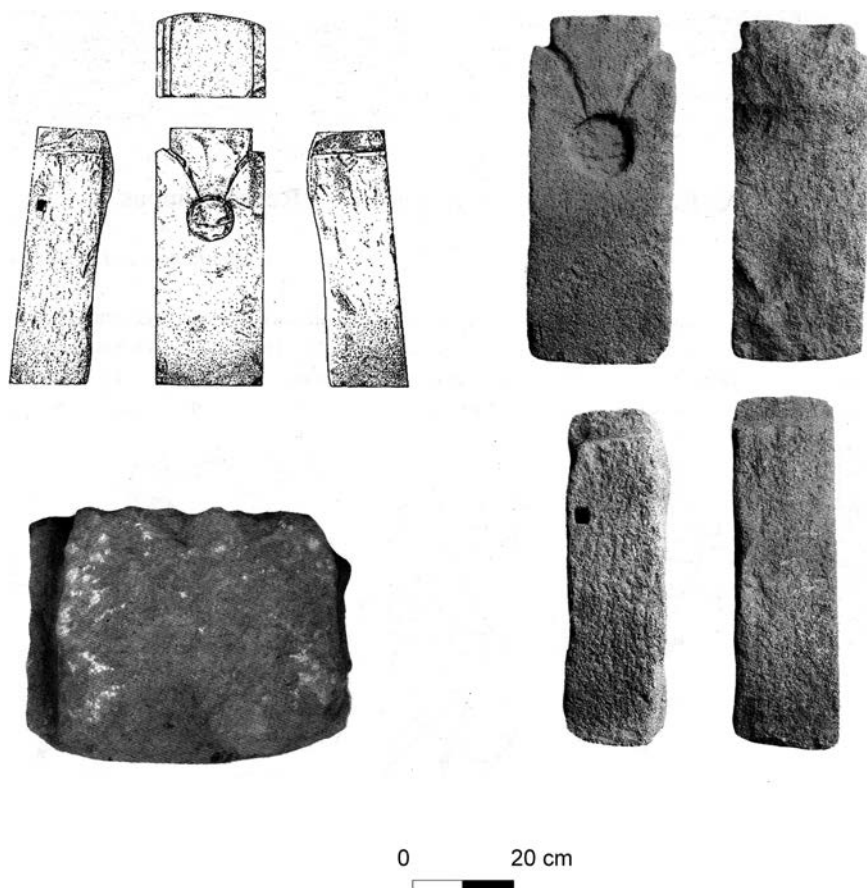


Figure 7.12 Phoenician-type grave monuments (cippi): Knossos Atsalenio cippus, front, rear and side views (after N. Kourou and A. Karetsoy, 1998. An enigmatic stone from Knossos. A re-used cippus? In V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis, eds., *Proceedings of the international symposium 'Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th–6th c. B.C.'*, Rethymnon, 13–16 May 1997. Athens: University of Crete/A. G. Leventis Foundation: 243–55: figs. 3–6).

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2003; Figure 7.12). But existing models need refining. Significantly, those ascribing a transformative role to eastern settlers in the later EIA Aegean have tended to under-examine the complex nature of earlier changes in contact/consumption systems, including locally-based economic growth and related sociopolitical change from the tenth century in the Aegean, highlighted by recently gathered data (see Sjögren 2010: 94–100 for critique).

Given the high political resonance for ethnicity and its economic context of definition in the late EIA Mediterranean, I argue that much previous ethnically-based reification/attribution of large scale/transformational movements (citing Levantine or Aegean 'leaders', 'colonists', 'entrepreneurs', 'commercial partners' or 'mercenaries')⁶ seems of limited explanatory value and lacks contextual depth. What we do see at this time is evidence of increased control over/newly-complex investment in the supply and consumption of added-value commodities in many parts of the Mediterranean through a variety of institutional means, including ethnic attachments. The region was becoming newly- and complexly-bounded, with long-distance movement and interaction being framed in new political ways. Sociocultural change in this period was closely linked both to increased movement, and to the ethnic associations of that movement. But the nature and effect of movement itself was rooted in specific and diverse regional social contexts, rather than inherent ethnic attributes. For all those engaged in long-distance travel, conceptions of their 'own' identity and culture, and their relationships, were changing in contingent, partly uncontrollable – but highly self-conscious – ways.

'Colonisation' in the eighth- to sixth-century central Mediterranean: introduction

Aegean-based movement in this period, showing intensive, transformational characteristics often encapsulated in the term 'colonisation', has an especially long tradition of scholarship, and a consequently heavy weight of interpretative assumptions. It has been self-consciously reconsidered to a sophisticated degree in the context of recent reflexive/postcolonial approaches in archaeology. Purcell, a pioneer of Mediterraneanist perspectives for this period has called 'colonisation' a 'category in crisis' (2005); Osborne (1998: 268–9) advocates the term's removal from the literature as imprecise and abused. The impact of recent colonial discourses on scholarly ideas about Aegean travel at this period is now being regularly highlighted (Antonaccio 2005: 101–2; Darwin 2011; Hodos 2006; 2010; 2012: 248; Malkin 2004; Njiboer 2011; Shepherd 2005a; 2009; Snodgrass 1994; 2005; Sommer 2011; van Dommelen 1997; 2012; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012). Linked as they are into culture-historical modes within Classical and Mediterranean archaeology generally, the legacies of such discourses are not restricted to the Anglo-Saxon world (*contra* Greco 2011: 233; Tsetskhladze and Hargrave 2011: 162). Evidence for intensive consumption of/involvement with a range of Aegean-type cultural objects, practices and identities in the central Mediterranean during the eighth to sixth centuries is still broadly accepted as reflecting large-scale population movement from the Aegean (and has even been used as a baseline reference in studies of other ancient/historical population movements (e.g. Demand 2011: xi–i; 220–56; Gosden 2004: 70–2; Yasur-Landau 2010: 23–4; 100). But the reified, straightforward use of terms like 'colony' or 'colonists' in association with the phenomenon has

latterly been dropped. The potentially more neutral 'colonisation' can still potentially be used to describe various different scenarios and processes of movement/impact within the same period. However, scholars using it – even when rejecting direct analogies with recent colonial practice – often tend to draw heavily on the 'ethnic foundation' trope current in the eighth- to sixth-century Mediterranean (and especially well-represented in Greek texts) to explain or retroject economic and political links over distance. To allow a clearer approach, I will here entirely avoid the use of the term 'colonisation' to describe the intensity and spread of eastern-linked cultural uptake, settlement and political identification in the central and west Mediterranean at this period (see Hodos 2006: 22; Sommer 2011: 189).

My main focus is on the rapid uptake of large volumes of Aegean-made goods in eighth- to sixth-century south Italy – occurring alongside wider shifts in cultural forms in this region, including formal claims to 'Greek' identity/origin by a large number of developing coastal polities (for overviews, see Boardman 1999c; Descoeudres 1990; Graham 1982; 1983). I show how these changes relate to increasing numbers of permanent Aegean settlers in the region, and to the establishment of strong movement networks back to the Aegean (Malkin 2011: 62–4). However, I stress that though Archaic and Classical texts treat this phenomenon as involving deliberate, structured and politicised Aegean-based settlement from the outset, a contextual and historical treatment of the evidence suggests that its main roots lie in intensifying movement and exchange activity in the west by people from the eastern Mediterranean *as a whole*, with an uneven, unpredictable diversity of forms and outcomes (see e.g. Frankenstein 1979; Greco 2011: 235; van Dommelen 2005: 121; Yntema 2011). I show how, as ethnicity emerged as a major political institution and instrument across the east Mediterranean region, movement in all directions carried increasing ethnic weight, pushing stronger cultural and political distinctions between moving groups, and affecting encounters with receiving communities. Local cultural experiences of and engagement with the moving groups and relationships between the latter, are likely to have been complex and variable, but have only recently started to be investigated, including through the concept (rooted in postcolonial studies) of a 'middle ground' in interaction – i.e. new outlooks and lifestyles developing *through* the process of movement/encounter itself, rather than as straightforward cultural implants or transfers (Antonaccio 2003; 2013; Bhabha 2005; Malkin 2004; Smith 2011: 322–3). The uptake of eastern Mediterranean goods and practices *generally* was highly symbolically resonant in the central/west Mediterranean area at this time, in ways often separate from its context of original manufacture/reference. We thus need to look not only at how eastern material objects functioned in the context of central Mediterranean groups' encounters with the travellers generating or owning them, but how such objects 'acted', by their own nature and through various other kinds of association, to change local context and practice – i.e. to consider object agency again

(van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012). In this perspective, attempts to make direct correlations between quantities of specific new goods/practices in south Italy and specific ethnic groups 'leading' movement and straightforwardly determining related change are obviously problematic (Boardman 2001: 38; Sanchez 2007).

My approach here will be to look at a range of central Mediterranean sites and regions during the eighth to sixth centuries, under loosely themed/targeted headings intended to explore different aspects of the nature and impact of Aegean-linked movement over time, rather than to build a tight chronological narrative. I adopt this approach partly because of the very high volume of relevant data, but also in order to challenge past tendencies to divide the cultural material *a priori* into 'precolonial' and 'postcolonial' types, forcing an evolutionary and teleological approach to movement's impact (Ridgway 2006: 7).⁷ Attention to the earliest evidence of Aegean-linked western movements/encounters with in this period is nevertheless an obvious place to begin. I will first address a site where east Mediterranean/Aegean-based movement and settlement has been documented as especially early and intensive, demonstrably affected local economic and sociocultural practice, and yet occurred outside the frame of formalised 'Greekness' or 'stateness' – and had no direct trajectory towards this outcome. This gives us a chance to look at how high levels of eastern movement operated in the central Mediterranean during the later Iron Age without the assumptions often attached to analysis of the self-identified 'Greek' polities in south Italy in the seventh to sixth centuries BC.

Aegeans and others in central Mediterranean encounters

Export-linked economic growth in the Aegean, discussed above, was clearly a major factor in the intensified trade and settlement seen in the central Mediterranean by the late eighth century. The multi-linearity of east Mediterranean-based travel and trade, and the (related) new general resonance for ethnic identity, were also highly relevant. Recent history was important. Cypriot/Levantine groups had regularly travelled west, with notable economic impact, in the centuries after 1200 BC, reaching south Iberia regularly by the ninth. Older Aegean-linked contact routes, focused on the south Italian area, were clearly important in structuring these trips and their reception: some Aegeans almost certainly participated, as I have noted above (Boardman 2001: 35; 2002a: 2). The ethnic makeup of the travelling groups seems likely to have been a minor issue for receiving communities in the central Mediterranean at this time, especially given the complex cultural linkages and power balances existing across the contemporary east Mediterranean value goods sphere. With regard to crewing and supporting the trips, too, participants' origins seem likely to have been less important than their levels of economic security/resourcing, travel knowledge, and production/procurement experience.

As the Aegean pottery trade in the east Mediterranean developed in the tenth through ninth centuries, feeding back into a growing scale of production and investment at home and building contacts in the east, the volume of Aegean residents involved in such trips to the west (e.g. through major ports on east–west routes, like Kommos) was surely boosted. However, the very small individual quantities of Aegean pottery imports in the west around this time suggest that such travel was unlikely to have moved suddenly, consistently or completely onto a ‘independent’/exclusive scale for Aegean-based actors (Figure 7.13). Rather, higher volumes of Aegean inhabitants probably now travelled more widely, more frequently and for extended periods – but probably often still as part of mixed-participant voyages backed by Cypro-Levantine wealth, trading Aegean fine pottery among other value goods. Proximate geography seems to have been a factor in this context. Some of the earliest known EIA Aegean pottery imports to the west (dating at the end of the ninth century) appear in the Otranto area of south Italy, opposite Kefallonia, and were manufactured in a central Aegean region which was already well-established in the east Mediterranean pottery trade – Corinth. In south Sicily, the earliest Aegean pottery of this period also dates to the ninth century – much of it coming from the



Figure 7.13 Early Aegean pottery imports in the central and west Mediterranean likely to have travelled on Cyprus- or Levant-based voyages: SOS amphora, Malaga, eighth–seventh century BC (after V. Tusa, 1988. Sicily. In S. Moscati, ed., *The Phenicians*. Milan: Bompiani: 28–37: fig. 347).

same 'hot zone' of pottery export, on the east/central Aegean mainland. By the mid-eighth century, pottery made on the east mainland also arrived on Sardinia (being consumed there as a prestige good, alongside Phoenician imports; Sardinian vessels were also taken/traded to the Aegean as luxuries: Figure 7.14). The same kind of product appeared at about the same time (again in small quantities) in large Phoenicianising value good assemblages in south Spain, but did not subsequently take off in consumption there the ways seen in south Italy. I will explore this kind of evidence for regional contrasts in the impact of Aegean-linked western travel below (see d'Agostino 2006; de Angelis 1998: 23; González de Canales et al. 2006; Ridgway 1992). High-level local exchange networks are likely to have helped to distribute such items within the central Mediterranean. We know these networks tied into long-distance wealth systems reaching into and through the Aegean; for example, high-value metal items from the Tyrrhenian coast, Sardinia and Sicily appear in prestigious, widely-connected Aegean contexts like the sanctuary at Olympia from the early eighth century (Albanese Procelli 1993; d'Agostino 2006: 203–4; Morgan 1990; 2009: 17; Snodgrass 1971: 279–81). Local copper ingots in Phoenician amphoras, found alongside Aegean fine wares at Sant'Imbenia on Sardinia during the latter part of the century, suggest the importance of prestigious interregional movement networks in moving local metals about within the region, as well as outside it (Ridgway 2007: 145).

Aegean-based participants on increasingly common western trips are likely to have engaged in consumption and display practices tied to emerging



Figure 7.14 Evidence of eastern-based routes west through the Aegean: Sardinian askos, eighth century BC, from the Knossos Tekke cemetery (after D. Kypraiou, ed., 2000. *Kriti-Aigyplos. Politismikoi desmoi ton xilieton*. Athens: Ministry of Culture: fig. 567).

Aegean social institutions, using the distinctive exported Aegean pottery. Such practice, alongside a greater role for Aegean-based groups in planning and resourcing western trade trips, seems to have helped stoke recognition of emergently-conscious 'Greek' ethnicity and culture as distinct, and value-linked, in parts of the central Mediterranean. Though eastern luxury goods *in general* seem to have defined exotic prestige for residents here, there are signs that direct contact with people rooted in Aegean culture were important to the way Aegean practices and materials were seen and taken up in this context. Reading and writing Greek, and familiarity with Greek oral traditions, seem to have been potent and valued features from early on in the process (Hodos 2006: 89–157). At the same time, experiences around interaction had nuanced and unpredictable effects, reflecting specific strategies and outlooks by the diverse players in movement.

To illustrate the above points, I will use the case of Pithekoussai, a settlement with cemeteries on eastern Ischia (an island off the western Italian coast in the Bay of Naples). The site shows evidence for strong eastern contacts (including a concentrated degree of Aegean/Aegean-routed goods/practices) and related strong economic growth in the late eighth century (Figures 7.15; 7.16). The first Aegean-made fine wares at the site date to the latest ninth century, and these wares became very numerous by the end of

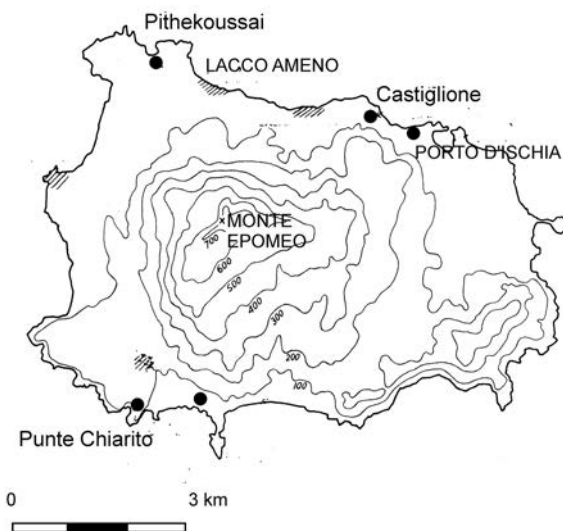


Figure 7.15 Pithekoussai: topography, ancient sites (dots) and modern settlements (hatched lines/capitals), (after J. N. Coldstream, 1994. *Prospectors and pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and central Italy*. In G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. de Angelis, eds., 1994. *The archaeology of Greek colonisation: essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: fig. 4.1).

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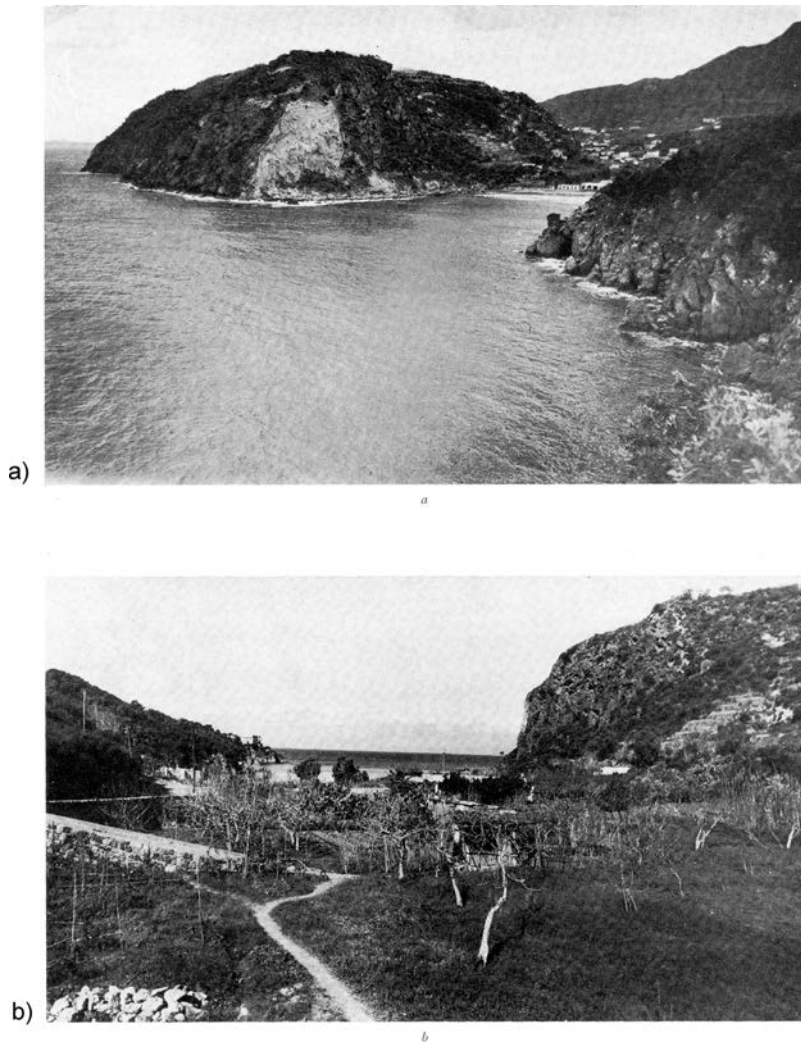


Figure 7.16 Pithekoussai: (a) view of the Acropolis and Valle di San Montano cemetery locations, from W; (b) view of Valle di San Montano cemetery location, from E (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai* I. Rome: Bretschneider: pl. II).

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the eighth. Like many other early Aegean imports in Italy, many came from Euboea or had stylistic relationships to Euboean forms. Yet they show clear adaptations for local consumption, notably in the repeated heavy copying of current Corinth-based styles (Coldstream 1995: 267). Like most other central Mediterranean locations with early uptake of Aegean goods, the Pithekoussai site was neither isolated, nor on virgin territory. A smaller pre-existing

settlement showing a similar range of contacts in the latest Iron Age – not necessarily all channelled through Pithekoussai – is known on the south coast of Ischia at Punta Chiarito (Alecú 2004; De Caro and Gialanella 1998). The Pithekoussai site is, however, distinguished by both its very intensive growth in the eighth century BC and by its detailed stratigraphic excavation (focused mainly on the cemetery). In combination, these factors offer a crucial snapshot of the early growth period of Aegean movement in south Italy. Notably, despite its strong cultural connections to the Aegean, the settlement never developed as a state-level polity or made any formal claim to a 'Greek' identity (as many south Italian coastal sites with similar histories did by the early seventh century). One of the latter, the inhabitants of which later cited links to Pithekoussai's known history of external connection to bolster their state's 'Greek' identity/history (Livy 8.22.5–6) was located on the neighbouring mainland at Cumae – a local settlement centre from Neolithic times (d'Agostino 2009; 2011: 221). This combination of facts has often led scholars to treat Pithekoussai as a direct 'precursor'/pioneer settlement for Aegean colonising agents in south Italy (e.g. d'Agostino 2006: 219; Tandy 1997: 62–78), but the situation is evidently more complicated. I will focus here on how the Pithekoussai site, when reviewed *in its own terms and context*, illuminates the experience and impact of various new kinds levels of eastern-linked movement in the central Mediterranean.

The complexity of political and economic structure seen at the site is new to south Italy in this period. No single highly-consolidated elite group is identifiable, but complex wealth differentiation, using a wide mixture of new/exotic goods and practices, appears in the burial record. Scholarly perspectives in exploring the latter have been largely culture-historical, with individual objects and assemblages seen as directly representing the origins and allegiances of the inhabitants. In a context of wider assumptions about 'Greek colonisation' as a process, the presence of imported Aegean finewares in burials has been treated as evidence for the site's 'foundation' not just by Aegeans, but specifically 'Euboeans'. This assumption is based on the provenance of many of the Aegean imports at the site from this highly active manufacturing area and travel base. The Pithekoussai cemeteries also show various other kinds of differentiative practice new for the region – new kinds of pit and jar burial types, the use of cremation, and the use of specific inhumation practices for children (Figure 7.17). There is significant deposition of wealth in the form of easternising bronzework, alongside locally-established bronze and iron forms: many metal objects were clearly made at the site, of locally-sourced metal: Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Ridgway 1992; 2000: 185–6). The prestigious status in the community of both Greek (Euboean-form) and Levantine (Aramaic and Phoenician) script/language is suggested by inscriptions on locally made pots, *and* post-firing inscriptions on imported pots (Bartonek and Buchner 1995: 163–4; Boardman 1994; Buchner and Ridgway 1993: 735; Ridgway 1992: 55–6; 111–13; 116–8). Deep knowledge of contemporary Aegean oral traditions, just starting to be referred to in writing,

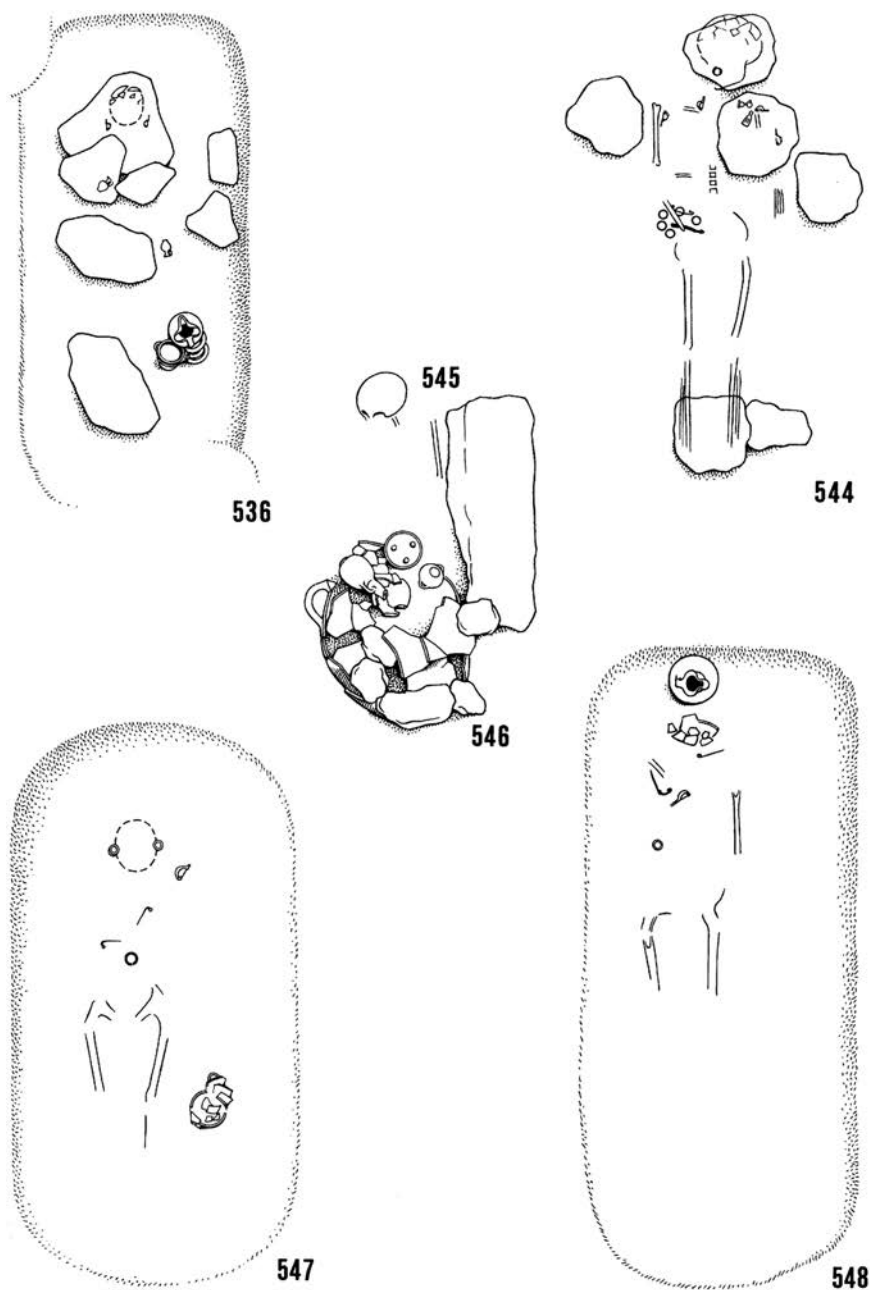


Figure 7.17 Pithekoussai: cist and jar burial types in the Valle di San Montano cemetery (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: fig. 8).

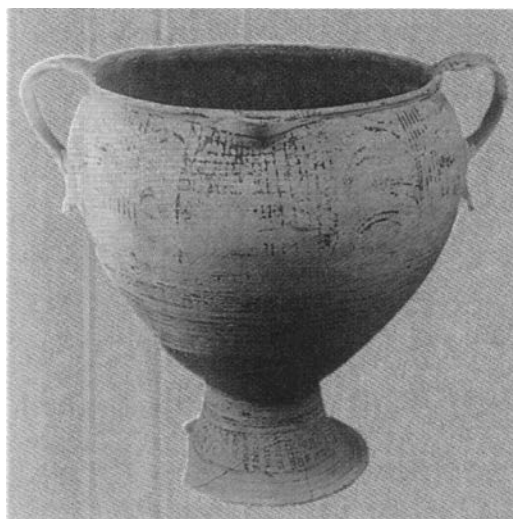
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was part of this awareness: a post-firing Greek inscription (in Euboean-type Greek script) on an east-Aegean-made (possibly Rhodian) drinking cup refers knowledgeably to a scene involving Nestor's cup in the *Iliad*). Names in the local Etruscan language also appear on pots here (in inscriptions using Greek script) by 700 BC, hinting at sophisticated understanding of the script, and the language it was originally used to write, among locally descended/affiliated groups (Colonna 1995: 325–42; Ridgway 1997; 2007: 148–9; see Morel 1983: 133–5; Figures 7.18–21).



Figure 7.18 Pithekoussai: (a) Euboean-made imitation of standard Corinthian kotyle type (after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *PLOES: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: pl. 464). By permission of N. Stampolidis. (b) Euboean-type krater used as grave marker. Manufacture location unknown (after B. d'Agostino, 1996. The impact of the Greek colonies on the indigenous peoples of Campania. In G. C. Carratelli, ed., *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 109–16; fig. 174).

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Figure 7.19 Locally made Euboean-type krater, Pithekoussai (after B. d'Agostino, 1996. The impact of the Greek colonies on the indigenous peoples of Campania. In G. C. Carratelli, ed., *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 109–16: fig. 535.1).
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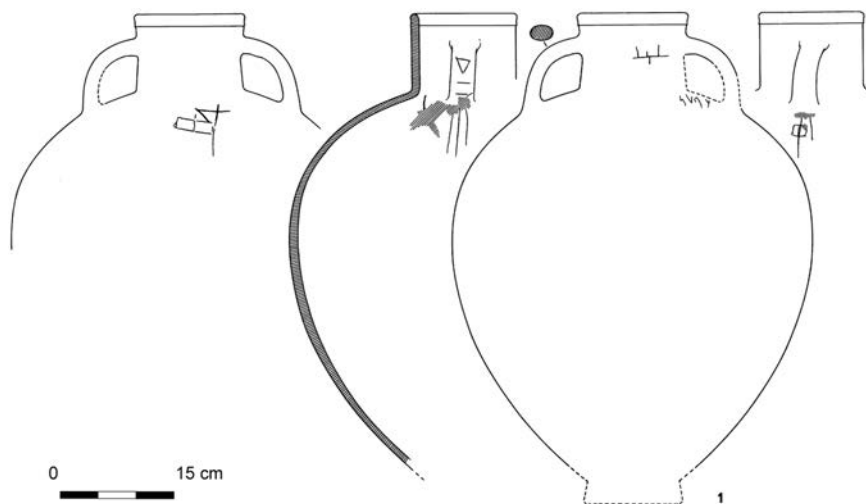


Figure 7.20 Imported transport amphora used for burial 575 at Pithekoussai. Secondary inscription in Aramaic (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: pl. 204).
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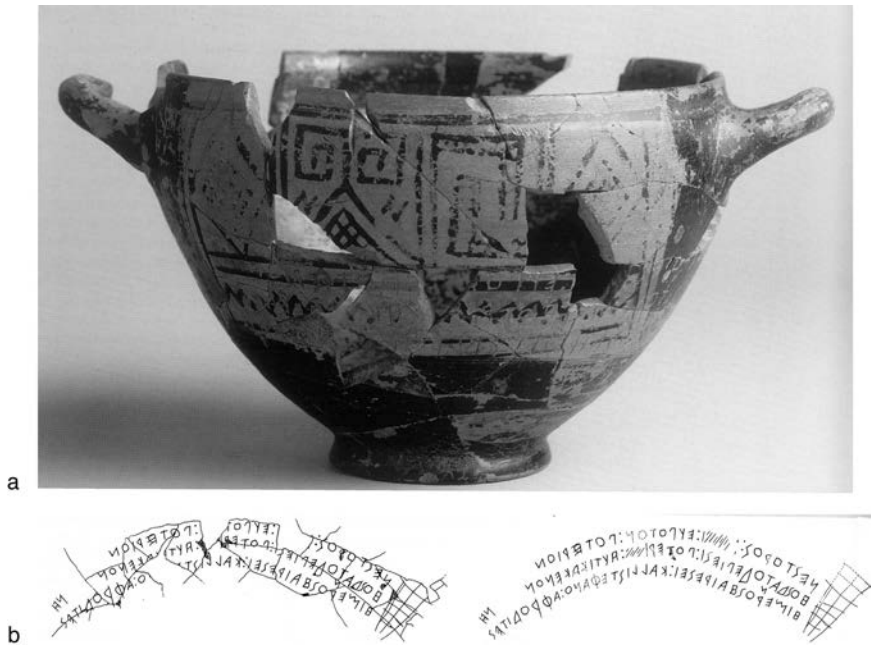


Figure 7.21 (a) Drinking vessel (kotyle) with 'Nestor's cup' inscription, Pithekoussai, Museo Archeologico di Pitecusa 21. Rhodian-made with Euboic Greek inscription; (b) reconstruction of the metric inscription (after R. Arena, 1996. *The Greek colonization of the west: dialects*. In G. C. Carratelli, ed., *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 189–200).

Overreliance on burial data (representing a disproportionate amount of the excavated evidence in south Italy overall) has dogged analysis of interactions at this early period. The broadly contemporary emergence of various new kinds of identity and political institution in the Aegean, with effects on how burial practice was structured, reinforce the problem in cases like that of Pithekoussai, with its evidently strong Aegean contacts and references (Leighton 2000: 16; 21; Shepherd 1999: 116). Individual wealthy cremation graves in family-type plots (sometimes under tumuli) are innovative at the site, and have established parallels in the central and east Aegean. The cemeteries also include adult inhumation graves with very few goods, and some open cremations with goods. These recall funerary innovations in mainland central Greece, starting from c. 700 BC and reflecting decreasing emphasis on wealth display and the rise of institutionalised social distinctions (d'Agostino 2006: 225–6). Large burial amphorae in the elaborate display-conscious Late Geometric style of the central Aegean are also found (LG:(c. 750–700 BC). Though they are not

deposited in identical ways to the examples seen in the Aegean, the use of these vessels indicates very close contact with burial practice and value systems there. Individual Pithekoussai inhumations with *rich* assemblages, often relating to children, recall both coastal Levantine (Phoenician) and Aegean practice in this period in some respects (d'Agostino 2006: 251).

The imported Aegean fine wares found in graves belong to the most popular Mediterranean-traded classes of the period (including products from Euboea, Corinth and Rhodes). They are mainly drinking vessels and unguent containers – the latter drawing heavily on coeval Levantine fashions. Imported Phoenician red slip wares and Syrian/Cilician vessels, mostly unguent jars, were also consumed – the Phoenician wares are most heavily represented in settlement contexts, suggesting selection of Aegean/Aegean-type material for burial deposition (and thereby further undermining notions that ethnicity can be mapped from the style/provenance of grave goods alone: Docter and Niemeyer 1994). Coarse transport jars (sometimes used for child burials) are nearly always of Syrian and Phoenician origin. Apparently, neither local-tradition jars, nor imported or imitated Aegean-type examples, were seen as suitable for the latter purpose. Sealstones made in Cilicia/north Syria, but with a limited uptake in that region, appear in numerous graves – a pattern not typical of contemporary Aegean burial contexts (Boardman 1994; 2001; Figure 7.22). In general, this kind of strongly-patterned selectivity in burial practice, relying on access to a wide range of exotica, is missing from either the contemporary Aegean or the Levant.

Local imitations of Aegean fine wares in the Pithekoussai graves are widespread and made at a very high standard. Some such products were exported from the site, notably to Sant'Imbenia on Sardinia and Carthage in north Africa, along established routes with strong connections to Levantine goods



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Figure 7.22 Seal of Cilician 'Lyre-player' type from Pithekoussai grave 223 (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: pl. 94).

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(Docter and Niemeyer 1994: 110; Mermati 2013). Pithekoussai residents also manufactured Phoenicianising/Syrianising fine wares, less obviously used for export: the town may have become known as a centre for Aegeanising, rather than generically/widely easternising, pottery supply (d'Agostino 2006; Ridgway 1992: 64; 82). High-quality pottery in existing local Italian traditions was also made at the site and imported from the adjacent mainland – being consumed in graves alongside exotic forms (Figure 7.23). Large inland sites on the neighbouring Italian mainland (such as Veii) acting as production centres for this type of pottery show signs of increased differentiation/complexity at around the same time, suggesting involvement in the developing offshore economic system. However, exotica form generally smaller parts of their overall

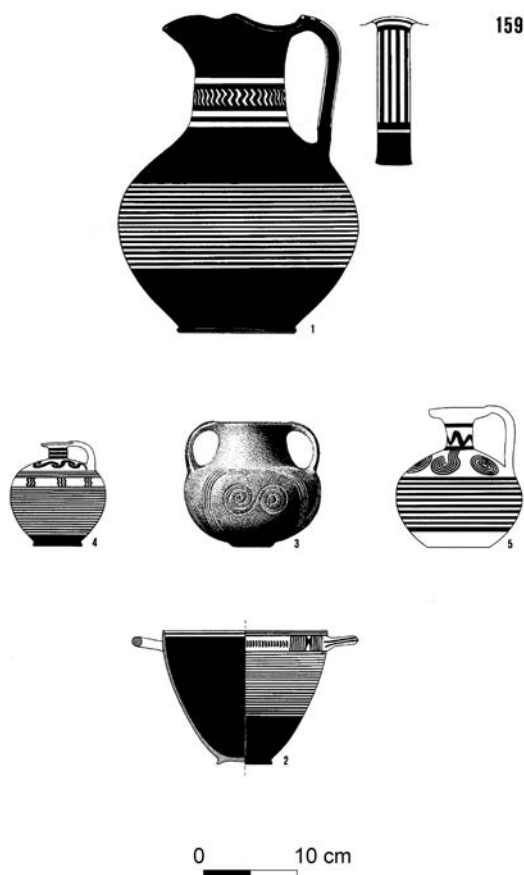


Figure 7.23 Example of pottery grave goods in prestigious south Italian bucchero tradition deposited in Pithekoussai graves (vessel 3) (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: fig. 61).

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assemblages, and their consumption context is more socially polarised. These facts seem connected to the large scale and wealthy history of these communities (which directly accessed local sources of metals and had much larger territories: distance fall-off patterns in coastal trade may also play a role (Buchner 1979: 133–5; Coldstream 1993: 93–4; Pacciarelli 2001). In contrast, the sheer breadth of consumption of exotic-type objects at Pithekoussai suggests that its wealth and complexity lay much more recently and squarely in the expanding eastern trade sphere. Residents helped the latter to tie into existing local networks with a very wide reach: iron ore from as far away as Elba was found in Pithekoussai's specialised metalworking zone (Ridgway 1997). Most types of metal goods manufactured at Pithekoussai were of types local to the central Mediterranean – clearly made by and intended for consumption by people familiar with the latter. Dress pins in the long-established fibula (safety-pin) form (which was also widely used in the Aegean from early in the EIA) were particularly heavily consumed in this generally metal-rich community (de Angelis 2010: 28; Giardino 2000; Hodos 1999: 63; Figure 7.24). The metalworking equipment found at the site, however, includes Phoenicianising types best matched at contemporary south Iberian settlements, suggesting ongoing adaptations of technological and stylistic practice within this intensive production/interaction environment (Dochter and Niemeyer 1994: 101). Metalwork in some Aegeanising styles, especially those of a highly distinctive and prestigious type, was also manufactured and consumed here (Ridgway 1997; Hodos 2012).⁸

The diverse, creative and widely-connected consumption/manufacturing sector at Pithekoussai, clearly central to the site's ongoing expansion and wealth, is hard to correlate convincingly either to the ethnicities of individual residents or to any site-wide ethnic identity. This does not mean that the site represents a free-for-all or unstructured 'melting pot'. However, the

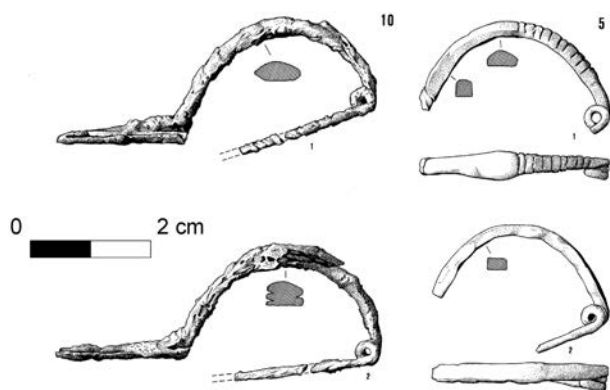


Figure 7.24 Examples of bow fibulae from tombs at Pithekoussai (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: fig. 17).

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pre-existing presence of settlement on Ischia, and Pithekoussai's complex links into such a number of interregional networks, also suggest it had no straightforward alignment with an *external* identity (e.g. Greek, Euboean, Phoenician). Rather, the character of the site and its material suggests a rapidly prospering/expanding locally-descended population, deeply engaged with growing numbers of resident and onward-travelling groups from the east. These include rising numbers of Aegean-descended people, who were attracted by an important niche of opportunity at this crucial growth period for Aegean trade and cultural identity. Power relations between the various groups residing/operating here are unclear and likely to have been complex from the start of the growth process. Many existing treatments have seen these relations in reductive terms: reifying eastern immigrants (of whatever origin) as 'owners' of the settlement, they present local groups as previously cut-off from access to eastern-linked networks – and requiring to be taken over in order to join them (Coldstream 1993; see Hodos 2009). Rather than as an encounter site, promoting and embedding newly intensifying contacts with unpredictable consequences, Pithekoussai is viewed in this perspective as part of a 'precolonising' Aegean movement with predictable aims and impacts.

Context suggests that we should not underestimate proactive local interest in eastern travellers' circulation through the area and the access it provided to exotica. Nor should the need for incomers to negotiate trade and resource access strategies be overlooked. Alongside various forms of gifting, one negotiating strategy by eastern incomers might well be strategic female outmarriage (Malkin 2004: 349). However, the colonial lens through which Aegean travel in this region has often been viewed has promoted restrictive assumptions about such relationships with locals. Many models reconstruct one-way, functionally driven male outmarriage by incomer groups, usually seen as wholly or predominantly male (see de Angelis 2010 on possible modes of 'acquiring women'; Dalby 1992; Coldstream 1993; 1994; Serrati 2000: 10; Smith 2011; see Shepherd 1999: 116; 2000: 36–41; 2012: 221–2 for critique). The reasoning used in such models often lacks wider context. For example, because fibulae have been viewed as an intrinsically female good (based not on skeletal association but on the nature of associated objects in burials where they are found), the high density of local fibula types at Pithekoussai has been argued to indicate local women whose intermarriage with 'Greek' men (represented by Aegean-type ceramic products in the graves containing fibulae) gave them access to rich burial.⁹ In another reductive equation of culture and ethnicity, the Pithekoussai inhumation burials, often found with minimal goods, have been designated as generally low-status, and thereby as likely to be those of 'locals'. Building on this, inhumations which do have concentrations of value goods (such as Pithekoussai T 678, containing iron tools and designated the 'Carpenter's Tomb') have been explained as simply reflecting a functional specialisation for the occupant (Buchner 1979; see Hodos 1999; Shepherd 2005b for critiques; Figure 7.25). Yet a recent review has highlighted similarities

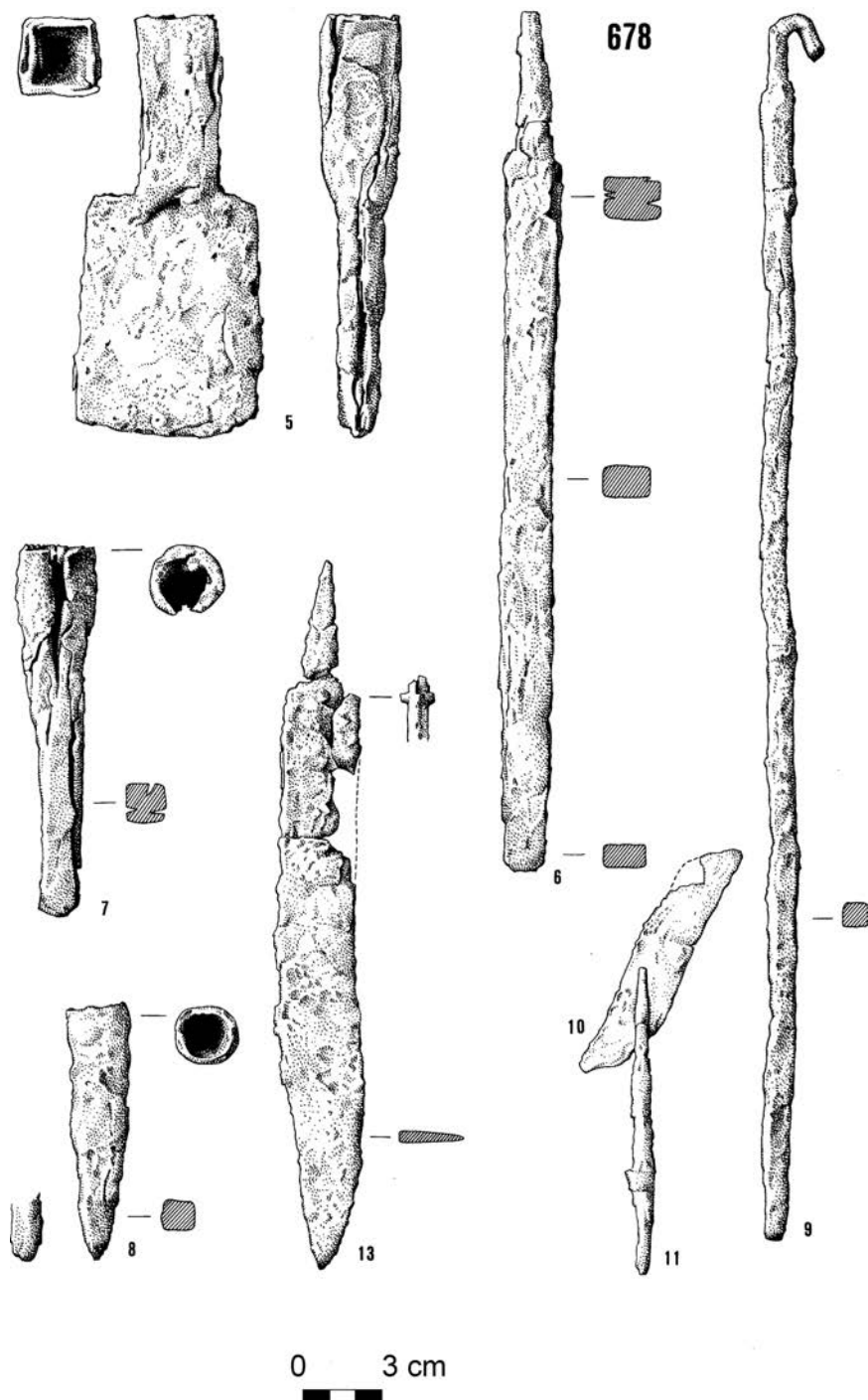


Figure 7.25 Iron tools from Tomb 678, Pithekoussai (after G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 1993. *Pithekoussai I*. Rome: Bretschneider: fig. 190).

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between burial patterns at Pithekoussai and those at established Iron Age sites on the nearby mainland, which undermine this model. Kelley notes that metal wealth assemblages, including significant groups of tools (which never appear as burial goods in the contemporary Aegean) are associated with adult male graves at Pontecagnano, Veii and Cerveteri (Kelley 2012; citing Hodos 2006; see also Riva 2010; Shepherd 1999; Figure 7.26). In this context, we need not only to recognise that wealthy adults of *either* sex with local roots/affiliations might be entitled to places in the Pithekoussai cemetery and hold significant rank in their own right, but also to address



Figure 7.26 Metal-rich tomb 180 at Pontecagnano (after B. d'Agostino and P. Gastaldi, 1988. *Pontecagnano II: la necropoli del Picentino. I. le tombe della prima età del ferro*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: fig. 1).

By permission of B. d'Agostino.

the implications of some Pithekoussai child burials (e.g. T.483, T515) which contain iron tools alongside a range of exotic prestige goods. These cases further challenge models of local wealth/status resources as intrinsically low, and of wealthy incomer males as straightforwardly imposing Aegean customs/identities, including through marriage. They signal that at least some children born at Pithekoussai were culturally embodied as local within a context of significant wealth, including access to international prestige goods. If their fathers or mothers, or both parents, *were* of Aegean origin, this clearly entailed no straightforwardly Aegean package of status practice. Any such families at the site appear, in contrast, likely to have engaged closely with local forms of representation.

Movement and changing local dynamics in Sicily/south Italy c. 800–600 BC

Parts of Sicily and the neighbouring south Italian coasts became a strong focus of Aegean-linked movement during the period of Pithekoussai's expansion. The later eighth century saw increasingly frequent imports of fine wares, largely originating from the central/east Aegean mainland, to many existing settlements in this area. Local imitations of these wares were also produced, though Aegean-type pottery of any sort was always in a minority in relation to local-tradition wares. Many of the communities consuming the pottery never developed as 'Greek'-aligned urban polities. But a number of expanding coastal sites in the region did take this route, being marked out in the process by increasingly high proportions of Aegean-linked cultural practices, including the cultural embedding of a *polis*-type political structure, consciously aligned with contemporary Aegean state forms, during the seventh century. These developments have led to many teleological assumptions about the nature/structure of communities in this area from the very beginning of the import growth/expansion period. Early cultural changes at coastal polities which later framed themselves as 'Greek' have often been seen as straightforwardly reflecting the arrival of large new groups from the Aegean, who immediately set up self-contained structures and territories. By extension, sites/communities which never formally identified as Greek (notwithstanding significant evidence for their early engagement in the contact/import sphere) have been seen as either 'failed' colonies, or as inherently and consistently 'native'. Limited attention has been paid to the long-term, shifting and potentially diverse effects of encounters with Aegean-originating people and goods in the region.

A case exemplifying these issues is that of Incoronata on the Gulf of Taranto (Figure 7.27; see e.g. Carter 2004; Carter and Prieto 2011; Handberg and Jacobsen 2011; Smith 2011: 321).¹⁰ Here, one sizeable recently-excavated Iron Age settlement area has been classed in the literature as 'indigenous' ('Incoronata indigena'). Late eighth- to early seventh-century finds at the site include local imitations of Greek-type pottery – some clearly

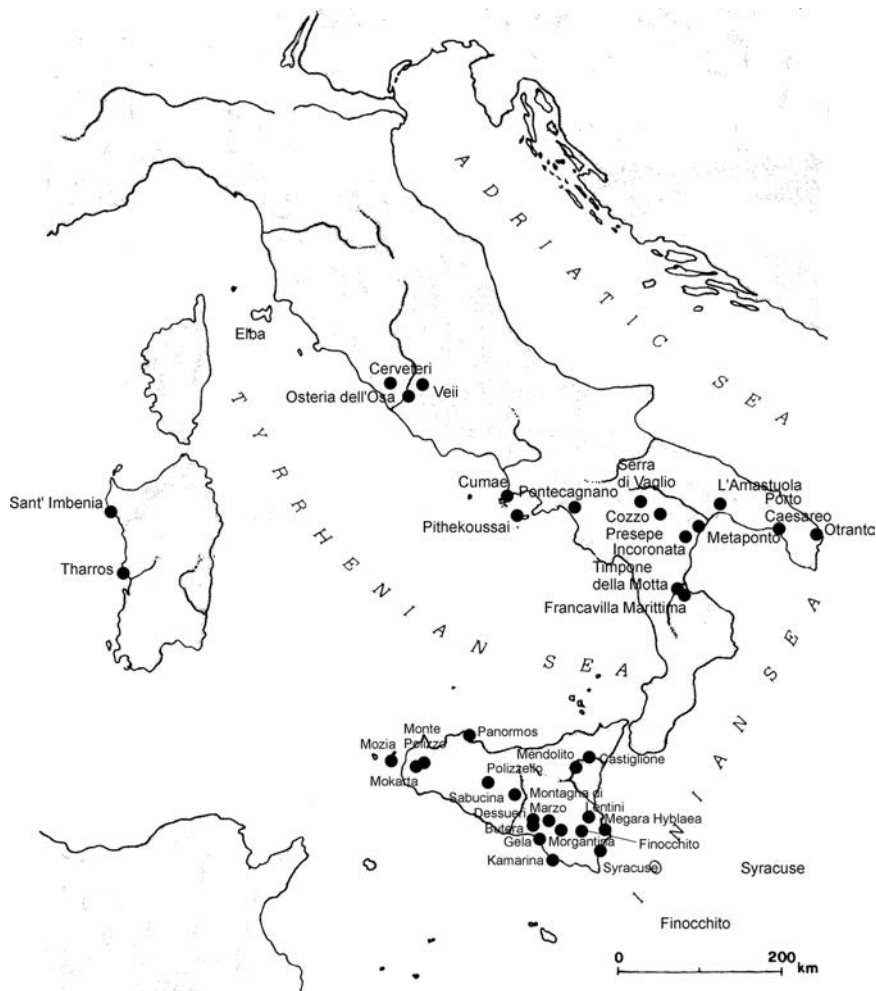


Figure 7.27 Map of sites mentioned in the text: Sicily and south Italy (by S. Wallace).

traded onwards within the wider local region – alongside limited Aegean imports. The restricted import levels and absence of any strong or sustained Aegean-type cultural practice suggest that the site was not a core of Aegean-oriented trade-centred urban activity. Yet it clearly did have a significant regional economic role, likely to have allowed inhabitants to make empowered choices about involvement in the external interaction sphere. Reifying the particular choices made here as an *inevitable* attribute of ‘local’ communities affords the latter no agency and sees relative volumes of Aegean immigrants (themselves deprived of agency by the same reasoning) as directly and inevitably determining the course of the community’s cultural, political

and economic alignment. In this perspective, an adjacent pre-existing Iron Age settlement area ('Incoronata greca'), showing a proportionally higher density of Aegean imports, as well as some shifts in public building patterns recalling those seen at overtly 'Greek'-framed urban sites by the seventh century, has been designated as a separate ethnic and spatial unit from the period of its earliest contact with the Aegean pottery trade. This is the case even though this community never framed itself formally as a 'Greek' polity either. To get over the latter point, the 'Incoronata greca' site is characterised as an initially 'mixed' Aegean/local community which developed over time into a specialised kind of Aegean-owned/directed site – a cultic outpost for the nearby *polis* of Metaponto, rather than a *polis* in its own right. In fact, people at both Incoronata sites seem likely to have had extensive access to/coreidence with Aegean-based groups through the period: a complex variety of contextual and historical factors must have produced the respective outlooks and cultural behaviours of residents in each part of the site.

Alongside the coastal centres which defined themselves as 'Greek' by the seventh century, there were numerous other sizeable sites in this area affected by the contemporary socioeconomic shifts and opportunities in differently-nuanced ways. Finds at L'Amastuola, a hilltop site some kilometres inland from the Gulf of Taranto coast, recall some of those seen at Incoronata 'indigena' (Figures 7.28; 7.29). The eighth- to seventh-century record here includes Aegean imports, Aegeanising locally-made pottery and new elements in burial practice within an established local rock-cut tomb tradition (including the innovative use of burial markers in the form of stelai). A new degree of nucleation and town core development also appear at the site, with significant expansion and fortification seen from the early seventh century (Burgers and Crielaard 2007; Crielaard and Burgers 2011). Yet despite this process of transformation – clearly broadly linked to increased contact with Aegean-connected groups, not least through the growth of a strong trade and manufacturing economy in nearby coastal centres – the town never claimed a Greek *polis* identity. Similar developments can be noted in a number of settlements in the Salento region of the southeast tip of Italy, with its early evidence for Aegean contact (Burgers 2012).¹¹

In the small-scale, contact-rich environment of Sicily, patterns of nucleation/territorial consolidation and increasing complexity at existing inland sites further illuminate the divergent long-term effects of interaction with easterners, including Aegeans, at this time (Albanese Procelli 1995; 2007: 42–3; Palermo 1996). Change in inland political and exchange networks seems closely related to developments in the newly 'pumped-up' coastal trade sphere, in a way which suggests that the trajectory of development of contemporary Sicilian sites as a group cannot be seen as neatly determined by the (assumed) ethnic attributes of their respective populations. Frisone (2012) highlights the political and economic importance of inland routes to developing coastal sites at this time and *vice versa* – with the frequent use of inland river route names to refer to emerging coastal polities indicating the importance of

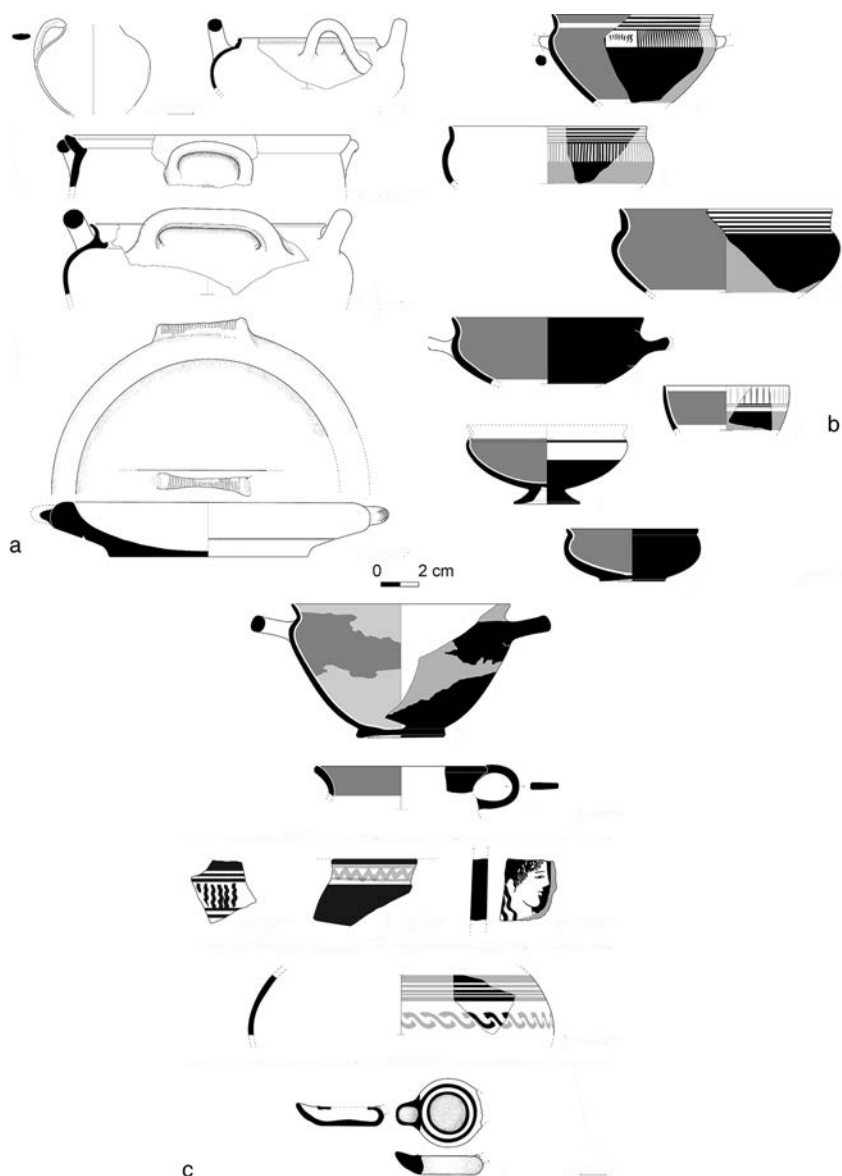


Figure 7.28 L'Amastuola: (a) local-tradition cooking pots and (b; c) Aegean-type fineware found at the site (after J. Burgers and J.-P. Crielaard, 2007. Greek colonists and indigenous populations at L'Amastuola, southern Italy. *BABesch* 82: 87–124: figs. 39; 44; 45).

By permission of J. Burgers and J.-P. Crielaard.

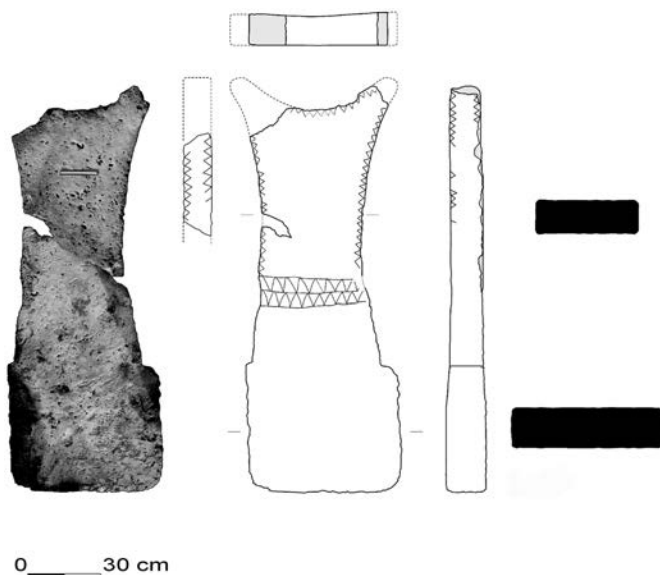


Figure 7.29 L'Amastuola: burial stela (after J. Burgers and J.-P. Crielaard, 2007. Greek colonists and indigenous populations at L'Amastuola, southern Italy. *BABesch* 82: 87–124: fig. 38).

Illustration by Bert Brouwenstijn; by permission of J. Burgers and J.-P. Crielaard.

these links. In southeast Sicily, which was early and heavily affected by the Aegean import trade, a new inland settlement node emerged at Finocchito from the mid-ninth century, even as Thapsos was abandoned by the mid-eighth and the long-rooted local cemeteries of Pantalica and Villasmundo went out of use by the mid-seventh – developments often linked in the scholarly literature to direct Aegean takeover of the area (de Angelis 2003: 5–10; 2010: 31–4; Leighton 2000: 21–2).¹² Ortygia, an established EIA site on the SE coast which took on a Greek *polis* identity as Syracuse by the seventh century, shared long-rooted cultural forms and connections with large inland hilltop communities nearby, such as Dessucri and Morgantina. The latter remained relatively small through the early intensification of eastern contact and shows the continuation of many existing EIA Sicilian/south Italian traditions, including domestic building (irregularly sized longhouses, curvilinear walls, ovens against benches, cut-in floors, thatched and wattle-daub construction); intrasite zoning (including the use of shared cooking zones); and copper- and iron-working in local traditions. The inhabitants of such settlements selectively consumed some Aegeanising pottery alongside engagement in other new practices seen at settlements on the coasts, in ways pointing to the development of new kinds

of internal complexity, while never defining themselves as Greek polities or developing the heavily Aegean-linked culture typical of coastal sites which did define themselves in this way. These changes at inland sites included the establishment of large quadrangular public buildings, often replacing or adapting older irregular structures, in central zones during the eighth through sixth centuries. Sometimes this occurred through comprehensive phases of urban redevelopment and building re-assignment (with specific buildings taking on specialised cult roles). We see versions of this process at Morgantina, Monte Polizzo, Sabucina, Mokarta, Polizzello (an established inland settlement which from the eighth century shifted its function into that of a specialised cult centre rich in deposits of Aegean imports, while never claiming a Greek identity), Lentini Metapiccola, Finocchito, and Butera. These developments echo those at coastal and inland sites on the south Italian mainland like L'Amastuola, Francavilla Maritima and Timpone della Motta (de Angelis 2003: 2–4, Antonaccio 2005: 111; Fitzjohn 2011; Kistler 2011: 224–9; Kleibrink et al. 2004; Leighton 2000: 28; Morgan 2009: 14; Morris and Tusa 2004; Tanasi 2007: Figures 7.30; 7.31).

Peer interaction – at both coastal and inland locations – between communities of significant standing and long-established connections clearly helped to produce these dynamics. However, in culture-historical-type discourses stressing Greek settlement as the direct mechanism of change in this area/period, the process is often reduced to a one-way transformation of coastal sites by incomers, with locals left (or pushed) inland. Leighton (2000) attributes changes at inland Sicilian sites to the impact of refugees from 'colonisation', without considering how the latter process might be configured; Shepherd (1999) attributes the decline of established inland sites to enslavement/conquest of local populations by incoming Greeks, relying heavily on later text accounts of Greek



Figure 7.30 Photograph: Morgantina settlement, from west (by H. Hall).
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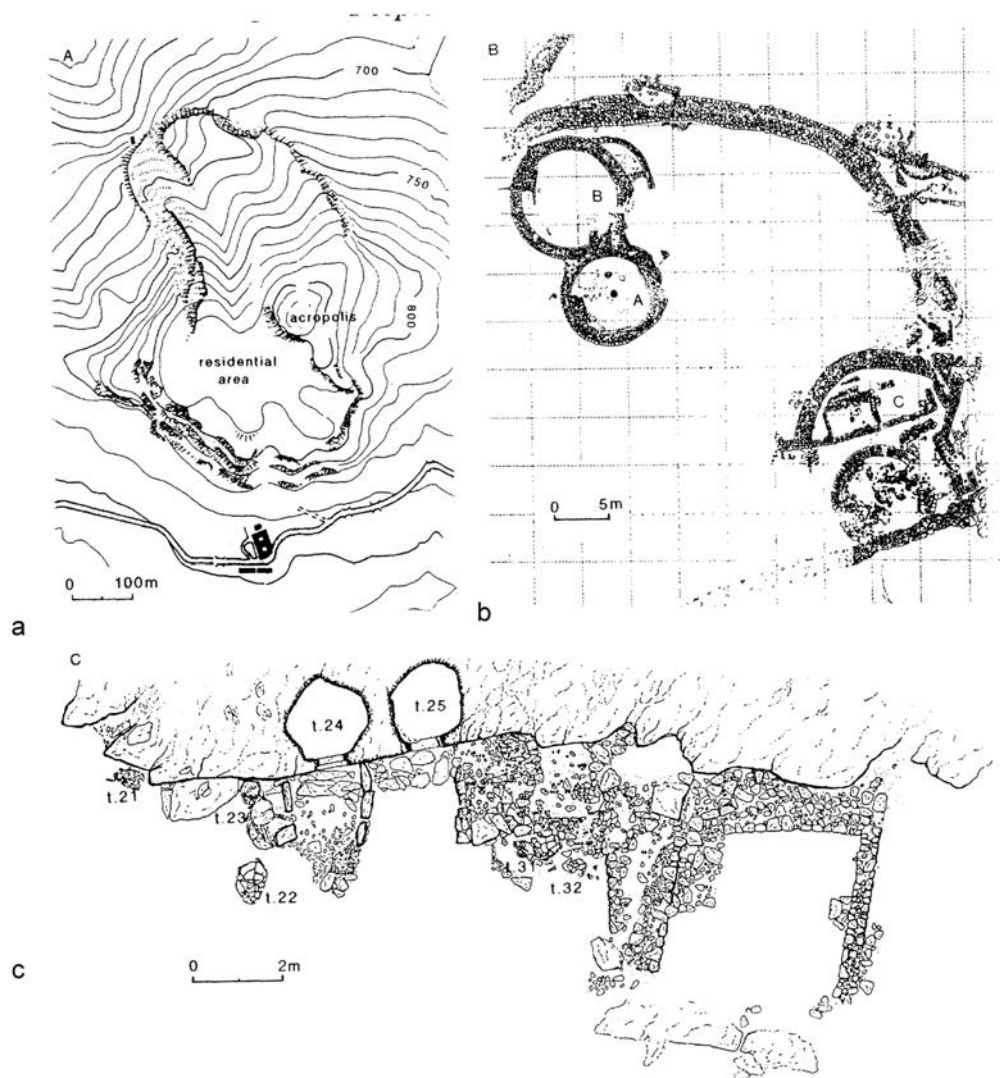


Figure 7.31 Polizzello: (a) site plan; (b) plan of buildings on the summit; (c) plans of chamber tombs in east necropolis (after R. Leighton, 1999. *Sicily before history: from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Cornell University Press: fig. 139, after an original image by E. de Miro).

By permission of R. Leighton.

conquest or replacement of native settlements (see de Angelis 2010: 29 for critique). Some large inland sites (like Finocchito and Dessucri) do show downsizing by the late seventh century in further regional readjustments, but need to be viewed alongside other sites (e.g. Lentini) which show increasing growth/nucleation at the same period (Dominguez 2006b; 2010: 26–7; Leighton 1999: 219–69). Some such sites actually became extremely rich in the new economic circumstances (as the rich bronze hoard including Greek-style items found at Mendolito, a city self-identifying as non-Greek by the sixth century, shows: Albanese Procelli 1993: 109–207; 1999: 336). Thus, there is no standard early wealth/power division between Sicilian 'Greek' polities and others which can be attributed to their ethnic makeup.

Morgantina provides a detailed long-term case study of how cultural associations with Greekness developed in various selective and pragmatic combinations, and over a long timescale, outside the urban coastal sphere. Ordinary house types at this site mostly continued to be built within local Iron Age traditions, as noted above. No central open urban area (*agora*) was ever developed (unsurprisingly, given the site's long continuous history and hilltop location), a feature distinguishing it from most emerging coastal centres. Inscriptions and sculpture are few. Traditional types of metal and pottery goods are strongly represented in burial over the long term, as are traditionally-established burial practices, such as use of rock-cut chamber tombs with multiple inhumations (Figures 7.32a; 7.32b). Elements of new, elaborate and subtle differentiation in burial appeared as the community became more socially complex within the wider environment of economic growth. These include the practice of separate child burials in jars, the use of small ('fossa') forms of rock-cut tomb, and the use of sarcophagi. All the latter features are also seen, usually in higher concentrations, at contemporary 'Greek'-identifying coastal centres (Albanese Procelli 1999: 332–3; Antonaccio 2004; de Angelis 2003: 5; Leighton 2000: 26–7; 2012; Shepherd 1999; 2011). Conversely, many locally-established traditions appear to continue long-term at coastal 'Greek' sites – e.g. the well-rooted local practice of multiple burial occurs alongside the distinctive new use of sarcophagi in high-status tombs at early Megara Hyblaea (Figures 7.33–7.35).

Some of the contrasting cultural patterns between sites I have discussed above seem linked to fall-off in access (e.g. to traded imports) at distance from the coast; others probably reflect different social dynamics at different kinds of site. But they also suggest some conscious, knowledgeable and sophisticated processes of selection (potentially linked to self-definition at individual and collective levels). We can note in this regard the highly-informed and idiosyncratic mixing of references to the Aegean cultural sphere by people with a likely variety of cultural backgrounds/alignments seen at Montagna di Marzo, a settlement inland from the 'Greek' polity of Gela in south Sicily. Greek script was clearly prestigious and understood here. Some Aegean pottery imports found in the graves have post-firing Greek-alphabet inscriptions of personal

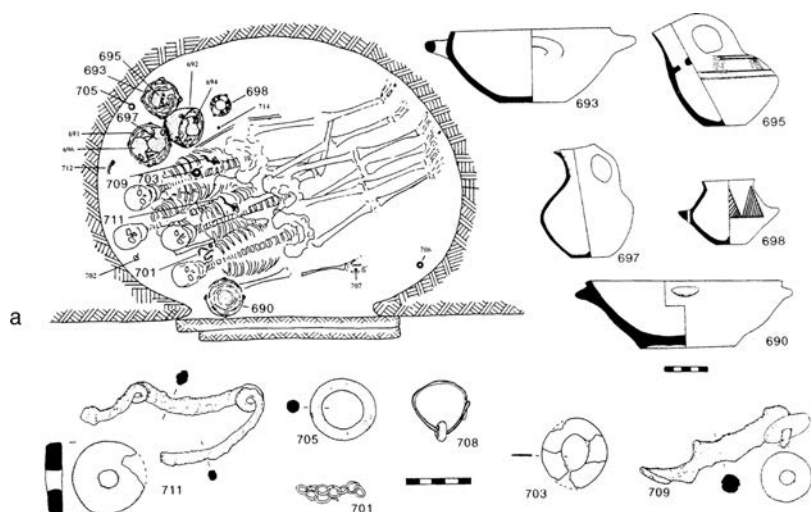


Figure 7.32 Morgantina: (a) traditional type of multiple burial and associated assemblage in tomb 6, of late eighth–early seventh century date (after R. Leighton, 1999. *Sicily before history: from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Cornell: Cornell University Press: fig. 138); (b) single rock-cut ‘fossa’ burial of the same period (fossa 4, Tomb 4, Necropolis II) (after C. Lyons, 1996. *Morgantina: the Archaic cemeteries*, Morgantina Studies V. Princeton: Princeton University Press: pl. 5). By permission of R. Leighton (a), C. Lyons and Princeton University Press (b).

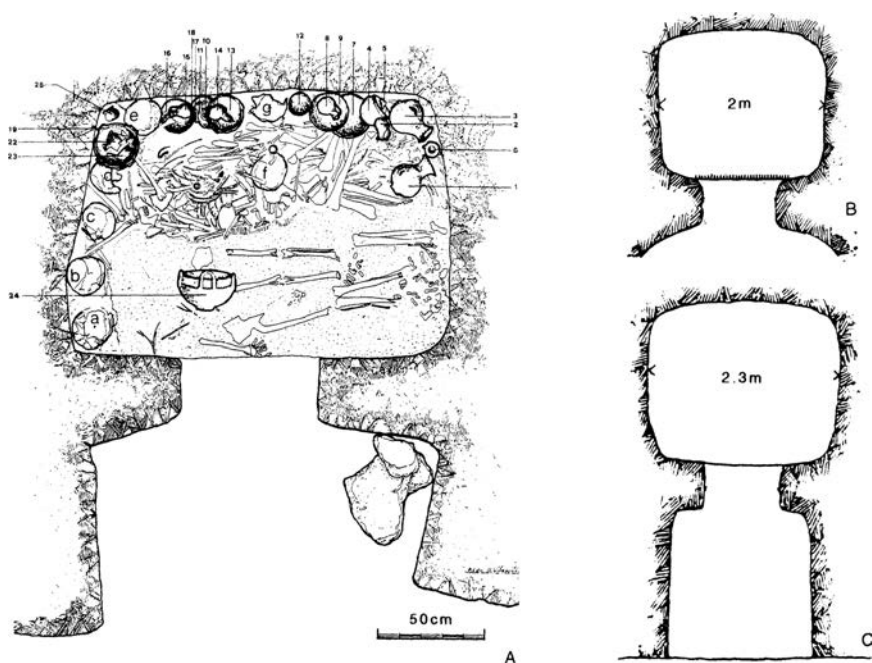


Figure 7.33 Plans of eighth-century chamber tombs from Villasmundo and Licodia (after R. Leighton, *Sicily before history: from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Cornell: Cornell University Press: fig. 127, after an original image by G. Voza).

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names in a local language; elsewhere on the site a locally-made amphora was inscribed in Greek script with Greek names, but in a local phonetic spelling, suggesting the adoption of fashionable Greek personal names in a context where Greek was not the main language spoken. At inland Castiglione, a group of sixth-century graves using the rock-cut *fossa* form especially popular at coastal centres were associated with an unusual monumental stone marker, inscribed in Greek. The graves included an exceptionally large one (with tumulus) containing concentrations of imported Aegean pottery, two pots with Greek personal-name inscriptions and a burial in a long-established traditional form – a group of six, with heads separated from bodies (Agostiniani 1981; Albanese Procelli 1999: 349–52; Kistler 2012; Leighton 2000: 16). In a complex, ‘entangled’/‘middle ground/third space’ scenario, the identity conceptions embedded in these practices are likely to have been different from those of either straightforward ‘localness’ or ‘Greekness’. Greek culture was clearly ‘spoken’/‘read’ at high levels in such places and had prestige associations, without necessarily being directly associated with Aegean origin or descent.

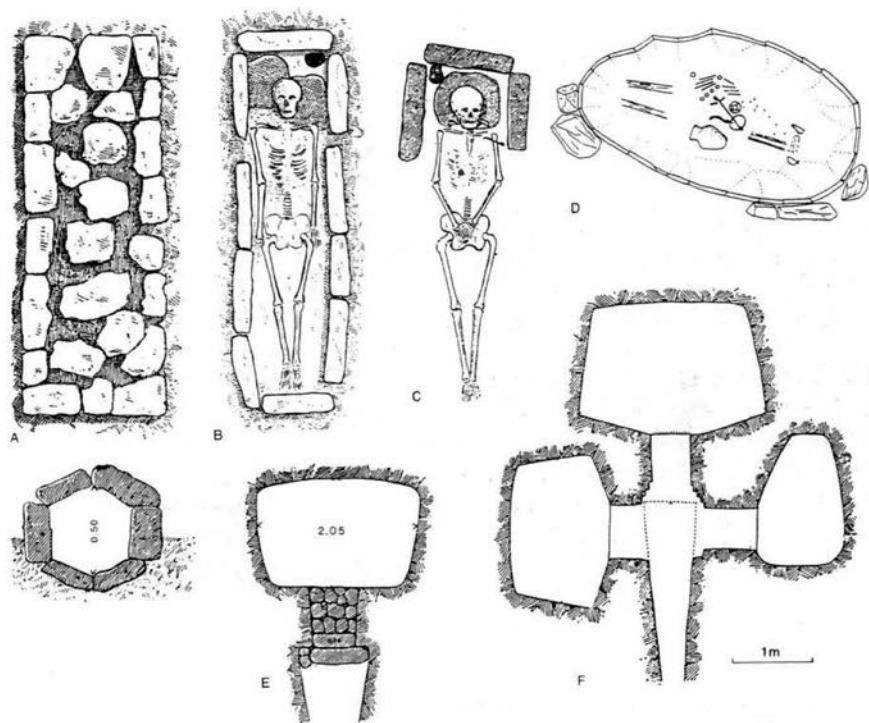


Figure 7.34 Variety of Iron Age burial types in Sicily: (A–D) Mulino della Badia-Madonna del Piano; (E–F) Cassibile (after R. Leighton, 1999. *Sicily before history: from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Cornell: Cornell University Press: fig. 104).

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By the later fifth century, the Greek writer Thucydides (4.59–64) indicates that the identity of Sicilian 'Greeks' living in the coastal polities (*Sikeliotai*) was perceived as overtly different from that of Aegean Greeks (Antonaccio 2001: 116–22; Malkin 2011: 107). People living at the coastal centres saw themselves as distinct, in turn, from the inhabitants of many inland settlements – the latter ascribed with their own foundation accounts, migration myths and ethnicities – e.g. as *Sikeloi* (Albanese Procelli 2003; Antonaccio 2005: 100). As in other areas of the contemporary Mediterranean, especially the Aegean, the trope of community 'foundation' was deeply and inextricably linked to political identity. While useful in indicating how different groups positioned themselves in this period of deep political change, the universality of application of this trope, and its clear flexibility of use to reflect changing historical circumstances, make such accounts unreliable in assessing how early encounters with easterners actually occurred in, and transformed,

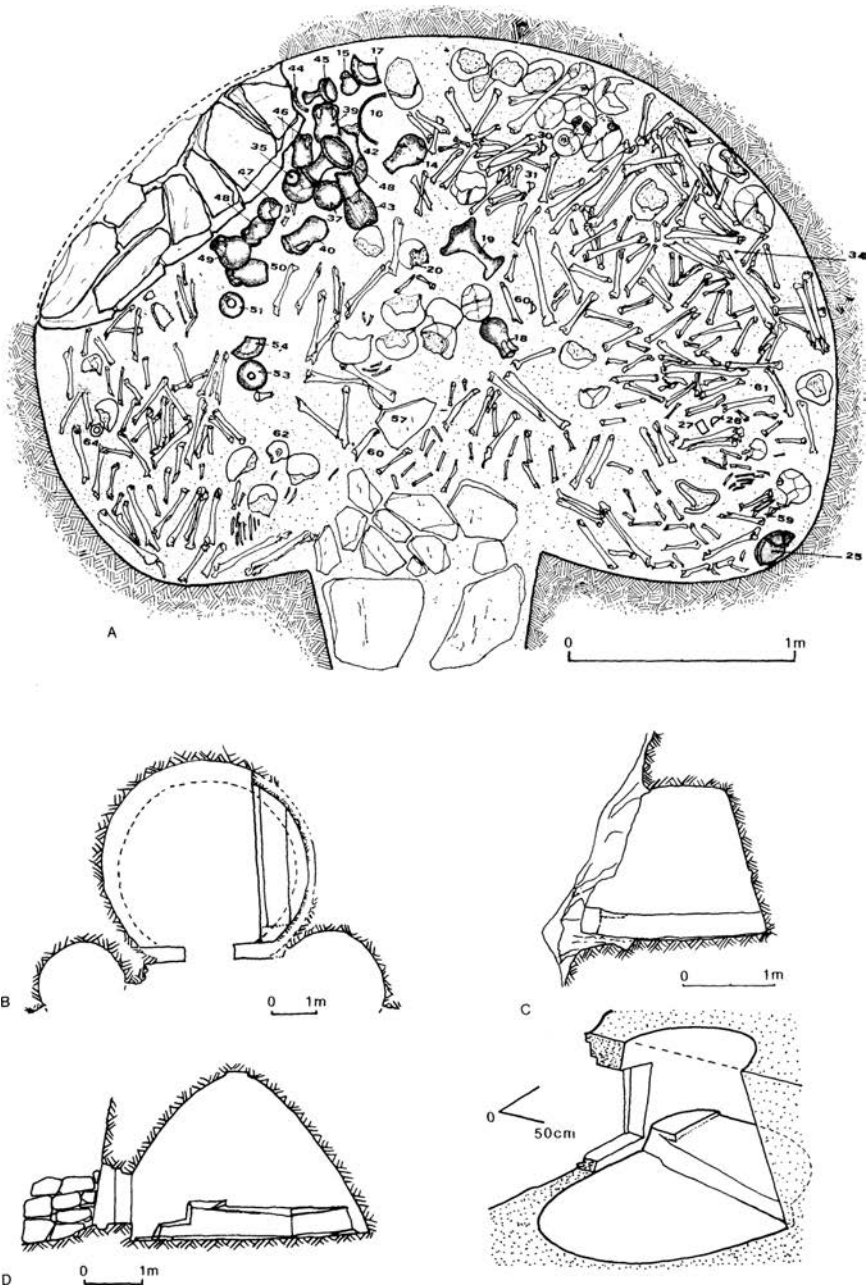


Figure 7.35 Traditional types of burial, Sicily: Iron Age chamber tomb with multiple burial at Sant'Angelo Muxaro, Sicily (after R. Leighton, 1999. *Sicily before history: from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Cornell: Cornell University Press: fig. 141).

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south Italian groups. The standard picture in the foundation accounts for coastal urban sites which ultimately identified as Greek is of 'local' traditions as pushed aside or suppressed by founding Aegean incomers (Morgan 1999: 88–90). Yet the evidence discussed above suggests that new opportunities for social/economic promotion and political networking in developing urban coastal settlements by the late eighth century affected all the residents of these settlements (whatever their origin/descent) *as well as* people in a much broader inland zone, in diverse, indirect and unpredictable ways.

As in the Pithekoussai case study, it seems that we cannot expect to encounter standard or universal ethnofossils (especially in highly symbolic arenas like burial) in this early growth period. Yet this assumption has been widely prevalent in past scholarship in this field. A common practice, for example, has been to equate all sarcophagus or single burials at Sicilian coastal polities to Aegean incomers, and all burials in established traditions at the same sites, usually in a minority (such as multiple burials or headless burials) to locals. These ethnic categories have been built on to make further assumptions about relative social status and power (cf. Paolo Orsi's equation of traditional-type burial practices and house types at the site of Gela with 'Sikel slaves': Orsi 1895: 112; Morris and Tusa 2004: 77; Shepherd 2005b). Even recent, more nuanced approaches to these sites can still become trapped in binarised culture-historical reasoning. Shepherd, who has written perceptively on the complexities of ethnic identity at this period, cites a lack of 'balance' in cultural hybridisation at coastal sites, in suggesting that Aegean settlers were numerically and politically dominant there from the start. Yet we have seen that cultural hybridisation and 'middle ground' development are by their nature unpredictable, unbalanced and contingent forces, affected by a number of factors. Overall, it seems valid that we *remain* unsure of the actual or claimed ethnic identity of some buried groups at emerging coastal polities – where many people are likely to have been challenged to redefine their identity, or to have kept it deliberately fluid in new arenas of political and economic operation – many classifiable as neither wholly 'Greek' nor 'local'.

Non-Aegean movement from the east: travellers' outlooks and reception environments in the later Iron Age west

I have stressed that contact with/uptake of Aegean cultural practice by south Italian groups at any point in this period did not automatically mean the beginning of a local community's 'conversion' into a Greek *polis* (whether by conquest or other means). Complex sets of regional political/economic dynamics, rather than the simple movement of Aegean-based actors *per se*, produced the variable sets of cultural transformations seen (Dominguez 2012; Shepherd 1999: 301; Yntema 2011: 252).¹³ These dynamics included recent and continuing movement from east Mediterranean areas other than the Aegean. I have explained above why, in context, cultural 'Greekness'

in the central Mediterranean through much of this period must be seen as part of contemporary wider east Mediterranean culture (and as significantly embodied by non-Aegean easterners and their products present in the region: Boardman 1999b; Hodos 2012: 247). In this complex context, the use in analysis of flat cultural templates seems inadequate, not only for 'Greeks' but also for other travelling easterners (Dominguez 2012: 207; Sommer 2009: 115). Levantine travellers have very often been marginalised and/or schematically opposed to Greeks in accounts of sociocultural change in south Italy which privilege concepts of 'Greekness'. These include literal readings of Homeric and Archaic Greek text accounts, which themselves tended to lump together and reify Phoenician interests/characteristics in contradistinction to those of 'Greeks' in defining the latter's identity (see Blakeway 1933: 171; Boardman 1964: 8; see for critiques of this tendency e.g. Aubet 1993; Bernal 1991: Chapters 8–9; 170–2; Dominguez 2012; Hodos 2006: 513; 2009: 224–6; Niemeyer 1982: 480; Riva 2009; Riva and Vella 2006; Sommer 2009; Winter 1995).¹⁴ In moving away from this approach, and towards the positive modelling of specific encounter circumstances, I will briefly consider some pertinent differences in patterns of movement and reception between Aegean and Cypro-Levantine groups travelling in the west during the eighth to sixth centuries – while stressing that travel by eastern-based groups had feedback effects greater than the sum of its parts (Hodos 2009: 225; Lomas 2004).

A distinctive feature of Cypro-Levantine travel in the west is its early growth, starting from the earliest Iron Age, as outlined above. This resulted in an extremely wide-flung range of contact by c. 700 BC, including various central and west Mediterranean routes (Iberia, Sardinia, the Balearics, Sicily, north Africa). As with evidence of Aegean-based contact in south Italy (but here over a wider area) a regular focus is seen on locations like offshore islands and river mouths (some positioned near major metals sources) suggesting development of strategic trade/provisioning points and raw materials procurement networks. As a result, some sites involved in intensive Levantine contact were quite physically isolated in their regions – a feature not strongly associated with the rise of Aegean-based travel and uptake/interaction in south Italy, for reasons discussed further below (Aubet Semmler 2002a; 2002b; Niemeyer 1982; van Dommelen 2005; Sommer 2007). The sites involved show wide-ranging and concentrated takeup of Levantine goods/practices in what seems a politically low-profile way, alongside notable population growth and evidence for rising social complexity. Some claims/assertions of political identity linked to the Levant – in Phoenician language and script – appear early on, perhaps especially at important coastal route points – as at Nora on the southern tip of Sardinia, in the ninth century (Boardman 2001: 38–9; Figure 7.36).

Changes in cultural practice associated with these travels and encounters encompassed new types of distinction in burial, locally innovative and high-volume wheel-based manufacture of Levantinising pottery (the generic styles of the latter seemingly aiding their wide-flung exchange: Hodos 2006: 230–1),



Figure 7.36 'Nora Stone': stele bearing Phoenician territorial inscription from S. Sardinia, Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (after G. Garbini, 1996. The Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean (through to the fifth century BC). In G. C. Carratelli, *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 121–32).

innovatory metalworking (including the advent of ironworking), ivory working in eastern styles, the locally innovative development of murex dye production installations, and the use of weights of the type currently standard in the north coastal Levantine area (Aubet Semmler 2002a; 2002b; González de Canales et al. 2006; Niemeyer 1982: Figure 7.37). As at Pithekoussai, there is no sense of eastern-type practices comprehensively dominating/replacing existing local ones in the wider central and west Mediterranean region. For



Figure 7.37 Features of change related to Levant-originating travel at south Iberian sites: Astarte statue, Seville, seventh century BC (Archaeological Museum of Seville inv number RE 11136). Inscribed in Phoenician script with a dedication to Astarte (after N. Stampolidis, ed., 2003. *PLOES: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th centuries BC*. Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation/Museum of Cycladic Art: pl. 813).

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example, at Huelva in south Spain, quantities of Phoenicianising pottery matched those of local-tradition pottery from c. 900 BC (see Aubet Semmler 2002b: 101–3; Gonzalez Prato et al. 2002; Vives-Ferrandiz 2010; Niemeyer 1982: 57). As eastern contacts intensified in the eighth through seventh centuries, the emergence of a number of wealthy settlements along the south Iberian coast, consuming and producing large amounts of Levantinising

products, had indirect effects inland, recalling those seen in south Italy. Selective, highly-informed references to prestigious Levantine cultural behaviours were made in these contexts – such as the inclusion of imported Phoenician (and some Aegean) pottery in a local-tradition foundation deposit at the eighth-century settlement centre of Sant'Imbenia, Sardinia (Oggiano 2000; Ridgway 1992: 29; 1997: 338) or the innovative use of large stone figures of 'Punic' (local Levantinising) type within a local standing stone tradition at the elite Monte Prama cemetery near Tharros on the same island (Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005; Figure 7.38).



Figure 7.38 Figures from Monte Prama cemetery, Sardinia (Museo Civico Cabras, Sardinia; photograph by S. Wallace) (detail after C. Tronchetti and P. van Dommelen, 2005. *Entangled objects and hybrid practices: colonial contacts and elite connections at Monte Prama, Sardinia. JMA 18.2: 183–203: figs. 8; 9).*

By permission of P. van Dommelen.

This background fed into the reception of both Levantine and Aegean groups in south Italy by the eighth to sixth centuries, a period in which ethnic standing and associations became very much heightened in the travel arena, as we have seen (Aubet Semmler 2002b: 100–1). A pattern of conscious, deep alignment with Levantine cultural practice is notable by the seventh century at sites with early strong Levantine connections. For example, Phoenician-linked coastal centres expanded in parts of western Sicily, notably at Mozia and Panormos. The newly-pronounced and clearly self-conscious 'Phoenician' affiliations of these groups are seen, for example, in the development of *tophet* ritual sites (of a type not widely used in the Levant itself) at Sulcis and Mozia and of a major sanctuary at Mozia (de Angelis 2003: 117–9; Ciasca 1983; see Aubet Semmler 2002a: 87 for an account of sixth-century developments; Figures 7.39; 7.40). This occurred in a context where a newly-politicised framing/consolidation of cultural 'Greekness' was occurring at other coastal sites. An emerging 'Punic' identity (in some senses paralleling the 'western Greek' concept expressed in the use of terms like *Sikeliotai*) developed, being formally promoted through political inscriptions (Hodos 2009). Yet the reception and exploitation of Levantine products and practices in the central Mediterranean still retained some special loose/scattered/generic features, contrasting with the ways cultural 'Greekness' was enacted, encountered and selected in the same region. For example, there seems to have been somewhat less emphasis on association with specific founder groups/polities. Above, I showed that partly-shared outlooks between the inhabitants of Cyprus and the adjacent Phoenician region in existence since the early EIA (linked into the regions' recent history, positioning and resource access) steered their economic outreach activities in the west in similar ways (and gave some aspects of their exported cultural material/practice a generic character (Aubet 1993; Bourgianni 2012; van Dommelen 2005). The evidence suggests the Levantine coast became the centre of such operations by about the ninth century, and there is little sign that Cypriot communities needed to mark out a distinctive role or profile for themselves within those operations (or, alternatively, to seek an individual kind of Greek-aligned operational identity, as coastal Anatolian groups did by the late eighth/seventh century). Where a separable profile for Cypriots in the west is (rarely) indicated in the later Iron Age, it is usually overtly linked to Phoenician activities/identities (e.g. the tradition that Cypriot cities were involved in the Phoenician foundation of Carthage in north Africa; Niemeyer 1982: 45). Notably, processes of political definition and cultural connection-building among Cypriot polities themselves during the later EIA involved selective alignment with *both* Aegean and Levantine ethnocultural practices/identities, including via the standard trope of foundation traditions.¹⁵ Models rooted in culture-historical and colonialist discourse, as well as literal readings of ancient descent traditions, have significantly found this challenging territory – struggling to prove that the numerous state polities which had emerged in Cyprus, as in most Mediterranean

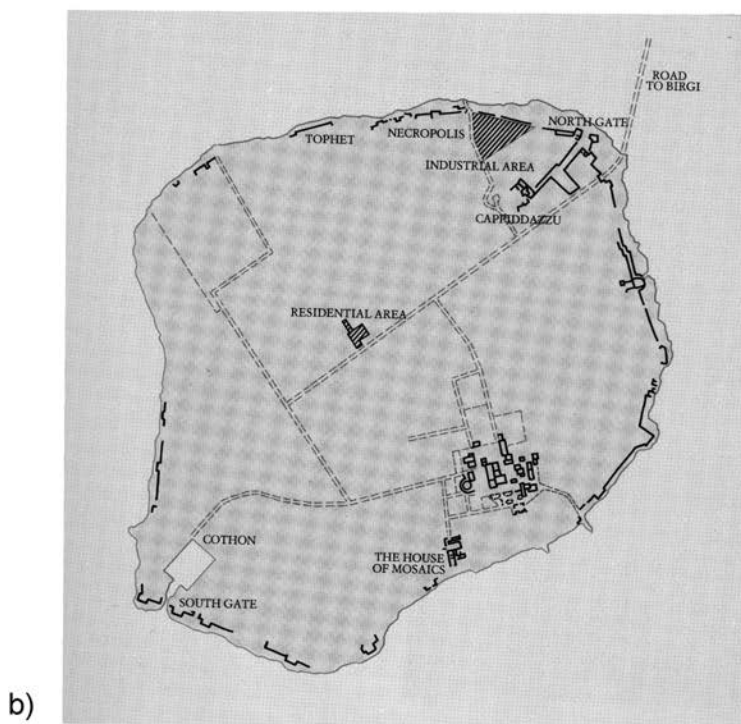
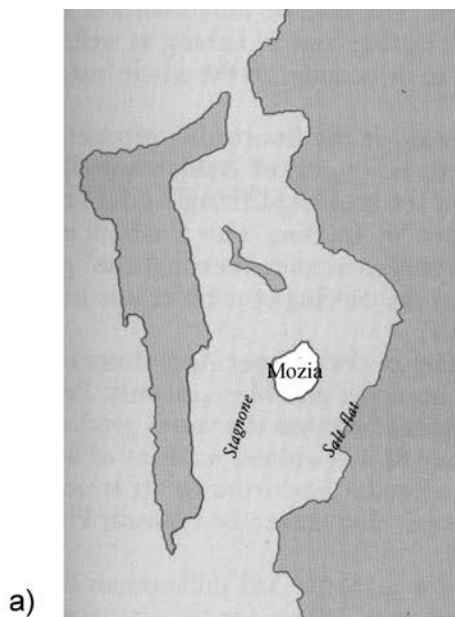


Figure 7.39 Location map of Mozia island, in its protected lagoon, and site distribution map on Mozia (after V. Tusa, 1988. Sicily. In S. Moscati, ed., *The Phenicians*. Milan: Bompiani: 28–37: figs. 26–27).



Figure 7.40 Photograph: Mozia tophet (after V. Tusa, 1988. Sicily. In S. Moscati, ed., *The Phenicians*. Milan: Bompiani: 28–37: fig. 190).

regions, in the eighth through seventh centuries were founded by either Phoenician or Aegean agents.¹⁶

All this highlights the somewhat fluid, intersecting nature of 'eastern' cultural and political identity in the west, and the specific timings/encounters/experiences which moulded its development. We cannot simply map contemporary east Mediterranean cultural and ethnic distinctions (themselves shifting and strengthening in various ways during this period) onto the western encounter context. Aegean, west Anatolian, Levantine and

Cypriot-based groups were all frequently present on the ground in each other's regions, *and* in south Italy, by the eighth century. All were involved in procuring, onward-shipping and trading in a variety of Mediterranean value goods, including pottery and its contents, and metals. This presence was neither uniformly nor hierarchically structured in terms of ethnicity, reception and impact – though it does have a clear chronological pattern, with movement based in Cyprus and the Levant preceding and affecting the reception of Aegean groups in the central Mediterranean.

**'Greek'-framed polities in wider local context;
regional landscapes beyond the *polis* in
the seventh–sixth centuries BC**

I now want to look in more detail at how deliberate, formal participation in 'Greek' cultural identity operated in south Italian communities, including the ways consciousness of the phenomenon fed back into Aegean and other eastern-based movement. Aegean groups' own strategies must have played a role in this process. Yet as I have argued above, the experiences and modes of acculturation as 'Greek' cannot be seen as a predictable, engineered outcome of Aegean travel *per se*. Local geography and history, volumes and directions of contact, and types of encounter clearly all contributed to the process. In south Italy and Sicily, particularly dense, high-volume contacts with the Aegean, alongside the strong economic boost associated with new goods flows, supported concentrated takeup of/identification with specifically 'Greek' cultural practice. The especially high volume and impact of contacts along major trans-Mediterranean routes touching Sicily also promoted the permanent development of 'Phoenician'-aligned or -identified sites there. But in nearby Apulia, which lacked the same degree of route exposure, strong Levant-linked acculturation/political identification were mostly lacking, while sustained, high density (and historically long-rooted) Aegean contacts promoted Greek-centred alignment. There are contrasting pictures again in other central Italian regions showing early Aegean contact and related cultural change – such as Latium and Etruria, which nonetheless contained only few, scattered 'Greek'-identifying groups by the seventh century.

A striking example of intensive, deeply-embedded Aegean-linked cultural practice on the southern Italian coasts is the use of new formal divisions in land-use and settlement planning, of the same type starting to be used in contemporary Aegean states. In at least some cases, this practice seems to coincide with a rise in the use of cattle, in a changing and booming subsistence economy (Carter 2004: 383–5; 2006; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 106–9; Figure 7.41). The implementation of these particular kinds of divisions must have involved people personally familiar with Aegean practice – yet by its nature, was also deeply rooted in, and affected, local conceptions of territory. It could have only been successfully achievable in circumstances where its sustaining, Aegean-rooted ideology – citizen land ownership at formalised,

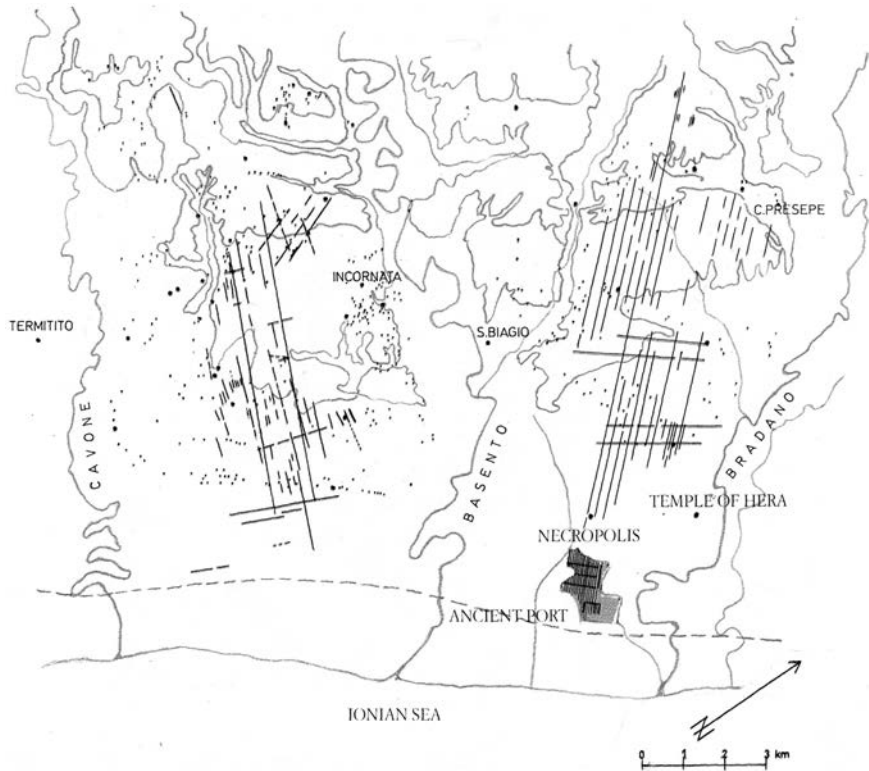


Figure 7.41 Area of Metaponto: reconstruction of city house plots and land divisions recalling those of Archaic Aegean states, based on field evidence (after D. Mertens and E. Greco, *Urban planning in ancient Sicily*. In G. C. Carratelli, *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 243–310: fig. 247).

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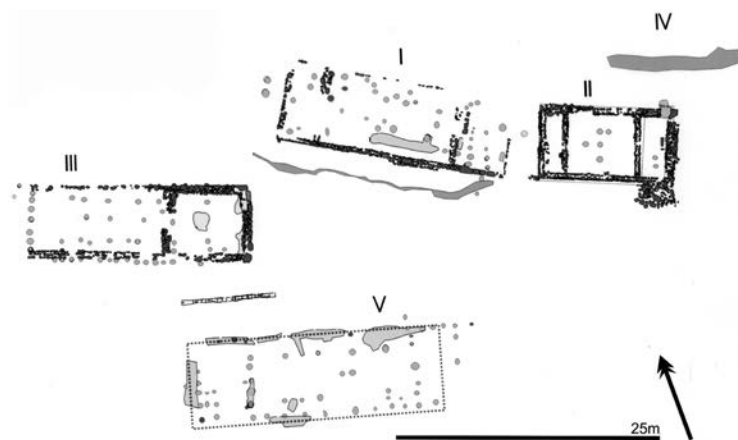
shared levels as a core element of polity membership, in a context of notional citizen equality – had widespread local awareness/acceptance.

The early development of Aegean-type cults in south Italian landscapes has partly similar implications. Here, the diversity of forms which developed shows that concepts and experiences of 'Greekness' were highly variable – and not always straightforwardly related to levels of contact with Aegean-originating groups. In this region, as in Sicily, monumental buildings with close correspondences to temples in Aegean *poleis* (and used in similar ways) were constructed at formally Greek-identifying polities as early as the late eighth century (Shepherd 2000). As in contemporary Aegean states, cult seems to have been an important focus for developing political identity in these settlements, and a vital buffer for

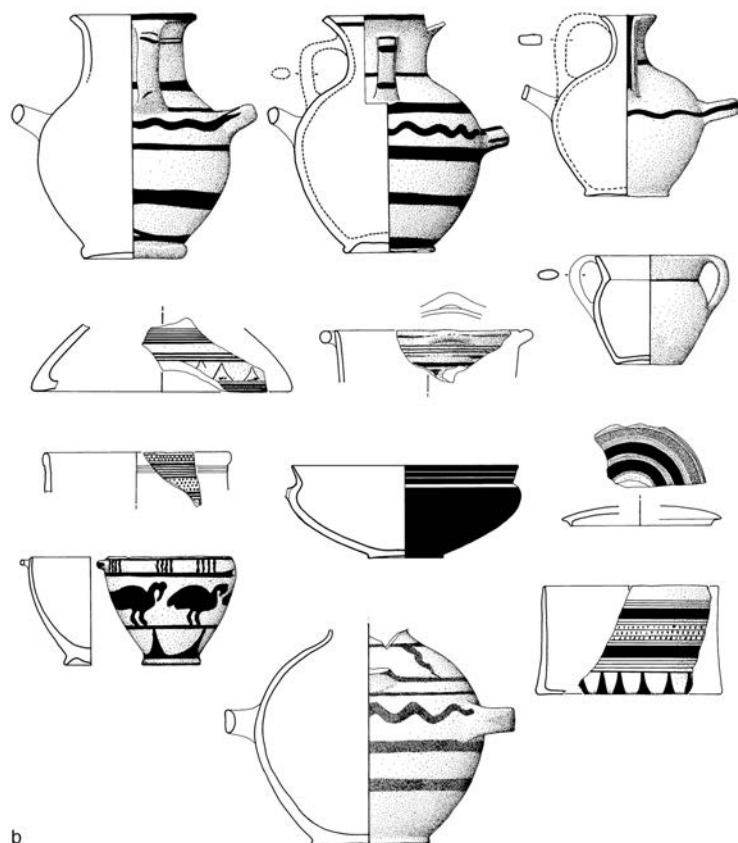
local and long-distance interaction in the highly competitive coastal urban context. Resistant or alternative cult practices are not strongly visible at these locations, showing how tightly and consciously 'Greek' culture was embedded in sociopolitical transformations and related power structures there.¹⁷ But at the edges of the coastal urbanised zone in Apulia and other south Italian coastal regions (c. 35–60 km away from coastal polities) other new types of cult – landscape-based and of much more loosely Aegean-referencing type – developed in the seventh and sixth centuries at places like Porto Caesareo and Serra di Vaglio (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 110). From the late eighth century at Timpone della Motta and (coastal) Francavilla Maritima, well-embedded local traditions such as water- and weaving-linked ritual, housed in separate large/monumental structures near settlements, incorporated innovative Aegean-style goods (figurines and imported pottery) in ways which suggest high awareness of Aegean-associated symbolic concepts/practices, but no standard 'Greek' cult package (Kleibrink et al. 2004: Figure 7.42).

Other kinds of ceremonial activity in the landscape (at greater distance from the coasts) show highly tangential reference to Aegean practice, yet were clearly still affected by changing regional political and economic outlooks connected to coastal interactions. For example, terracottas of a type specifically associated with Aegean-type temples (and made to order on the coast for this purpose) travelled inland to sites where other 'Greek' goods/practices were scarce. Their use here was not on temples, but does seem to have had some ceremonial aspect, showing recognition of the items' associations, with aspects of object agency clearly in play (Gosden 2004: 34; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 110–11). At a similar distance from the coastal zone, the new use of fortification walls, with forms consciously linked to masonry styles used at the coastal centres, appears by the fifth century at sites like Cozzo Presepe and Arpi, in the Tavoliere plain (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 109–10). This development occurred in a context of tension associated with growing complexity in the wider region. Communities were representing and advancing themselves in new ways, many ultimately linked to changes in the volume and direction of external interaction.

Malkin's concept of the 'middle ground' as 'what emerges from encounters' is directly relevant here (Malkin 2002b; 2004: 356–8). As I noted above, landscape-based aspects of Aegean-type cultural practice outside urban centres required deep local acceptance/adaptation to operate meaningfully. At the same time, they permanently *transformed* interactions in the landscape, creating new spaces and identities. In this context, it seems unlikely that entire symbolic areas like 'cult' could ever be hived off as part of a developing trajectory of control by Aegean-based or linked agents, even in regions with dense concentrations of Greek-identifying polities. Rather, they formed a language for new kinds of social engagement – at multiple levels, and with unknown outcomes. Consideration of sectors like cult in this way – as early, complex and powerful arenas of 'hybridisation' – exposes as shallow



a



b

Figure 7.42 (a) Temples of the eighth and seventh centuries BC at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta); (b) fine pottery of Greek type found at the Timpone della Motta site (after M. Kleibrink, J. K. Jacobsen and S. Handberg, 2004. Water for Athena: votive gifts at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima, Calabria). *World Archaeology* 36.1: 43–67: figs. 3; 6).

By permission of M. Kleibrink.

much past and present scholarly application of this concept to the record. Cultural transfer/borrowing/mixing in these contexts cannot be either uniformly read in terms of proportional power relations/strategic operations by agents within a binary system, *or* reduced to an inevitable, depersonalised or uncontroversial material process automatically arising from interaction (e.g. Knapp 2013: 454–5; Chapter 8; for critiques see Antonaccio 2005: 108; Dominguez 2012: 214).

Contemporary changes on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy further illustrate the diversity/malleability of acculturation connected to new volumes of movement. Both as a concept/practice and a material entity, 'Greekness' was clearly understood as enhancing social mobility. Yet it was not nearly as frequently framed in terms of whole-polity identity here as was the case in parts of south Italy/Sicily. Reasons seem to include the context of encounters with Aegeans and other easterners from an early date (rather than the simple volume of Aegean settlers/incomers). This context includes the history and nature of local resource and support networks (Leighton 2013). The long-established presence of large and wealthy inland settlements, which were able to consume and reproduce Aegean and other eastern goods knowledgeably and extensively through good economic access to zones of extensive interaction on the coasts, is illustrated by sites like Veii (Etruria) and Pontecagnano (Campania). Residents here acquired and deposited Greek imports in wealthy graves pre-dating those at Pithekoussai. At Osteria Dell'Osa in Latium, south-Italian-made Greek-inscribed pots were sourced by the late eighth century for use as prestigious grave goods (see Bietti Sestieri 1992: 21–76; 162–99, esp. 185; 250; d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988; Johnston 2002: 263–4; Kourou 2004; Ridgway 1996). None of these locations ever came to identify as Greek polities. In the same kind of sophisticated, selective cultural association with aspects of 'Greekness' I noted above at some inland Sicilian sites, personal names in the local language were inscribed on prestigious Aegean-type pots deposited in wealthy graves at Cumae, which *was* framed as a Greek polity (d'Agostino 2006: 232–3; Lomas 2004: 179; Ridgway 2012). In general, where 'Greek' foundation traditions developed in these regions they remained notably broad, indirect/generic and adaptable, rather than being focused on specific Aegean polities/identities. This pattern is seen, for example, in the tradition of Cumae's links to the culturally-mixed settlement of Pithekoussai, and in reference to the generic-type Greek figures of Homeric Odysseus and Corinthian Demaratus in many historical accounts/sets of imagery in the Tyrrhenian region. In the same vein, consumption of large volumes of standard Corinthian-style Greek pottery remained very long-established in this area, in the absence of specific political/consumption affiliations to individual Aegean polities (Ridgway 2012).

Sardinia was another area in which a combination of local wealth, multiple well-established long-distance connections, and interest in Aegean import uptake from the eighth century appears to have discouraged the establishment of 'Greek'-framed polities. Instead we see complex, sizeable

settlements identifying/aligning themselves in sophisticated ways during this period, including through reference to the local Bronze–Iron Age past and its cultural landscape, as well as to the Phoenician/Punic political sphere in some cases (Hayne 2010).

Living 'Greekness': social relationships in and outside 'Greek' polities in the central Mediterranean from c. 700 BC

What kinds of experiences and movements were involved in living in a Greek-aligned polity in south Italy during the seventh and sixth centuries? A broadly mixed class and gender structure seems likely in these towns from their earliest growth. The increased numbers of Aegean people travelling to the region are likely to have belonged in relatively loosely-/emergently-defined social groups, linked into strong economic and ethnic support networks in the Aegean, as discussed above. Social structure in south Italy in the preceding period shows few signs of institutionalised social hierarchy. If we discount ideas of wholesale takeover of the region by Aegeans and the imposition of pre-formed governance systems on local communities, this all suggests that 'Greek'-identifying urban coastal polities in the region developed through a template/culture of political consensualism, based on a fairly broad citizen class and those indebted/tied to it, in conscious connection to contemporary developing political structures in the Aegean (Lomas 2000). Models which see Aegean people as straightforwardly implanting or creating the structure of these polities ready-made have often presented rather different perspectives. For example, using direct analogy with recent colonial enterprises, some have envisaged founding/directing groups as mainly comprising unmarried young men, and on this basis have made further assumptions about power and wealth relations inside the developing polities, especially in relation to 'intermarriage' (Coldstream 1993; Shepherd 1999: 293–4; 2005a).¹⁸

A fully mixed class and gender structure within these towns certainly seems indicated by the sixth century, when a variety of types of Aegean migrant – including those seeking allocations of better or more land or trade opportunities than they had accessible at home – are still likely to have been in circulation. Given the embeddedness of slave labour in many production and trade sectors within the contemporary Aegean, a subclass of slaves of likely mixed origins was almost certainly involved with the first monumental urban projects at coastal sites identifying as 'Greek' and engaged in developing monuments and institutions typical of Aegean *poleis*. Contemporary evidence for slave mobility in the Aegean suggests that slaves could have moved both in specialised groups and separately, alongside individual citizen families (Finley 1973: 62–95, esp. 70; 74–6; Fisher 1998: 15–44; 50–3). In this context, consensual governance mechanisms are likely to have provided significant social mobility opportunities. The special circumstances of political and economic growth in south Italy added other dimensions of complexity

to the *polis*. Locally-specific social divisions probably came to apply between the ongoing flow of new Aegean-based incomers and residents with a longer family history at the polities or in their hinterlands. The number of polities citing formal links to Aegean regions with an early and long-established focus on pottery trade (Euboea, Corinth) indicates the high perceived importance and influence attributed to these regions – groups claiming descent/personal associations with them may thus in some circumstances have been viewed as having special status – notwithstanding their length of local residence/descent history. In contrast, other Aegean-based groups, such as Cretans and Rhodians (despite their ongoing general economic links with the west), seem to have had limited collective/formalised status in the south Italian sphere. Associations/ancestral links with these areas may have held less social advantage (Wallace 2010a: 369–70). Consensualist governance structures, along with the strong political focus of the time on generalised ethnic attachment, are likely to have helped integrate the ongoing streams of Aegean and other eastern visitors and settlers. As in many Aegean *poleis* (and perhaps especially in this region where strong social emphasis on descent bonds was combined with highly fluid, unequal economic opportunities) consensualism nonetheless allowed room for disproportionately powerful clans and individuals to emerge. Where tyranny developed, however, it was (as in the Aegean) still within nominally consensual structures, rather than producing the kind of permanently autocratic small states seen in many contemporary east Mediterranean areas.

Increasingly diverse skills and statuses for residents were implicit in the development of these polities. Expansion of territory and of trade volume helped to create external and internal inequality over time. Yet the centrality of political systems involving a broad citizen class, and the complex regional roots/identities behind the growth of the polities, seemingly prevented the positioning of Greek ethnicity early on as a socially exclusionary tool (e.g. in the kinds of ways seen in recent colonial practice – *contra* e.g. Smith 2011: 320). Entwined very deeply with the consensualist political structure, and forming a highly resonant, materially embedded and actively unifying cultural arena, 'Greekness' could buffer a range of interactions between recent incomers and existing resident groups, and within the latter. This fact, and the strongly materially-rooted nature of 'Greekness' in this context, makes the use of isolated object styles to identify socioeconomic relationships in ethnic terms problematic. Better insights on relationships arise from the study of broad contexts of behaviour, such as domestic practice (though the latter cannot be assumed to be free of symbolic or constructed content). For example, from at least the seventh century we see the appearance at south Italian 'Greek'-framed polities of house types closely paralleled in much of the central Aegean. Significantly, the houses were used in broadly the same ways as in the Aegean region, rather than the plan being adopted as a purely formal template (Nevett 1999: 81–154; 2010: 22–43; Shepherd 2012: 226; Figure 7.43). The wide use of this



Figure 7.43 House plots at Megara Hyblaea: plan and axonometric view of the area of the agora at the mid-sixth century BC. Grey shading shows eighth-century houses (after D. Mertens and E. Greco, 1996. *Urban planning in ancient Sicily*. In G. C. Carratelli, *The Greek world: art and civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli: 243–310).

By permission of E. Greco.

house plan/use pattern suggests that large numbers of people living in these polities from their earliest existence – and thus probably people of both genders and various origins – had direct domestic ties to Aegean-originating individuals, or had origins/experience in the Aegean themselves. In turn, this suggests there were few blanket ethnic restrictions on marriage with Aegean-descended or -associated people by males *or* females of other descent, provided class relations were respected (see Hall 2007: 40–1, who quotes Thucydides [6.6.2] to show that marriage regulations were nonetheless important and volatile in fifth-century Sicily, as in many parts of the Aegean, in connection with polity membership and rights). The conscious 'Greekness' of political culture at these sites suggests that (as in the patrilocal societies of the contemporary Aegean) females were more generally the mobile partner in marriage. In the wider regions surrounding coastal 'Greek' polities in Italy, bridegiving into the polities might well be appealing as a way of participating in their spectacular

growth. As noted above, previous models have tended to focus on this, assuming that male or female outmarriage/relocation *into* the wider local area from early 'Greek' polities did not apply (though see Finkelberg 2005: 105 for later sources documenting it). Urban coastal populations – imagined as composed mainly of male Aegean-born individuals – have been viewed as having no need, drive or encouragement to develop bonds with 'native' communities outside their polity, except in the course of various kinds of exploitation. It is true that the focusing of prestigious cultural 'Greekness' at the polities may have made women's outward physical relocation unattractive and encouraged in-movement by marriage for males from outside the polity (with bending of the patrilocality rule in these polarised circumstances). But I would suggest that notional 'original' ethnic attachment was much less of an obstacle to extra-polity alliances than the need to protect citizen status, and access to prestigious Greek culture, for polity-resident male citizens (whatever their origin). It certainly seems likely that unions between those belonging to citizen families in the polities and people of lower social rank (whatever their origin, residence location or sex) were discouraged. But movement of brides in or out of the polities between wealth peers could actually help to consolidate the structure of 'Greek'-framed citizenship from an early date, by asserting its attraction and bringing in new sources of wealth and support. Peer marriage into groups residing outside 'Greek' polities did pose issues regarding the residence and status of offspring, given the land-centred basis of the citizen status. Indeed, this latter arena may have been more strongly regulated than marriage itself. Some kind of choice (likely to involve community-level negotiation or legislation) surely had to be made between the offspring's full political participation in a 'Greek' polity setting and their operation within an external group. Homosexual male relations – a visible, celebrated and prestigious part of Greek culture likely to have been taken up in these polities at an early date – also seem unlikely to have been restricted on ethnic lines when the applied between equal-ranking partners. Less formally political than male-female marriage, and not linked to the question of descent, they may also have been tolerated across social/spatial boundaries, as in Greece – thereby operating as another mechanism of social and cultural mobility (see Dover 1978: 57–60; Fisher 2006: 343–4).

The cultural implications of any of the other personal relationship models above are emphatically not predictable. I would suggest, however, that repression/sidelining of local/traditional/'other' cultural practice is often likely to have come into play in a social environment which strongly associated 'Greekness' with a specific set of prestige attributes.¹⁹ Exceptions might occur when representation in alternative terms was deliberately pursued – e.g. where complex political agendas inside growing 'Greek' towns encouraged alignment with external statuses and traditions – or when external resistance to 'Greek' polities' territorial dominance/expansion was in play.

But residence in a region's central 'Greek'-framed polity and/or acculturation as 'Greek' seems often have been expected as the citizen norm. Territorial acquisitions, part-time (e.g. seasonal) shifts of residence, and wider personal connections linked to outmarriage or other relationships in the region outside the polity were, notwithstanding, likely to develop/maintain polity residents' familiarity with the culture and perspectives of wider regional communities, producing long-term impacts on cultural practice. What we *cannot* assume to have operated in this context are uniform convictions of racial or social superiority on the part of Aegean-descended people as a class, or a related focus on the preservation of their genetic line – i.e. the kinds of concerns characterising recent colonial scenarios. Though elements of binary outlook ('Greeks' versus 'others') did operate in the Mediterranean cultural and social world, and came to do so more strongly over time, this occurred in a highly constructed, specific and flexible sense, as I have indicated above and will return to discuss below.

Creative traditions and movement

Movement overseas 'came back' to the Aegean constantly through this period – both literally, in the sense of moving people, as systemic travel links developed between the east and central Mediterranean; and in terms of its effects on Aegean society. As long-distance political and economic linkages grew, many existing identity definitions within the Aegean apparently needed recarving. Individuals, groups within polities, and whole communities (in the contemporary context of densely-packed, similar and competitive small Aegean states) were all affected. Personal involvement in the world of western trade/settlement took on new status-linked associations within Aegean *poleis*. Membership of, or extensive contact with, groups at or around western polities was an increasingly solid, prestigious and social-mobility-building opportunity for Aegean residents. At the same time, overt focus on movement connected to trade activity (perhaps especially when conducted outside the 'Greek'-framed cultural framework abroad) seems often to have been perceived negatively, standing in contradistinction to the deep ideological focus of Aegean states on the sources of prosperity and authority as citizen ownership of land and (related) shared descent, rather than trade profit (see Finley 1973; Morris 1999).

Accommodating the realities of larger-scale travel and settlement overseas in the Aegean social framework increasingly meant rewriting history. The development of strong textual narratives about the origins of western Greek polities as Aegean-based land claims driven by fate or the gods, enacted by a single heroic founder (often an exile, and thus symbolically distinct from, while linked to, a specific 'original' Aegean polity) was important (Dougherty 1993). Rather than siting western 'Greek' settlements as functional, intrinsically secondary and socially-inferior outliers to Aegean cores (as in recent colonial-metropolitan scenarios), such constructions of history

blurred class/ethnicity boundaries across distance, with equally-shared membership in 'Greekness' formally stressed through written texts, oral traditions and other practices (drinking rituals, games, language). By the later Archaic period (early fifth century), the expanding scale and resonance of long-distance political and economic links was reflected in the emergence of two formal blocs around Athens and Sparta following the Persian War, and in response to related growth in aggrandising activities by west Asian players. This helped to change the role given to ethnicity in framing interaction over distance. In a world of higher-stakes alliances, collective descent links became more formal and exclusionary at large scale, cross-cutting class structures in new ways (Malkin 2004: 353–4; 2011: 40).²⁰ Major inter-polity and interregional links within 'Greekness' (such as Spartan/Peloponnesian connections to the south Italian mainland), were stressed in new ways. Text references to 'Dorian' and 'Ionian' descent for Aegean and, by extension, western Greek polities (and their echoes/references in other cultural forms) became more elaborate and were foregrounded in formal political contexts, such as treaties. Between 'Greek' polities in the central Mediterranean, origin traditions were strongly-embedded drivers in increasingly complex political and economic dealings involving various local power blocs. They helped build polities' internal coherence and connected them back to Aegean regions or specific Aegean polities, while remaining flexible enough to justify many kinds of local expansion, allegiance shift and dispute. The founder concept was heavily manipulated in this context: e.g. a tradition related to the Phoenician founder-hero Melqart in western Sicily was appropriated to fit local communities' political realignment as 'Greek' (i.e. 'Heraklid-descended') in the late sixth century, via the co-identification of Melqart and Herakles (Malkin 2011: 119–43; see Hodos 2006: 56–8).

The use of traditions in this way was creative/structuring in itself, rather than purely instrumental. As discussed in Chapter 6, Aegean descent traditions built on a consciousness of significant disruption, including various new kinds of movement, occurring from around 1200 BC, and the building of new community identities during the Iron Age. The latter were further crystallised and negotiated as states emerged, including through the epic stories. In recognising this – and the fact that material culture, language and writing forms, descent myths and concepts were shifting again by the fifth century, in ways which shored up existing political links over distance *and* supported new kinds of strategic alliance (including new overseas settlement foundations, wars and combinations of both) – we cannot treat texts about ethnicity and movement as accurate historical accounts of interaction. The clear responsiveness of the traditions to historical context, and their feedback into contemporary actions and perceptions, makes pinpointing any version of them as original 'truth' highly problematic (Dougherty ed. 1993; Dougherty and Kurke 1994; Dougherty and Kurke eds. 1993; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 102; Yntema 2011). Given their links to epic, which had roots

and levels of operation outside the state setting, we should consider that in the early boom period of western 'Greek' states some origin traditions were already viewed as part of a consciously supra-real narrative (and their ongoing elaboration consciously accepted as a result: Leriou 2007b: 28–9). As the political ground shifted, with ethnicity becoming a highly-elaborated and powerful political trope, this seems to have changed. Origin stories became part of 'official history' – referred to in prosaic political contexts – and less self-consciously dramatic. Herodotus in the sixth century and Thucydides in the fourth notably offer very different levels of detail when citing the same kinds of foundation/descent accounts (and supposedly related linguistic, cultural and political affinities) in explanation of contemporary political realities, including warfare *between* western Greek polities (Hall 2007: 193–4).

In the context described above, it seems safest to assume that Thucydides's 'historical' accounts of the movements/interactions which first produced 'Greek' *poleis* in south Italy (Thuc. 6.2–5) – accounts clearly linked into accounts by contemporary writers like Antiochus of Syracuse and drawn on and elaborated in turn by later writers – reflect (a) these polities' strong formal alignments with particular Aegean/east Mediterranean polities at the time of writing and (b) contemporary public awareness of their recent growth and its links to intense trade and settlement activity from the Aegean and the wider east Mediterranean. We cannot take the texts as literal accounts or dates of foundation – yet the window they offer on the processed experience, understanding and impact of contemporary and earlier movements and encounters is hugely important (Papadopoulos 1999).

Conclusions on Aegean-linked travel in the Iron Age–Archaic Mediterranean

Many past models – influenced by colonial discourse and by literal readings of Classical histories – have argued for agricultural settlement as a consistent driving/characterising factor in Aegean overseas movement during this period (see e.g. Aubet Semmler 2002b: 98–9; Boardman 2001; Finley 1973; Serrati 2000 for subsistence motives as a characteristic feature of Aegean [but not Levantine] movement). Some scholars (e.g. Smith 2011; Nijboer 2011) have drawn direct analogies with recent colonial scenarios, such as European farmers' emigration to America in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries AD – though the conquest-based context, permanence/distance, ideological outlook and large-scale economic setting/risks of that phenomenon contrast starkly with circumstances in the eighth- to sixth-century Aegean and Italy. Critiques of these models often fail to escape related assumptions. For example, Shepherd suggests 200–300 people in Aegean 'colonising parties' typically settling at early south Italian coastal polities by direct analogy with early north American settlement (Shepherd 2005a: 129–30). Smith (2011: 317) uses de Angelis' (2003: 17–18; 33; 41–3) reconstruction of early Megara Hyblaea to suggest that a constant stream of new settlers,

mainly focused on acquiring and settling agricultural territory, produced a population of over 2000 at the site by 600 BC).²¹ In fact, the early EIA gap before the takeoff of intensive Aegean-based interaction with the central Mediterranean, and the wider economic context in which that takeoff was embedded, suggest that subsistence requirements did *not* form the ongoing main driver of Aegean movement west – though the development of formal cultural and political links between western 'Greek' and Aegean polities clearly encouraged interest over time in permanent relocation, requiring support from agricultural holdings.

'Needs' for metals are also often used to explain/characterise Aegean movement west in this period, just as they have been used to explain other Aegean movements discussed in this book (see recently e.g. Dominguez 2012: 208; Shepherd 1999: 271). Coastal Levantine and Cypriot communities had made metals a significant arena of early engagement with the west, as shown above. This engagement, and the Aegean involvement which followed it, clearly drew on and boosted existing strong local metals acquisition and trade networks. Together with the late entry of Aegeans as proactive players to the west Mediterranean trade world, and their lack of strong international standing in connection with metals, this background does not suggest that metals acquisition was in fact the dominant mode in the rise of intensive Aegean movement /settlement in the central Mediterranean. This does not mean that Aegeans had less interest in accessing metals than their Levantine peers, or that they had systematically to fight for access to metals with the latter, or with local residents.

Like land-focused arguments, models centring on metals acquisition as a central mode for Aegean travel often assume the comprehensive inequality (and straightforward exploitability) of local groups vis-à-vis Aegean populations (again in ways recalling some recent colonial scenarios: see Smith 2011; Sommer 2011: 188). Few models try to imagine acquisition processes in more detail (though there are exceptions: Ridgway [1997: 337] imagines 'Euboean *negotiators* seeking to ensure a steady supply of iron ore' in the eighth-century Tyrrhenian; Albanese Procelli [2003] highlights likely variability in forms of procurement practice operating at Greek-aligned Sicilian coastal polities, including alliances, conflicts and various forms of cohabitation). Metals were the highest-level good circulating across the Mediterranean world. As such, they provided a direct line of communication and engagement between people of rank and influence from all regions involved in newly developing contacts. The dynamically-changing patterns of metal circulation and use from c. 1200 BC, linked to the collapse of old copper-linked power systems and the rising awareness and popularity of widely accessible iron technology, meant that metals procurement and technology at the new 'cutting edge' signified the standing, experience, ambition and intent of those involved in long-distance movement and contact *in ways separable from their home region's resources or their ethnicity*. As

a general trope, then, 'metals sourcing/need' like 'land hunger', fails to significantly develop our understanding of how directional interaction took place, or of its impact.

Geography conditioned Aegean movement heavily at this time – but clearly not in a predictable fashion or along permanent lines of 'connectivity'. Both the prior history of contacts and the (partly-related) nature of contemporary reception contexts affected the way this occurred. The lack of intensive/politicised Levantine involvement along the south Italian coasts is a good example. This offered a niche for Aegean-centred travel, in turn connected to opportunities for local uptake of mainly Aegeanising goods and ultimately the framing of many coastal polities as 'Greek'. Route geography (and perhaps this region's lack of known metals resources, which were evidently of highly targeted interest to early Levant-based travellers) surely played a role in this pattern. But reception context and political feedback were crucial in consolidating it. Aegeans clearly came to see conditions in this region as optimal for large-scale investment, with the emergence of interstate competition/conflict in the Aegean affecting how local groups' connections to the Aegean were constructed over time. Patterns of formal association/alliance/conflict between south Italian polities made reference to aspects of real contact, development and trade history and were legitimised and developed through constructed foundation accounts (Euboean-centred for east Sicilian polities; Peloponnesian for many south mainland areas). As Aegean political tensions grew in scale by the fifth century, connections and conflicts between aligned settlements in the central Mediterranean fed back in turn into politics and cultural practice.

Movement models for this period have been deeply influential on historical thought. 'Greek colonisation' has formed an important arena for scholarly agendas on movement and has been a frequent source of analogy (even within discussions of itself: e.g. Sommer 2011). However, conceptions of the kinds of movement involved and their impact are now changing deeply. At one end of the Iron Age, c. 1200 BC, new research is helping us re-evaluate text-based models of movement and articulate a traditionally obscure archaeological record. At the other end (from the eighth century through the Archaic period) the sense of an open-and-shut case for mass Aegean movement west, with straightforward drivers such as innate entrepreneurship, land or metals hunger, and standard/inevitable effects, has started to be unpicked via exploration of agency, identity and experience, including nuanced, sophisticated readings of texts.

These developments turn some standard wider assumptions about movement, identity and culture on their heads. In the Aegean, this period saw the emergence of more numerous and strongly defined political and cultural boundaries than ever before, but *also* witnessed especially high-volume, effective and rewarding forms of movement. Movement into, around and through the Aegean from wealthier and more complex east Mediterranean areas had an enormous impact – but involved no uniform or straightforward

pattern of dominance, emulation or resistance. Groups across the Aegean developed a strong cohering identity ('Greekness') in contradistinction to a generic idea of 'the east' – yet in many settings were also perceived and perceived themselves as culturally, politically and economically contained *within* 'the east'. The dense, multi-stranded network of travel and exchange across the Mediterranean emerging in this period invites the application of 'classic' Mediterraneanist models. Yet although connectivity was strongly supported by regional geography (and by contemporary shipping technology), the new intensity and transformative impact of travel clearly relate to very specific historical circumstances.

The timing of the takeoff of commodity production in the Aegean by comparison to the Levant, the historically- rooted phenomenon of mule, small, similar Aegean polities tightly and prominently defined through ethnicity by 700 BC, and the varying contact and reception environments/experiences for eastern groups generally in the central Mediterranean, meant that newly extensive networks of travel and contact did not produce close similarities in culture or politics across the whole movement region. Perceptions and experiences of movers and their associated goods had a crucial role. The physical presence of migrants and the nature of encounters with them (rather than object agency on its own) were vital to the intensive import and uptake of 'Greek' material culture in the central Mediterranean in the eighth to sixth centuries. Yet the ways these factors operated contrast strongly with the highly personified/embodied aspects of recent colonial practice (Malkin 2004: 358). Recent colonial systems usually had a strong metropolitan nucleus in the 'homeland' and required an elaborate apparatus of representative/instrumental personnel in order to establish and maintain control over far-flung and frequently destabilised colony units. The special roots and multi-centred character of Aegean/east Mediterranean connections in the west produced a much lower degree of polarisation; power in the emerging western polities was based on the development and maintenance of strong cultural associations with locales of growth in the east, rather than direct control from them. Though this prevented the emergence of some typical colonial 'problems' such as generalised resistance movements, it did not produce systemic security. The density of 'Greek' polities in parts of the central Mediterranean, in conjunction with their scattered historic attachments to specific Aegean regions/states, meant interpolity tensions here could easily tie into frictions in the Aegean itself and fuel them further. The huge Aegean power blocs seen by the fifth century needed to be so extensive, and were so friction-prone, partly because they encompassed large areas of overseas interest with their own volatile dynamics (Hall 2007: 198).

Socially-fragmented/-fragmenting and security-threatening types of movement dominated the crisis period c. 1200 BC. Increasingly planned, inclusive and state-embedded movement over distance was a major force in social and political change by the end of the EIA. These different contexts of

movement and their impacts help us to understand how much social outlooks and structures shifted during the course of the period, and the need to avoid *either* lumping the whole period together as a one of 'movement/instability' *or* retrojecting later, better-known types of movement (such as colonial expansion) into a past where they do not belong. The two types/periods of movement described above were linked, in a number of different ways. Both were rooted in an east Mediterranean economic and political environment markedly different from that of the Late Bronze Age – one which supported a more multi-linear and equalised structure of movement, and where identity and power structures were developing outside large-scale territorial state environments. A shift towards descent-linked, ethnic-type identity as an ideological focus and sociopolitical structure grew from early in the period, affecting the way long-range movement was viewed/structured and how it developed.

We might try to encapsulate movement's impact over this period as follows: it destroyed Aegean complexity in the crisis c. 1200 BC and built it up again c. 800–600 BC. In fact, the dichotomy is not so clear-cut. Disruptive movements by newly-identifying groups at the end of the LBA actually seem to have grown out of overextended complexity, and to have been instrumental in building the patterns of institutionalisation seen in the later EIA Aegean. As the latter process took off, Aegean-based movements over distance were ever more easily facilitated and productive. Over time, however, the impact of this kind of movement in creating a huge interlinked political world actually weakened state autonomy and forced precarious alliances, undermining complex systems.

Notes

- 1 Wealthy groups in the central Mediterranean show departures from Aegean-type prestige references in metal production at this time – with gravitation to Levantine-linked/-internationalised forms, whether these were made in local or Cypriot/east Mediterranean metal (cf. the bronze mirrors found in rich tombs at Pantalica, Sicily). The occasional Italian bronze items in the south and west Aegean probably arrived via the growing volume/targeting of Levantine/Cypriot-backed trips to Italy which had helped produce this effect (Eder and Jung 2005: 489–90; Jung 2011; Jung and Mehofer 2008).
- 2 Whatever the exact routes of its uptake, the advent of cremation cannot be isolated from the wider context of deep social change in the period (though this is often what happened in older models of mass population replacement, e.g. those citing the Dorian migration tradition to argue for major incursions from the Balkans; see Eder and Jung 2005: 492–3). At the same time, the geographically wide-ranging use of cremation shows clearly that Aegean groups were not cut off from contemporary long-range interactions.
- 3 I will term this entity, with its long-term shared features, 'Greek', from at least the time of Homer – seeing it as prefiguring Jonathan Hall's 'Hellenic self-consciousness' while stressing, as Hall does, its diverse/partial forms of consciousness/representation, aspects of polity-centredness and lack of clearly-structured descent rules at this early period (Hall 2007a: 36).

- 4 That these polities saw value in acknowledging and building on links to the Aegean region in other ways is indicated by their adoption of alternative identities/alignments (such as 'Aeolic' in the case of Smyrna, which later moved towards assimilation of the Ionian identity: see Greaves 2011b: 505; Hdt. 1.6.2.26–8).
- 5 Ridgway (1992: 113) argues that this kind of 'factory' or bottling centre could also have been organised by eastern/Aegean players in the contemporary central Mediterranean.
- 6 Mercenary groups are referred to by the sixth century in Near Eastern texts as including people from Greek-aligned areas. The category has been regularly re-projected to explain 'Greek' cultural items/practices at small/embedded scales in the Iron Age Near East (e.g. Fantalkin 2006; Kuhrt 2002). However, most such categorisations do not further explore or theorise these suggested types of long-distance encounter and their possible impacts.
- 7 See, for example, a recent direct comparison of central Mediterranean Iron Age sites with imported and imitated Aegean material to Dutch colonial base camps in South Africa by Nijboer (2011).
- 8 Ridgway (1997) highlights bronze cheese graters (first seen in graves in the rich ninth-century east Greek mainland and linked to prestige drinking ritual). These appear in rich graves in Etruria, Sicily and Ischia by the seventh century.
- 9 A similarly reductive (converse) interpretation has been made for contemporary Sicily: at Syracuse, Aegean-type straight pins and a particular locally-rooted fibula type (which was often exported to the Aegean) have been seen as associated with 'Greek' types of female dress, and thus, again, as indicating 'Greek women' marrying locals. Loading these kinds of complex interpretations on dress pins and associated objects (without support from reliable skeletal evidence across large samples) is problematic and often transparently inadequate, requiring further, tortuous sets of assumptions to explain anomalies: for example, the pins are often found with children, and appear in highly unequal proportions between sites of this date with Aegean-type goods (see Shepherd 2005b: 117; 1999: 289–96; 2013; Hodos 2012).
- 10 For examples of already-established sites affected by Levantine-centred movement along the south Iberian coast at the same time, see e.g. Aubet Semmler 2002a; Gonzalez Prato 2002.
- 11 The case of Timpone della Motta, a long-established inland Iron Age site in the same region (Jacobsen and Handberg 2012) has some characteristics partly similar to those of Incoronata, with Aegean imports appearing from the early eighth century and a dominance of Aegean-style pottery by the early seventh century. This evidence, too, has been treated in strongly culture-historical terms: two large eighth-century buildings rich in specialised pottery and other finds, including exceptional quantities of Aegean imports and locally-made Aegeanising items (which are also seen in the contemporary cemetery) are reified in the excavators' analysis as the dwellings of a 'Greek enclave'. Evidence for pottery-making in this area, including manufacture of local-tradition wares, is glossed as the activity of 'Euboean potters' because it includes Aegeanising pottery in local fabrics.
- 12 De Angelis suggests that these significant economic/territorial shifts match up with pollen-core evidence for deforestation in the region (citing Tinner et al. 2009 for the latter). He equates all these events neatly to 'Greek' incomers by assuming a largely undeveloped agricultural economy prior to this period (a point which is highly questionable in view of the island's fertility and long settled history). Assumptions about malaria resistance and superior military skills as innate attributes of 'Greeks' are adduced to shore up a model of conquest-based territorial development.
- 13 Tsetskhladze and Hargrave (2011: 165) show how this 'trajectory' model (alongside a tendency to rely heavily on ancient text accounts) remains at the core of much recent analysis. They attempt to cross-tabulate text-derived 'settlement/

foundation' dates of various south Italian settlements which later identified themselves as 'Greek' *poleis* with the dates of the earliest Aegean imported pottery found at those sites, the aim being to help fix the timing and mode of first contact and related change. A (pottery) date before the textual foundation date is the main criterion they use to identify a 'prospective/pioneering' context of contact. However, the categorisation of the pottery *from the outset* into 'precolonial' or 'first colonial' dating categories allows little space for interpretation outside a teleological box. The pottery in question is often of broadly the same types and amounts between sites. See Ridgway 2004: 17 for a succinct critique of this kind of categorisation.

- 14 Descent-focused Greek traditions from Homer onwards positioned 'Greeks' against generic 'easterners' – a feature strengthened after the Persian war.
- 15 New concentrations/locations of Cypriot settlement developed in the eleventh century as part of long-term readjustments post-1200 BC, including shifts/nucleations around existing settlement centres. We see the growth of Salamis, a former port zone for Enkomi; Kourion and Amathus replaced/nucleated major settlements at Alassa and Episkopi respectively; Kition emerged as a successor to the Hala Sultan Tekke and Kalavassos settlements (Iacovou 2008; Knapp 2013: 451; 464–8).
- 16 The reality is highly complex, and regionally variable. Scholarship drawing on models of Aegean refugees in Cyprus in the early EIA, affected by colonial discourse, and referencing Archaic–Classical text accounts representing Aegean connections with Cyprus (as with Anatolia, north Africa and the central Mediterranean) in terms of direct colonisation, has suggested late Iron Age Cypriot kingdoms as direct Aegean colonies (cf. Boardman 2001: 36; Counts and Iacovou 2013; Iacovou 2006; 2008; 2012; see Leriou 2007a: 566–8; Voskos and Knapp 2008: 661–2 for critique). The discovery at tenth-century Kouklia in west Cyprus of a Greek name inscription in the local Cypriot syllabary script has been used to suggest an early EIA colonisation from the Aegean. But in the context of Cypriot–Aegean relations in the latest LBA/early EIA, the presence of people with Greek names in the island at this date is far from surprising (Karageorghis 1983: 59–76; 1994; Knapp 2013: 466). The Greek names of a number of seventh-century kings in the same region, and the use of the Greek term 'basileus' to define the status of king over a much wider area of the island, can be read against the same background. Such names and terms must have become increasingly resonant in the sociopolitical context of the later Iron Age, with its stress on ethnic distinctions and couching of alignments in ethnohistorical terms. Overall, though, there is no evidence that the island's polities were formed or taken over as a whole or in part by a Greek-speaking majority in the Iron Age/early Archaic periods: the use of a local Cypriot language into Archaic is documented in bilingual texts (Iacovou 2008).

The Phoenician alphabet is documented as used in Cyprus earlier than it was in the Aegean, by the tenth century, mainly to write Semitic-language inscriptions (Lipinski 2004). This distinct difference between the Aegean and Cyprus in the respective closeness of contacts with Phoenicia is supported by other evidence. Phoenician 'colonisation' of parts of Cyprus by c. 700 BC has been argued on the basis of this connection and of some other cultural practices, such as infant burial in Levantine jars at Salamis (recalling similar practices in the central Mediterranean) and the use of the Phoenician term 'mlk' (ruler) to define kings at Kition. A Late Bronze sanctuary building at the same site was re-used as a shrine in Phoenician style, with inscriptions dedicated to the Phoenician goddess Astarte, by the eighth century (Negbi 1992: 605; Smith 2008). In both cases discussed (Aegean and Phoenician linkages to Cyprus) many aspects of cultural uptake recall the

kinds of conscious and selective subregional alignments seen in contemporary central Mediterranean societies, though a historically different, closer context of connection between Cyprus and both the Aegean and Levantine areas affected the way alignments occurred in this case.

- 17 Though characteristic local developments in temple form over time (e.g. use of deep-porched plans, flexible location of temples within settlements) suggest well-rooted and rapidly-developing regional, polity and sub-polity identity structures being articulated through 'Greekness'. For the formally 'Greek' coastal polity of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, de Polignac (1999) shows how from the beginning of use of the temple form, cult locales within the settlement built on existing local ritual associations with landscape, as well as on developing social currents/divisions in the growing population (see also Gras and Treziny 2012: 1135–6). Some developing extra-urban cult sites made reference to existing traditional practices (e.g. chthonic cults) in a way which matched no Aegean pattern: in other cases, aspects of Aegean-linked cult were reconceptualised or stressed in new ways – as in the case of the Demeter and Persephone cults adopted and adapted in much of south Italy (see e.g. Shapiro 2002).
- 18 Hodos (1999) has critiqued such assumptions by noting that later Greek traditions fail to specify male-only *foundation*, except in rare cases such as that of Miletus (as described by Thucydides). However, if (as I have argued) movement traditions should be treated consistently as a generalised trope of historical explanation rather than factual accounts, we cannot reliably use individual stories of 'foundation' circumstances as reliable descriptions of travelling groups' composition.
- 19 Though see Finkelberg (2005) who argues that non-Greek social traditions in south Italy giving a strong role to females would encourage some local acculturation when males married out of 'Greek' polities (see also Albanese Procelli 1999: 332 on strong female-based descent and wealth ties in EIA Sicilian communities).
- 20 Citing the fifth-century prescription that only Greeks could compete in the Olympic Games, but noting that the rule was waived when traditions of Greek heroic descent could be applied to non-Greeks, as to Alexander I of Macedon, who claimed descent from Herakles.
- 21 De Angelis gives a figure of 1125 people at the site by 675–650 BC, extrapolating to the whole site from the (limited) excavated area at its maximum argued occupation density. His estimated growth rate is based on some questionable and laden assumptions – e.g. the assumption of a low density of people per house in the earliest expansion ('colonisation') period, on the premise that early colonising groups would not have familial residences (yet would, apparently, live in separate domestic structures).

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8 Conclusions

Movement disassembled

Movement and history: finding patterns

The main approaches used in this book (contextual, historical) and the case studies, chosen to cover a very long time range, come together to show that there is no repeated/predictable pattern or process of transformative movement in the development of Aegean/east Mediterranean civilisations – but that movement *did* repeatedly act as a socially transformative factor. This stressing of the highly contingent origins and effects of movement is at the expense of some influential previous models. Yet it also rehabilitates and reforms some past concepts of directional movement as a major force in change. At the beginning of the book, I stressed the need to develop the potential of exciting new data on movement from the Aegean area by systematically re-evaluating influential models and encouraging specialists to reconsider/ re-investigate existing assumptions. I also argued the need to make this rewriting accessible and relevant to readers outside the specialist area of Aegean prehistory by providing a set of updated, positive, and well-reasoned models of movement and its impact. In fulfilling these aims, I have tried throughout to reassess movement's broad historical significance on one hand, and provide detailed insight into its nature and experience on the other. The chance to help develop the potential of some very recent research and ideas in the Aegean field (on FN and EIA Aegean settlement; on network theory; on technology and innovation in the MB–LB periods; on how ancient texts are approached; on the nature of acculturation and cultural mixing) has been stimulating. Movement has also proved an especially useful lens through which to review current big questions in Aegean prehistory: why did states emerge several times in this region, and in such disjointed ways? How did language, ethnicity and other prominent cultural connections and divisions develop in the region over time? The very regular occurrence of long-distance movement in and around the ancient Aegean, as demonstrated by long-term cultural linkages, led me to focus on the region as a notional entity. Yet I have shown, as intended, that it was rarely a coherent unit in cultural, political or social terms during the long period discussed. At different times, movement was pushed

by or brought about shared structural features across parts of the region. However, movement also contributed to breaking apart shared cultural and social models and practices.

My conclusion that specific episodes and types of movement *were* major factors in transformative change for societies in or around the early Aegean highlights problems with recent perspectives tending to marginalise early Mediterranean movement *a priori*, to examine it only at small-scale level, or to generalise it as endemic and universally conditioning. I also concluded that transformative movement in all the cases studied was highly agentified – with feedback from existing movement patterns and encounters repeatedly encouraging agents to develop specific strategies of movement. This, again, undermines recent tendencies to depersonalised, ecological-type perspectives on movement. At the same time, I have stressed that moving agents were unable to directly shape the sociocultural outcomes of movement. A host of other factors – among them, especially, the nature of encounters – conditioned these outcomes, with no highly standardised kinds of long-term, predictable movement processes or impacts identifiable across the time periods studied.

Older types of movement model tending to reify populations, and to map their movements, in terms of sets of cultural traits and their diffusion have been particularly influential in the Mediterranean, especially the Aegean, for reasons I have discussed. These models mostly date from the early to mid-twentieth century, and still deeply affect the work of scholars trained in that period, and their pupils. Here I have shown such models to be rooted in specific historical discourses – and to have distorted the evidence on movement in various important ways. I have also elucidated how recent tendencies to marginalise movement episodes as a major change factor in the early Mediterranean/Aegean have come about partly in reaction to these perspectives. Other factors in these tendencies have included interest in the social and environmental contexts/constraints affecting movement (drawing on perspectives in anthropology and the natural sciences). A focus on factors like subsistence, ecology and the systemic growth of large-scale, long-distance trade (subsuming processes like prestige emulation) in order to explain sociocultural change has grown during the last thirty years. Movement in the study region has increasingly been viewed in (related) Mediterraneanist perspectives, stressing its long-term and endemic character, rather than its capacity for episodically transformative force. I have argued here that as a result of this interpretative history, general understanding of the role of ancient Aegean/east Mediterranean movement – an issue of ongoing popular interest, given the concentrated growth, obvious proximity and highly visible interaction of the Aegean and east Mediterranean civilisations c. 3000–600 BC – remains confused and frustrated. Semi-popular accounts like those of Bernal (1991) and Diamond (1997) illustrate the force, variety and frequent epistemological incoherence of work trying to understand/reinstate/reorient movement as an explanation for change. I hope to have clarified existing

models and provided material for further thought in future accounts of the Mediterranean at this level.

While dismissing many aspects of the long-term geographical determinism variously applied to early Aegean movement (whether in terms of explaining its causes or its effects), I have argued in this book that geography played an important, but always historically and socially contextualised, role in determining movement's nature and impact. The Aegean's geographical position vis-à-vis the Near East clearly assisted the rise of social complexity in the region and affected its structure, in connection with movement to and from that region. Yet this occurred in a disjointed manner, not explainable by simple proximity. Contrasts in sub-regional geography, subsistence systems, population and scale all contributed to the disjuncture. Movement-linked change often took off most precociously in small nodes, sometimes leaving large areas 'out of the loop' or allowing them to follow divergent paths, notwithstanding their proximity to (or existing cultural and linguistic links with) already complex areas. After state-level complexity had developed throughout the Aegean region (MB III/LB I), differences in scale, positioning and topography *continued* to affect the economic and political outlook of various sub-regions. A geographical factor often influencing the impact of movement was the Aegean's relative poverty in the resources central to wider east Mediterranean value systems from the EBA onwards. Long-term, this feature often linked Aegean economies together in ways which embedded and boosted movement – including through the favouring of trade in added-value goods and of a niche-finding focus in long-distance economic relations. Yet I have shown that contingent and agent-related factors, including the mode and scale of travel itself, identity consciousness, and the nature of encounters, always mediated these geographically-based constraints and push factors.

Long-term processual/deterministic perspectives on social development have also been undermined in this study. Civilisational 'rise and fall' (e.g. Spengler 1908; Toynbee 1934) has long been discredited as a predictive historical pattern. However, transformations affecting complex societies are often still analysed in the essentially processual/evolutionary terms of state emergence/development/expansion versus decline/transformation/subversion/collapse (e.g. McAnany and Yoffee 2010; Sahlins and Service 1960: 37; Service 1962; Tainter 1990; Yoffee and Cowgill 1988). Such models often tend either to oversimplify, or to minimise, potentially contingent factors in change, including movement, even while they usefully critique aspects of diffusionist explanation. This book's broad-ranging consideration of the east Mediterranean as the 'birthplace' for the world's first civilisations has highlighted the point that although some individual regional patterns fit broad processual models of change, no larger-scale, uniform cycle of social development can be traced over the crucial c. 3000-year multi-civilisational 'birth' period discussed here. Movement played an important role in social history, yet cannot be linked predictably to standard marker stages in state emergence

or collapse. In some cases studied here, movements between socially unequal areas did help build classic 'secondary' states over relatively short periods. But in others movement failed to significantly raise complexity levels in the less-developed regions, and/or affected them negatively/in unpredictable ways. The exact type, context and experience of movement/encounter involved have been shown to be crucial factors in these differences.

This study has noted that the high popular profile of environmental change currently affects archaeological and historical writing, including on the early Aegean.¹ Views of sociocultural change as part of ecological systems, pushed by a range of factors including movement, are currently attractive. Contemporary politics and funding programmes demand big, simple and popular explanations for change in human societies past and present: environment and migration are two top-interest items in this regard. Though most academic studies no longer argue overtly that sets of natural laws govern social change, they often place such weight on factors like environmental shifts and (related) population movement as to imply that these have been the most regular major drivers of past change. There thus seems more work to do in divorcing the history of movement from ecological perspectives on human behaviour: this study hopes to provide a marker in the debate.

'Rethinking' of various aspects of Aegean/east Mediterranean prehistory in a reflexive, post-structuralist perspective has been a particular feature of the last ten or fifteen years, as the discipline takes stock of its huge dataset and rich historiography (e.g. Cherry et al. 2005; Galaty and Parkinson 1999; 2007; Hamilakis ed. 2002; 2007; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Hodder 2000). This book has been influenced by, and forms a self-conscious part of, that tendency, engaging in critique of a wide variety of earlier movement-linked models for Aegean prehistory/Classical archaeology. It has identified legacies from nationalist, imperialist, modernist and capitalist discourses in general, and from culture-/race-historical thinking in particular, in this context. Notions of moving populations as holding innate socioculture attributes, or as primed mainly to seek out resource or exploitation opportunities – grounded in nineteenth-century capitalism – have been questioned or set aside here with the aim of 'agentifying' migrants and their encounters in a more nuanced fashion, paying attention to ancient cultural and social context in its broadest sense (as earlier advocated in Aegean studies by scholars as diverse as Finley [1973] and Renfrew [1972]). Recent trends in cultural studies, including perspectives on materiality which encourage multiple ways of understanding objects and objects' travel, have been incorporated in this. I have shown that we should not neglect economic aggrandisement as a recurring driver in movement – and indeed, much of the evidence for movement we have available in terms of transported or modified artefacts is likely to relate to trade activities of various kinds, many linked to aggrandising interests. But I have also tried here to foreground the social embedding of movement and its multi-layered agency, rather than its economic instrumentality, and to consistently explore encounters, self-consciousness

and negotiation around the movement of people and objects. Noting the way that scale, inequality, distance and other conditioning factors, as well as natural resources, conditioned movement over distance, including in connection to trade, has been important. The lens of capitalism has problematically tended to polarise ancient interacting groups as goods marketers/materials procurers on one side, and passive consumers/suppliers on the other. Yet the (capitalism-rooted) anthropology of consumer societies in the last fifty years has also helped show students of the ancient world that ancient consumption, like other movement-related processes, was in fact self-consciously and sophisticatedly manipulated. Technology, often seen as a 'natural' aggrandising tool in both evolutionary and market-based models of movement, is indicated by this study to have held a more ambiguous position. It seems to have been encouraged to shift/develop by and through movement only in particular circumstances, and in highly varying modes (from the transfer of copper technology in connection to the movement of Anatolian groups in the Aegean islands, to the rise of the potter's wheel or of particular sailing technologies in Aegean palatial societies). Technological change is shown here to have built on networks of already dense, cross-directional movement, as well as helping to drive them.

I hope to have demonstrated, via a reflexive approach, that despite the heavy influence of its discourses on the relevant literature, recent colonial history proves forms a generally poor source of analogy for movement in the ancient Aegean. The political development of ethnicity in the Aegean occurred late in prehistory – during the late LBA/EIA. As late as the Archaic period, it does not seem to have been strongly or straightforwardly manipulated as either an instrument of oppression or a tool of resistance in areas where Aegean-based travel was significant. Violent physical conquest was also not demonstrably involved in movement episodes as often as culture-historical and colonial-discourse models assume. That ancient Aegean societies did engage in both violent and ethnically-differentiated practices in the course of movement by the later LBA is clear. But in most of the periods discussed here, Aegean inhabitants moving/settling abroad apparently lacked either a primary interest in, or the capability of, suppressing ethnically-distinguished local populations. The late date of Aegean groups' full 'arrival' (as state entities) in an already complex east Mediterranean political world, the small scale of even the largest Aegean states in comparison with their Near Eastern neighbours, and the multi-nodal but non-parallel nature of Aegean polities' external interactions all help to explain this. There do, however, seem to be some general analogies with the behaviour seen in early colonial European competition overseas, as others have noted (e.g. Snodgrass 2005). For example, many Aegean-based long-distance movements involved staking a claim and developing a base in wider existing economic systems, from a position which never controlled that system.

Studies in the postmodern humanities have emphasised that social identity is culturally, consciously and complexly constructed. In discussing the ancient Aegean I have highlighted the ways in which this process was conditioned

and influenced by movement, noting the problems with assuming reified long-term identity characteristics/outlooks for specific moving groups. Early moving Aegeans were not generally or continuously characterisable via simplified tropes like those of 'warriors' or 'entrepreneurs'. The Aegean context, with its late and non-parallel development of complexity, small and internally-variable geographical scale, special locational context, and history (including a strong history of regular short-distance movement/contacts) did condition the actions of the region's inhabitants in some similar ways across time. But this produced no standard outlook on, operational coherence in, or benefit from movement. The idea of long-term interest in land acquisition through movement as inherent in Aegean communities (partly rooted in recent/contemporary perceptions of Aegean lands as 'poor') seem particularly difficult to square with the varying nature and impact of movement or the various kinds of socioeconomic and political constraints applying in the Mediterranean region during the periods covered. This does not mean that Aegeans who moved (especially in circumstances of relatively high-volume, structured, and permanent travel and settlement, such as LB III operations in coastal Anatolia or late EIA settlement in Italy) placed no importance on establishing a secure, permanent subsistence base: the converse is true.

The study has shown no systemic correlation between movement episodes and the rise of direct competition between groups in the areas where movement originated. Economic growth through travel could clearly occur without this element, though the multi-nodal Aegean sociopolitical context might often contain indirect pressure of this type. The busy, small-scale Aegean travel environment, with limited niches for growth, meant that mutual *support*, or at least partial neutrality/collaboration, quite frequently helped to support Aegean-based movement. For Aegean societies in most periods treated here, expansion of the economic base very often involved procurement/trade in goods and materials, with travel an essential corollary in the contemporary resource/technology context. These societies benefited from their relatively small distance from resource-rich areas/customer bases and from a strong base of endemic contact networks, which built confidence in long-distance engagements (while also militating against much exclusivity in connections). In this context it was possible for relatively small agent groups to achieve specific structuring and conditioning of interactions – I have noted examples of niche targeting of export goods, long 'consumer cultivation' periods, direct settlement, targeted diplomatic engagement, sophisticated and flexible prestige display, and many other angles.

Movement's scale and impact: concepts and terminology

I have looked closely in this book at how the changing scale and nature of movement allowed it to transform early Aegean societies in uneven ways. I highlighted differences between 'episodic' movement (occurring over varying distances and timescales; between areas with strong structural

contrasts; usually involving shared/articulated aims at some scale on the part of movers) and 'endemic' movement ('small-scale traffic' for Constantakopoulou [2007: 254]). The latter usually seems to have occurred over relatively short distances and to have been frequent and/or routine in aim and character, while highly variable in scale, cohesion and articulation, and occurring in a wide variety of structural contexts.

In drawing this distinction, I suggest that we can make no valid generalisation about the structure of transformative 'movement' *per se* in Aegean history. The *effects* able to be ascribed to movement cannot be categorised to provide a standard back-template for its nature as some scholars have suggested (cf. Yasur-Landau's [2010] list of impact-based indicators for mass, transformative long-distance movement: these include sudden changes in life-ways, 'deep change' in domestic customs, and accurate reproduction of complex products from an external area in local settings). My case studies here show that transformative movement was able to be mediated by a host of factors and that the effects it produced varied hugely in character. They also show that, as Mediterraneanist models stress, endemic movements, as well as episodic ones, helped to change early Aegean societies over various timescales and in a variety of ways – including with regard to language spread, technology transfer (particularly in relatively unspecialised areas such as agriculture) and the uptake or adaptation of cultural traditions. Notwithstanding, different parts of the Aegean region retained very different social and cultural forms through centuries and millennia of such contact. It is hard to explain this diversity in terms of ethnic or other self-drawn boundaries, since we find little evidence for the latter in much of Aegean prehistory – perhaps partly thanks to the very strength of endemic movement. Episodic types of transformative movement (with endemic movement as a partly supporting factor) seem both to have arisen out of these disjunctures and helped to create/perpetuate them, including by stimulating the development of identity-based boundaries.

Given these overlapping areas of drive and operation within it, transformative movement in the ancient Aegean/Mediterranean is not easily equatable to 'migration' – a term hinting at large scale and limited control/mediation. We could agree to call all episodes of transformative movement, whatever their range or volume, 'migrations' (mapping onto the term's traditional sense of momentous movement). Yet relatively local origins, high control/agency and special kinds of productive relationship with endemic movement were also frequent shared features of transformative movements in the early Aegean, and are usually not associated with this sensitive term. Thus, I have preferred to use the latter sparingly in the study.

Transformative movement in Mediterranean context

The role of historical and social context in structuring transformative movement has rightly been highlighted by Mediterraneanist approaches. However, I have noted here that once the Mediterranean itself is defined as a context

intrinsically and generically linked-up by ‘movement’, the temptation to reduce transformative movements to long-term embedded patterns, with partly predictable drivers and outcomes, has often been strong. Approaches attempting to link/contrast developments in early Cyprus with those in the Aegean are a case in point. The attempt to prove ‘Mediterraneanness’ as a socially linking/determining factor between the two regions has produced a tendency to minimalise (or systematise) contingent, episodic and agent-driven movement as a factor in change/difference (e.g. Cadogan et al. 2012; Knapp 2007; Mathers and Stoddart 1994). Should we, then, simply build a set of ‘Aegeanist’ models within Mediterraneanist ones, illustrating the way that specific long-term conditions here promoted and drove particular types of movement? The Aegean’s unique combination of historical and environmental factors clearly did influence the effects of all kinds of movement in the region in special ways. Yet the number of cases here in which shared environment (distance, sea routes, scale) failed *either* to push/predict *or* to hold back transformative movement in different parts of the area makes such a perspective unsatisfactory. Instead, I think we can use a revisiting of Mediterraneanism in an Aegean context to challenge earlier scholarly narratives which attributed ‘intrinsic’ movement characteristics to certain regional groups on the basis of local ecology – but also to excise the vestiges of this approach from Mediterraneanism itself, replacing them with a focus on specific agency and history. This study has shown, for example, that it is inaccurate and meaningless to conceptualise Aegeans either as ‘natural’ movers themselves, or as consistently passive recipients of Near Eastern stimulus through movement. Multi-scale context, agency and contingency were central in structuring every transformative movement reviewed in the case studies – and in complex ways. We cannot, for example, make predictive correlations between high levels of complexity in certain periods/areas and ‘donative’ transformative movement or, conversely, between periods/regional decline and transformative acceptance of movers. It is clear that the Mediterranean aspect and positioning of the Aegean and its neighbours often helped to produce partly shared histories, but by such diverse means that this is only the beginning of the story. Movement itself also clearly helped *make* the region ‘Mediterranean’ – i.e. richly, complexly and memorably interconnected in ways centred on maritime travel and related economic bases, without being permanently or fully integrated, by the end of the period studied.

Imagining encounters

In order to understand how movement could transform society and culture, this book has attempted to investigate encounters in some depth – using broad context and history, as well as recent detailed research on areas like technology transfer, to consider the likely approaches, obstacles and reactions affecting the ways in which contact played out. There have been obvious limitations to this imaginative exercise: gaps have been consciously left where

evidence is too ambiguous and the level of reconstruction is mostly general. Nonetheless, I think the case studies of movement have been enhanced by the process of actively trying to get to grips with this concept – whether in trying to visualise the context of the interactions assumed in older, schematically ‘personified’ models, or to factor in human outlooks at the small-group level to systems-type models. Examples include the discussion in Chapter 3, which tried to overcome existing scholarly blocks to seeing large-scale movement into the late FN Aegean by considering detailed conditions and contexts in contemporary west Anatolia; Chapter 5’s attempt to undermine the reductive, poorly-evidenced but persistent concept of uniformly aggressive/dominant Aegean interactions overseas in the LBA by examining various scales of political inequality in the east Mediterranean (especially after Aegean mainland states emerged) and the different regional receptions thus likely to have been given to travelling Aegeans and their goods; and Chapter 6’s use of a hugely-increased body of knowledge on the Early Iron Age Aegean to reconsider existing schematic models of Aegean elites, fossilised in Bronze Age modes of cultural practice, interacting abroad.

The lack of sharp and consistent ethno-political boundaries in the Mediterranean through much of the period studied suggests there were often no straightforward templates/expectations of how encounters over distance should occur. In this context, I have suggested agents on both sides were important structuring contact in various ways. The way encounters occurred (and were consciously manipulated) often seems to have been vital in allowing the Aegean to punch far above its weight in the Mediterranean economy – becoming more than the undeveloped periphery for large Near Eastern players which local history, scale, resources and position might otherwise have made it. The nature of encounters could feed back into movement as a force, pushing particular directions and impacts of movement. This occurred most notably in relation to the making, long-distance transport, transfer and consumption of painted pottery – a practice associated with Aegean palatial complexity from MM II onwards, but reinvented and renegotiated in different LBA–Archaic contexts, where social history, memory and self-conscious identity all had a role in structuring encounters around it. Targeted movement, however small in scale (MBA–LBA Crete-based travel into the Near East is a prime example) was able to significantly build the standing of Aegean players when encounters and their materiality were approached and handled right. Within general patterns of encounter there must of course have been endless sub-varieties – some more controllable, others less so. Some brought immediate material benefit to the moving groups; others lacked obvious benefits or produced the intangible asset of increased familiarity between groups over distance and thus a possible basis for future productive contact (for example, the effects of even a regionally and chronologically restricted set of encounters, such as Aegean contacts with Italy in the LBA, remembered in various channels and modes, helped determine the long-term cultural social and political history of movement between the regions). Encounters

could feed back positively or negatively into ongoing movement patterns. Some actually contributed to damaging original structures for movement (as in the rise of non-elite exchange during the late LBA and its role in the c. 1200 BC collapse) – in turn providing groundings for new structures of movement.

As I noted in Chapter 1, the literature on Aegean movement and related encounters has paid limited attention to examining and deconstructing class structures (though existing models make many *assumptions* about class relations). By its nature, transformative movement was never class-neutral in character or effects. At the same time, this study has not identified a long-term tendency for movement to operate in standard patterns of class/power relationships (e.g. elite-driven expansion; attacks by nomadic groups on civilised urban bases). Contexts of origin for the transformative movements discussed here did tend to be those of economic growth and wealth augmentation (of various kinds) rather than of contraction or impoverishment: the investment required in obtaining the means of and support for any high-volume movement in antiquity is relevant here. But we should not extend this into an assumption of inherently hostile competition within/between mover groups, or of generally one-way exploitative encounters between movers and receiving communities. Clearly, it was not always the nominally or formally most ‘successful’ people in a regional group who moved: sometimes movement seems to have been delegated to subgroups, at other times simply appropriated by them. These factors are likely to have affected the nature of encounters, including the degree of formality assumed or expected in interaction. Though fictive class-linked structures (e.g. the Near Eastern LBA ‘brother kings’ group; ‘Greekness’ in the later EIA) could mask or buffer encounters in convenient general ways, the real nature of power relations surely became apparent in the course of any longer-term dealings. The Aegean’s relatively small scale and resource poverty, in conjunction with its well-developed endemic travel networks and its striking characteristic of non-parallel social/political structures existing alongside one another in a small region through most of the Bronze and Iron Ages, seem to have encouraged/allowed relatively wide social participation in movement in many of the periods studied. In most of these, taking part in rewarding movement over distance did not require very large investment capacity or the ability to monopolise scarce resources. As a result, the ‘masking’ of Aegean encounters overseas may have been particularly flexible and creative. The flipside of this might be uncertainty about Aegean class identities (and related expectations of Aegeans) on the part of receiving communities abroad. This factor could help facilitate movement or enhance its effects, especially when it occurred in relatively small groups. But it could also make effects hard to control: socially and economically disparate feedback from encounters could potentially contribute to tensions at home, as in the case of the 1200 BC crisis.

I have noted that assumptions of direct resistance in encounters between locals and incomers over distance have often been used to explain evidence

of physical conflict or insecurity in the early Aegean (the classic example being destroyed settlements like those on LM IB Crete or the late thirteenth/early twelfth century Aegean mainland). In a frequently teleological perspective, such scenarios place inherently 'weak' locals on one side, successful 'incomers' on the other. Yet the evidence for possible resistance to incomers is rarely examined in a balanced manner across the cultural domain as a whole, and/or over extended time periods. In LM IB–II Crete, for example, the takeup of new aspects of mainland-linked prestige culture has been the main focus in arguments for widespread 'conquest' of local groups by incomers and their culture (whether new cultural takeup is viewed as emulative or imposed). Potential resistance lower down the social scale, or in other cultural forms, is not much addressed – even while hostile kinds of interaction with incomers are reconstructed from site destructions occurring at around the same time. In all the case studies here I have tried to highlight potential aspects of negotiation/tension connected to movement and related encounters. Though the strength of endemic contact in the Aegean often promoted baseline familiarity between moving and receiving groups, the non-parallel nature of social and political structures between Aegean regions through much of the period studied suggests that effective mechanisms to welcome, modify or block encounters or their effects *could* be developed where needed. Pointers to structured/negotiated encounter contexts – likely to have incorporated elements of tension, but not reducible to the simple dichotomy of domination versus resistance – include the development of strategic/defensible settlement patterns (e.g. as west Anatolian migrants transformed the south Aegean economy in FN IV); the increasing, symbolically-loaded consumption of mainland versus Cretan goods by island communities in LM IA–B; the focus on defending Aegean and west Anatolian coasts in a greatly diversified context of travel and trade at the end of the LBA, and the highly selective use of external cultural references (including Aegean-based ones) to define class/ethnicity/polity in late Iron Age Italy.

We can hardly imagine a more intimate form of encounter than those in the sexual/ marriage sphere. Yet scholarship in this field has not very often imagined these encounters – except through the thin and often tokenistic template of 'intermarriage' – to date mostly functioning as a convenient trope to explain the appearance of hybrid cultural features in contexts of large-scale population movement. The generally shallow fashion in which class (and gender) relations have been treated in studies of the early Aegean, and the broader historical discourse which has framed these studies from their birth, helps to explain the long treatment of such relations as largely either instrumental or incidental, sidelining their nuance and degree of social embedding/valency. But within the contexts of deep social change discussed in this book, intimate relationships in fact seem likely to have formed highly emotive and consequential kinds of encounter across distance – and to have been closely bound up with issues of class, though not in the straightforward templates of recent colonial discourse. The hugely-varying scale, nature and

effects of the transformative movements studied here suggest 'intermarriage' can have had no standard role in encounters, nor any predictable set of cultural outcomes. We must reconstruct its likely significance from context, as well as trying to find better ways to map it in cultural terms. The lack of highly-differentiated ethnicity in the Aegean through many of the periods studied here, and the high levels of endemic contact, suggests there were few standard restrictions on such relationships. Much more common, surely, were local structures of expectation around clan and dowry – which could be extended to incorporate or exclude various moving groups. A case in which the issue may have had an especially high profile is that of the new settlements flourishing in the insular south and east Aegean during FN IV. In this competitive and challenging environment, settling groups might have had a high number of single males in the early stages, a fact producing potentially unbalanced and tension-building effects on small populations in the region. In contrast, MM-LM I movement linked to Cretan economies, with the tight south Aegean network as its operational core, seems likely in context to have involved especially regular, open and varied formation of personal partnerships across distance, with consequent strong feedback into society on Crete itself.² By the early LBA, the induction of the whole Aegean into the east Mediterranean political and trade network, with increased formalisation/structuring of relationships across distance, changed the way such personal connections are likely to have been viewed. Important economic and political openings over a wide area could now increasingly be secured/negotiated through personal linkages at both elite and sub-elite level. Among the numerous Aegean-linked trading and expatriate groups in the LB III east Mediterranean, cross-class and cross-origin marriage may have helped contribute substantially to the kind of social mobility seen by c. 1200 BC. At the other extreme, sexual appropriation/enslavement seems likely to have been regularly incorporated in, and have helped achieve, some sorts of movement across distance. Offspring from such unions, wherever resident, are often likely to have had a low status, creating potentially unstable new subclasses.

Encounters clearly need to be imagined in much greater detail if we are to understand how movement affected social change in the early Aegean. Moving away from assumption-laden narratives of social encounters grounded in colonial discourse, we should at the same time be wary of adopting highly schematised processual-type templates (lingering on in areas such as world-systems theory): that is, of reifying encounters so far that they are represented mainly in terms of perpetuating cultural networks/creating culture mixtures, and thus become devoid of social and historical meaning. I think we should *also* resist the incorporation of ancient encounters into a modern, Western, post-imperial model of long-distance interaction as socially streamlined, homogenised, and well informed. For people in the early Aegean, regular maritime and other contacts across short distance in a familiar setting are likely to have been starkly juxtaposed with riskier, long-distance encounters in a variety of ways. Where ethnicity was not highly formulated, the

structure and outcome of encounters could not be confidently predicated on this basis by the agents involved. Other formalised structures for long-range interaction were also lacking in many cases of transformative movement examined here, giving encounters an uncertain/volatile value.

Travelling into the future: ongoing approaches to ancient movement

Science has recently seemed to be archaeology's golden hope in exploring movement. Hard science-based approaches appeal to the popular and scholarly imagination in an era of cultural utilitarianism and technological fixation, alongside generally increased cultural tolerance and related interest in challenging ethnocultural reductionism. In the Aegean, these approaches have already challenged traditional models of culture change which assumed specific directions, modes and impact of movement, based on subjective, narrow or poorly-founded readings of texts or artefacts. Among other techniques, ceramic petrography, neutron activation analysis, DNA analysis, lead isotope studies on metals, strontium isotope studies on bones, and general skeletal and botanical analysis have been shown in the various case studies here to have hugely informed our understanding of movement direction and type. Yet science approaches have appeared to be red herrings, or at least fundamentally inconclusive, in some parts of this study – especially where research questions about movement have not been properly formulated or are still laden with assumptions. The history of archaeological research in the Aegean, and the methodologies in use until recently, currently limit the number of datasets which are fully representative and thus reliable for analytical purposes. It is to be hoped that the results of the consequently still fragmentary science-based research on movement in this region, especially where discordant with established theories, can stimulate scholars into producing ambitious and testable new models. But one thing is clear – we cannot simply wait for science to give us the answers on movement's nature and impact.

Language/text studies will always be returned to by Aegean prehistorians and Classical archaeology scholars trying to elucidate the role of movement. New texts continue to come to light – e.g. in the Linear B field. I have dealt with texts in many aspects here, emphasising their value in a contextual perspective, while questioning past scholarly overreliance on them and recognising their originally strong social/political embeddedness. The implications of the latter have still yet to be fully acknowledged, especially in Classical archaeology. Only when recognition of texts' embeddedness in culture is part of our thinking from the start will textual studies be able to pose properly rigorous questions about movement, and help to supply convincing answers. More generalised culture-historical assumptions that selected artefact types/styles of any kind, including texts, can lead us directly to the origins, qualities and motives of moving groups are also still being broken down. This study hopes to have helped to show how this is occurring, and to have formed part of the process.

The methods I have adopted and emphasised here as most useful in ongoing studies of ancient movement are (a) reflexivity; (b) the use of really broad and contextualised sets of data; (c) an historical perspective; and (d) a focus on the contingent, specific experiences of people involved in long-distance movement and interaction. I have not dismissed systems-type discourse, which has contributed much to our ability to objectively envisage and make sense of ancient movement and related sociocultural change (replacing earlier models which selectively stressed particular events/processes). However, I have suggested this should form only one part of our apparatus in thinking about movement, since systems models can often be historically/contextually impoverished. Also prominent in my account has been attention to class and gender relations – which potentially distort or undermine systemic relations and seem highly pertinent to ancient movement's role in social change.

I hope to have moved in this way towards rehabilitating movement as a significant social force, especially relevant to this particular region – if not always in the ways which recently popular approaches, such as Mediterraneanism, have argued it to be. The aim of this long-term and necessarily superficial study has been to highlight variability, rather than straightforward process, in movement's structure and effects in the region. I have stressed movement's conditions and impact as deeply grounded in history, as well as space. I cannot claim to have offered anything like an exhaustive/definitive description of movement in the ancient Aegean. The book is presented, rather, as an incitement to further 'enlightenment' on the subject of movement, bringing updated analytical approaches to bear on the data in an open-ended and reflexive way.

Notes

- 1 See most recently Cunningham and Driessen (2017).
- 2 It seems especially important here, however, to separate the nature of actual interactions with and attitudes toward Cretan women from the images of women forming part of Cretan prestige culture, and as such taken up across the south Aegean network.

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Index

- Adriatic 286–91
 Aegina 146, 177–9, 181
 Aeolian islands 281
 Afis, Tel 361
 agency 5, 7–9, 18, 21, 35, 51–2, 71,
 109–10, 120, 122, 138, 140–1, 149,
 151, 169–70, 185, 194, 219, 243,
 247, 254, 266, 295, 309, 315, 355,
 373–4, 391, 403, 430, 462, 485,
 488–9; object agency 7–8, 54, 142,
 149, 196, 202, 221, 247, 412–13,
 451, 463
 agriculture 46, 88, 97, 99, 103–4, 110,
 118, 123, 147, 169, 263, 280–1, 361,
 460–1, 465, 488
 ‘Ahhiyawa’/‘Ahhiyawans’ 247, 249,
 268, 278–80, 293–4, 296, 318
 Akhnaten xxiii, 275
 Akkad/Akkadian 47, 191, 267
 Akrotiri 147–8, 150, 152–6, 161,
 163, 201, 207, 213, 223; *see also*
 Cyclades; Thera eruption
 Al-Alakh/Tel Atchana 203, 213
 Alasia/Alashiya 207, 267–8, 279,
 319, 321
 Al Mina 402–3, 405
 Alos 397
 alphabet 310–11, 436, 466–7
 Amarna 218, 275, 296
 Amarna texts 13, 248, 267, 375–6
 Amarynthos 325
 amber 182, 221, 286, 397
 Amenophis III 275, 296
 Andros 75, 95, 115
 Ano Englianios 171, 177; *see also* Pylos
 Antigori 288
 Aphek, Tel 349, 363
 Apollo Maleatas sanctuary,
 Epidavros 185
 Apulia 449, 451, 284
 Archanes 146, 209, 258
 Argolid 72, 115, 171, 177, 179, 188,
 194, 254, 267, 331, 345
 Argos 174
 Arzawa 277
 Ashdod 320, 349–50, 363, 368,
 371, 376
 Ashkelon 368, 371, 376, 320, 349,
 350, 353, 360
 Assyrian Empire 197, 335
 Assyrian text sources 312
 Athens 39, 81, 251, 312, 459
 Attica 148, 177, 179, 194, 251, 375, 400
 Ayia Irini 80, 82, 95, 115, 145, 148,
 160, 163–6, 194, 251; *see also*
 Cyclades; Kea
 Ayia Triada 252, 258
 Ayios Giorgios sto Vouno, Kythera
 158–61
 Ayios Stephanos 170, 174, 177, 188, 223
 Babylon xxv, 47, 207
 Babylonian texts 312
 Bakla Tepe 79, 86
 Balearic islands 442
 ‘Barbarians’, concepts of 14, 44, 122,
 257, 276, 314
 Barçin Höyük 79
 Batash, Tel 335
 Beth Shean, Tel 317
 Beth Shemesh, Tel 335
 Beyçesultan 79, 85–6, 104
 Bichrome pottery 349, 372
 boar’s-tusk helmets 223
 boar’s-tusk ivory working 168
 boats 90, 243, 264, 315, 318; *see also*
 currents, maritime; ships; shipwrecks;
 winds

- Boeotia 179
 Boeotian Greek 312
 Brac 290
 bridgehead settlements 91, 94, 281
 Broglio di Trebisacce 284–5, 296
 bronze/bronze metallurgy 68, 75, 79,
 94–5, 105, 110, 112, 118, 281, 286,
 289, 291–2, 332, 393–4, 397, 418,
 436, 464–5; *see also* copper/copper
 metallurgy
 burial practices 2, 16, 85–6, 98, 123,
 146, 156, 170–6, 179–81, 188, 202,
 204, 222, 250, 252–4, 259, 269, 285,
 295, 365, 397, 400, 405–7, 418,
 422–3, 426–9, 431, 436–41, 466;
 see also chamber tombs; cremation;
 shaft graves; tholos tombs; tumuli
 Butera 434
 Byblos 182, 209, 319

 Campania 453
 Canaan/Canaanites 371–2, 375
 Canaanite jars 207, 267, 285
 capitalism/capitalist discourse 485–6
 Caria/Carians 406
 Carthage 423, 446
 Castiglione 438
 Caucasus 124, 190–1
 caves 97, 123, 281
 Çesme 200–1
 Cerveteri 428
 chamber tombs 86, 156, 171, 188, 252,
 259–60, 269, 295, 365, 436; *see also*
 burial practices; tholos tombs
 chariots 188–9, 223, 264
 ‘cheese-pots’ 75, 79, 82
 Childe/Childean approaches 49–52
 children 156, 171, 181, 188, 211, 296,
 375, 398, 418, 423, 429, 465
 Chios 79, 88, 277
 chipped stone 68, 99
 chronology xix–xxvii, 74–5, 141, 170,
 206, 295
 Chrysokamino 75, 101
 Cilicia/Cilician 123, 343, 349, 423
 civilisation, conceptions of 5, 34, 36,
 39, 42–4, 49, 190, 257, 313, 314,
 482, 484–5, 491
 class 14–15, 18, 35, 46–9
 climate 16–17, 70, 112, 374
 collapse 17, 112, 266, 307–9, 313,
 324–40, 375, 391, 393, 400, 402,
 461, 484–5, 491

 colonialism/colonial discourse 3–4,
 8, 10, 20, 33, 38–9, 44–9, 204,
 219–20, 279, 338, 355, 368, 371,
 373–4, 375, 405, 407, 411–12, 426,
 446–7, 454–5, 458, 460–1, 463–5,
 466, 486, 492–3
 conical cups 163, 166, 185–6
 consensual structures of government
 454–5
 cooking pots: Cretan-type in MB-LB
 201–2; jug type in LB-EIA 350,
 355–7, 361
 copper/copper metallurgy xxi, 68,
 75, 79, 81, 87–90, 92, 99–102,
 105, 110, 145, 148, 160, 163,
 179, 204–7, 217, 223, 267, 273,
 286, 289, 397, 415, 433, 461, 486;
 see also bronze/bronze metallurgy;
 oxide ingots
 core-periphery models 104, 140, 219,
 280, 490
 Corinth 414, 453, 455
 Corinthian pottery 423, 453
 costume/clothing 213, 275, 293;
 see also textiles
 crafts/craftspeople 20, 103, 105, 150,
 185, 195, 281, 309, 368, 407
 cremation 398, 418, 422, 464; *see also*
 burial practices
 Crete/Cretans xx–xxv, 2, 18, 36, 39,
 40, 42–3, 72, 75–6, 80, 82, 91,
 92–103, 105–6, 113, 115–18, 123–4,
 138–224, 243–61, 263–4, 267–8,
 273–6, 280–3, 285–6, 289–90, 293,
 295–6, 312–14, 325–6, 328, 331,
 345, 347, 353, 363–4, 374, 395,
 397–8, 400, 405–8, 455, 490–3, 495;
 see also Archanes; Ayia Triada; Karfi;
 Kastrokefala; Knossos/Knossians;
 Kommos; Lasithi; ‘Minoan’ culture/
 Minoans; Mochlos; Phaistos;
 Tylissos; Zakros
 cult/ritual 85, 99, 106, 146, 158–60,
 123–4, 146, 160, 161, 163–4, 168,
 176, 185, 191, 200, 202, 217–18,
 222–3, 250, 257, 264–5, 271–2, 281,
 284, 289, 296, 332, 359–60, 364,
 365–6, 368, 400, 407, 431, 434, 446,
 450–2, 459, 465, 467
 culture-historical approaches 2, 7, 10,
 13, 15, 20, 40, 49–52, 55, 71, 81,
 176, 190, 194, 204, 252, 254, 264,
 285, 319, 322, 338, 344, 355, 361,

- 363, 365, 369, 371–2, 403–4, 411,
418, 434, 441, 446, 465, 485–6, 494
Cumae 418, 453
currents, maritime 143
Cyclades/Cycladic people xx–xxv, 18,
68, 72, 75–6, 79, 80–1, 91, 97, 99,
103–6, 113–17, 123, 139, 142–3,
145, 149–50, 152, 156, 160–1,
167–8, 170, 177, 179, 194, 197,
199, 202, 207, 222, 254; *see also*
Akrotiri; Amorgos; Andros; Ayia
Irini; Halandriani, Kastri; Kea;
Kythera; Kythnos; Minoa; Melos;
Naxos; Panormos; Phylakopi; Serifos;
Strofilas; Syros; Thera
Cypro-Minoan script 192, 207,
267, 376
Cyprus/Cypriots xx–xxv, 20, 38, 46,
110–12, 117–18, 121, 123, 138, 143,
145, 191–2, 194, 204–11, 217, 219,
223, 247, 256, 263, 266–73, 276–7,
279, 286–9, 294, 296, 307, 319–22,
325, 335–73, 376, 391–7, 400, 402,
406–7, 413–14, 442, 446, 449, 461,
464, 466–7, 469, 489
Dab'a, Tel-el 213, 223
Delian League 312
Delta, Egyptian 117, 152, 206, 209,
213, 256, 315, 317–18, 375
Demaratus 453
Dessueri 433, 436
Didyma 406
diffusion models 3, 7, 10, 40–1, 48–52,
54, 70, 81, 110, 139–42, 170, 176,
247–8, 483–4
DNA analysis 16, 71, 247, 494
Dodecanese 72, 76, 79, 91, 99, 139,
251, 257; *see also* Kos; Rhodes
Dor, Tel 320, 332, 371–3
Dorians 311–14, 371, 375, 459
drinking rituals and equipment 68, 75,
87, 96–7, 99, 112, 115, 124, 179,
181, 185–6, 206, 218, 252, 261–5,
284–5, 288, 311, 349, 353, 357, 370,
400, 402–4, 420, 423, 465, 459
ebony 273
ecological perspectives 3, 11, 16–18,
56, 67–8, 70–1, 81–2, 103, 109–10,
122, 148, 309, 374, 483, 485, 489;
see also climate; environment;
subsistence
Egypt xix–xxv, 20, 47, 112, 115, 117–18,
194, 203–4, 206–7, 209–19, 223,
249, 256, 273, 275–6, 294, 296,
315–22, 335, 340, 375, 406; *see also*
Delta, Egyptian
Elba 425
Enkomi 206–7, 269, 332, 353–4, 357,
365, 466
entrepreneur models 36, 48, 309, 402,
406–7, 411, 462, 487
environment 47, 52, 68, 82, 85, 97,
117, 122, 374, 483, 485, 489
Ephesos 331
Eretria 328
Eteocretan language 223
ethnicity 4, 7, 10–11, 15, 21–2, 35,
37–43, 47–8, 53, 56, 74, 122–3,
141, 188–93, 211, 218–21, 247–51,
252, 261–3, 265–6, 269, 275–6,
277, 292–6, 309–15, 318–19, 322,
324–5, 335, 345–6, 348, 355, 360–1,
369–73, 375, 402–13, 416, 423,
425–6, 431, 436, 439, 441–2, 446–9,
454–60, 463–4, 466, 486, 488,
492–3
ethnography as analogy 11, 16, 22, 35,
53, 314, 360
Etruria 286, 449, 443
Euboea/ Euboeans 115, 400, 402–3,
417–18, 420, 423, 426, 455,
461–2, 465
faience 158, 296
Far'ah, Tel 317, 365–6
fibulae 425–6, 465
figurines 92, 103–4, 109, 123, 160,
163–4, 166, 168, 185, 222, 271–2,
363–4, 451
fish/fishing 71, 156
fortifications 161, 182, 188, 278, 281,
285–6, 290–1, 325, 337, 346–8,
431, 451
Francavilla Maritima 434, 451
Frattesina 286
frescoes 141, 152, 161, 168, 185–6,
201, 209, 212–17, 223, 275
Galatas Megali Magoula 174, 188
Gela 436, 441
gender 48, 53, 94, 355, 454, 456, 492,
495; *see also* intermarriage
Gezer, Tel 335, 349, 375
gift exchange 391

- Gla 331
 glass 273
 Glykys Limin 290
 gold 158, 168, 182–3, 186, 188, 209, 276
 ‘great green’ 211, 275, 318
 Greek language/texts 38, 188–93, 261, 277, 293, 296, 310–15; *see also* Linear B
 ‘Greeks’/‘Greekness’ 2, 3, 15, 34–41, 44–5, 48, 56, 68, 73, 109, 188–93, 223, 247, 309–15, 338, 346, 371, 374–5, 392–467, 491

 Halandriani Kastri 106
 Halikarnassos 277
 Handmade Burnished Ware 289, 357–9
 Haror 218
 Hattusas 278, 296
 hearths 353–5, 367–8, 376
 Herakles 311–12, 459, 467
 Heraklids 311–12
 Herodotus 139, 312–13, 460
 Hittites xxii, 13, 247–9, 267, 276–80, 318–19, 379
 Homer 13, 19, 34, 248–9, 309–13, 320, 323, 391, 407, 442, 453, 464, 466
 horns of consecration 365
 Huelva 444
 hunting 71–3, 179
 hybridity/hybridisation 48–9, 56, 176, 182, 211, 251–2, 263–4, 309, 355, 371, 441, 451–2, 492

 Iberia 286, 395, 413, 425, 442, 444–5, 465
 imperialism 3, 4, 34, 43, 46–50, 56, 73, 121, 138–9, 313, 403, 485; *see also* colonialism
 Incoronata 429, 431, 465
 ‘intermarriage’ 48, 163, 213, 266, 278, 355, 426, 454, 492–3
 ‘Ionia’/‘Ionians’ 311–14, 375, 404–6, 459, 465
 Iria (Point Iria) shipwreck 267
 iron/iron metallurgy 313, 393–4, 397, 418, 425, 426–7, 429, 433, 461–2
 island archaeology 17–18, 110
 Israel/Israelites 335, 360–1
 Italy/Italians/central Mediterranean 19, 142, 194, 221–2, 273, 280–91, 293–4, 296, 310–11, 359, 363, 391–467, 487, 490, 492
 ivory 148, 168, 170, 209, 276, 281, 286, 443

 Kabri, Tel 212–13
 Kalamata Kastroulia 180
 Karataş sites 79, 85, 104, 115
 Karfi 345, 360, 376
 Kastri, Kythera 148, 156–60
 Kastrokefala 331, 347
 Kazel, Tel 350, 352–3, 359
 Kea 75, 80–1, 91–2, 95, 97, 115, 145, 148, 150, 176–7, 251; *see also* Ayia Irini; Kefala; Paoura
 Kefala, Kea 75, 80–2, 91, 97
 Kefala Petras 75, 105
 Kefallonia 397, 414
 ‘Keftiu’ 211–13, 217–18, 223, 249, 275, 296, 318, 320
 Kition 206, 365–6, 466–7
 Knossos/Knossians xxiii, 36, 70–2, 74–5, 82, 99, 117, 123, 138–9, 145–6, 152, 161, 169, 185–6, 194, 222–3, 251–4, 256–8, 260–1, 293, 295, 312, 331, 395
 Kolonna 115, 179
 Kom-el-Hetan inscriptions 257, 275, 320
 Kommos 207, 258, 267, 275, 286, 324, 359, 376, 395, 407, 414
 Kos 79
 Kranidi Profitis Elias 330–1, 345
 Kültepe 197, 223
 Kuruçay 79, 85–6, 104
 kylix/kylikes 252, 263–4
 Kynos 327–8
 Kythera 81, 115, 148, 156–61, 166, 170, 176–7, 195, 223; *see also* Ayios Giorgios to Vouno; Kastri
 Kythnos 75, 89–90, 99–100, 102, 146

 l’amastuola 431–4
 ‘land hunger’ models 46, 461–2
 language, ancient 188–93, 223, 249, 261, 275, 277, 293–4, 296, 310–12, 337, 404–6, 418, 420, 437–8, 442, 453, 459, 466, 482, 488, 494; *see also* Greek language/texts
 Lapithos 365
 Larnakes 156–7, 259–60
 Lasithi 75, 97
 Latium 449, 453

- Lavrion 81, 90, 102, 148, 174, 176–7, 179, 273
 Lefkandi 325–6
 ‘Lefkandi I’ pottery 113–14
 Lentini 434, 436
 Lerna 104, 106, 115, 143, 170, 181
 Lesbos 87–8, 149, 312
 Levant/Levantine people xx–xxv, 42, 71–2, 79, 112, 117, 122, 141–3, 146, 182, 190, 196, 203–4, 209–19, 391–3, 395, 397–8, 400, 402–8, 411, 413–14, 418, 423–4, 442–9, 460–6
 Libya/Libyans 117, 317–18, 375
 Limantepe 86, 88, 104, 331
 Linear A 39, 146–8, 152, 154, 161, 163, 190–2, 200, 207, 261
 Linear B 13, 190–1, 193, 243, 251, 260–1, 268, 276–7, 289, 293, 296–7, 312, 324, 405, 494
 Lipari 221, 281, 286, 297
 loomweights 160, 163, 170, 361–3, 371
 Lukka 318, 320–1
 Lydia/Lydians 406
 ‘lyre-player’ seals 376

 Maa *Palaeokastro* 338, 345–7, 356
 marble 92, 103–4, 109, 123
 Mari 207
 Marsa Matruh 275
 mason’s marks 185
 Medinet Habu 315–18, 371
 Mediterraneanist models 3–7, 9–10, 16–19, 47, 51, 55, 70–1, 323, 411, 463, 483, 488–9, 495
 Megara Hyblaea 436, 467
 Melos 74, 145–6, 148, 160–1; *see also* obsidian; Phylakopi
 Melqart 459
 Mende 397
 Mendolito 436
 Menelaion 185
 Merneptah xxiv, 317–18, 320, 375
 Mersin 85–6
 Mesopotamia 45, 79, 196
 Messenia 171–2, 174, 176–7, 180, 221
 metals *see* bronze/bronze metallurgy; copper/copper metallurgy; Iron; oxide ingots; tin
 Metaponto 431
 Midea 170
 ‘middle ground’ concept 160, 176, 412, 438, 441, 451
 migration as concept/model 8, 10, 13, 36–7, 42–3, 48–9, 53, 55, 68, 72, 104, 115, 140, 188, 190, 196, 247, 276, 307, 311–15, 321, 336–40, 344–5, 355, 357, 365, 369–75, 405, 439, 464, 485, 488
 Mikro Vouni 148, 163
 Miletus 79, 104, 145, 197–202, 277–8, 296, 406, 467
 Minoa 360
 ‘Minoan’ culture/‘Minoans’ 39, 138–42, 204, 223, 247, 252, 296–7, 314
 ‘Minoan thalassocracy’ concept 139
 Mique, Tel 332, 335, 345, 348–50, 355, 357, 360, 363, 367–8, 371, 376
 Mitrou 327–8
 Mochlos 99, 116–17, 123, 254, 257–8, 295
 modernism 3, 35, 37, 41–3, 313, 485
 Mokarta 434
 Montagna di Marzo 436
 Monte Grande 285–6
 Monte Polizzo 434
 Monte Prama 445
 Mor, Tel 376
 Morgantina 433–4, 436
 Morphou Bay 206–7
 Mozia 446
 murex production 160, 443
 Mycenae 34, 171–2, 176, 182–4, 188, 190, 254, 275
 ‘Mycenaean’ culture/‘Mycenaeans’ 2, 36, 142, 190, 220, 247, 249, 296, 314, 337, 371
 Myrtou *Pigadhes* 365

 nationalism 3–4, 33–4, 37–43, 49, 56, 121, 485
 Naukratis 406
 Naxos 106, 222; *see also* Cyclades
 Nea Nikomedia 71
 network models 1–2, 12, 18–19, 22, 482
 Nora 442

 oared galleys 243, 323; *see also* boats; ships
 obsidian 71, 74–6, 79, 90, 92, 99, 101, 116, 143, 160–1, 163, 221; *see also* chipped stone; Melos
 Odysseus 453
 olives/olive oil 257, 281, 325

- Olympia 296, 415
Onomasticon of Amenope 320
 Osteria dell'Osa 453
 Otranto 281, 414
 oxhide ingots 213, 289, 291; *see also*
 copper/copper metallurgy
- palaces/palatial societies 18, 34, 118,
 138, 140–51, 154, 156, 160–1,
 163, 165–6, 169–70, 177, 182–3,
 185, 191–3, 196–7, 202–4, 207–22,
 249–50, 256, 258, 260–1, 263, 268,
 273, 285, 293, 296, 336, 362, 376,
 486, 490
 Palaikastro 94, 123, 254, 258
 pan-Hellenism 309, 311–12, 248–9;
 see also 'Greeks/Greekness'
 Panionion 312
 Panormos, Naxos 106
 Panormos, Sicily 446
 Pantalica 285, 433
 Pantelleria 281
 Paoura 80, 82; *see also* Kea
 Papyrus Harris 322
 Persians/Persian War xxv, 309, 312,
 459–66
 Petras 117
 petrography, ceramic 16, 76, 494
 Phaistos 82, 95, 99–101, 123, 258, 395
 Philistines 247–8, 322, 335, 344–73
 Phoenicia/Phoenicians 310–11, 320,
 372, 402, 406–7, 415, 418, 423–6,
 443–6, 449, 454, 459, 466–7
 Phokaia 331, 406
 Phylakopi 145, 148, 150, 160–3, 194,
 207, 258; *see also* Cyclades
 pictorial style pottery 264, 285, 311,
 315, 323, 363
 pigs/pork 360–1
 Pithekoussai 416–29, 441, 443, 453
 Piyamaradu 278–9
 Poliochni 86
Polis states 35, 311, 391, 406, 429,
 431, 433, 441, 449–60
 Polizzello 434
 Pontecagnano 428, 454
 Poros, Argolid 188
 Poros-Katsambas 75, 105, 117
 Porto Caesareo 451
 Postmodernism 3–5, 37, 486–7
 potter's wheel/wheel production 104,
 118, 199, 207, 219, 268, 281, 355–7,
 364, 442–3, 486
 pottery xix, 34, 68, 72, 74–6, 79–81,
 87–9, 99, 104, 113, 115, 123, 141,
 145, 148–52, 154, 156–8, 160–1,
 163, 166–8, 170, 174, 179–81,
 188, 190, 194–5, 197–9, 206–9,
 218–19, 221–3, 247, 250–2, 256–60,
 263–9, 273, 275–6, 280, 281, 285–6,
 288–90, 292–3, 295–7, 315, 323–4,
 335–52, 357, 359, 361, 363–4, 368,
 370–3, 376, 391, 393, 393, 400–4,
 406, 408, 414–16, 424, 429–31,
 433, 436–8, 442–5, 449, 451–3, 455,
 465–6, 490; *see also* cooking pots;
 pictorial pottery; potter's wheel
 Po valley 286
 Prinias 407
 Pseira 92, 207
 'Punic' culture xxv, 445–6, 454
 Pyla *Kokkinokremos* 345, 359, 365–6
 Pylos 221, 243, 251, 294, 296, 312,
 324; *see also* Ano Englianos
- Qadesh 318
 Qasile, Tel 363, 367
- Rameses II xxiii
 Rameses III 315, 318–20, 371
 Rameses IV 375
 refugees 4, 10, 307, 321–2, 330–2,
 336–8, 343, 376, 434–5, 466
 resistance 47–9, 257, 261, 272, 292,
 451, 457, 462–3, 465, 486, 491–2
 Rhodes 145, 168, 312, 423
 Roca Vecchia 281, 284
- Sa'afi, Tel-es 335, 376
 Sabucina 434
 Salamis 365, 466–7
 Samos 79, 145, 406
 Sant'Imbenia 415, 423–4, 445
 Sardinia 281, 286–9, 359, 393–5, 415,
 423–4, 442, 445, 453–4
 Sarepta 332
 scapulae, incised bovid 368
 science-based studies/approaches in
 general 7, 16, 53, 483, 494; *see also*
 DNA analysis; petrography, ceramic;
 strontium isotope analysis
 sealings 104, 152, 154, 170, 183–4, 200
 seals 85, 118, 148, 200, 296, 376, 423
 'Sea Peoples' 247–8, 315–22, 342–3,
 372–5
 'search for metals' models 89, 204

- secondary products revolution 68,
 110–11, 122
 secondary state formation models
 294–5, 485
 Seha River Land 278–9
 Sellopoulo 252
 Semitic languages 39, 191–2, 376, 466
 Serifos 75, 101
 Serra di Vaglio 451
 Sesklo 71
 settlement/settlement patterns 2, 19, 36,
 41, 44, 46, 48, 70–4, 79, 82, 85–95,
 97, 99, 101–6, 110–15, 123, 143–9,
 152, 156, 158, 160–1, 166, 168–72,
 176–7, 179–80, 185, 188, 193–5,
 197, 202, 204, 219–20, 247, 252,
 256–8, 260, 266, 269, 277–81, 288–93,
 311, 314, 322, 324–5, 331–2, 335–8,
 342–3, 345–7, 350, 354–5, 357,
 360–1, 365, 367, 371–4, 376, 395–6,
 400, 403–4, 406, 412–13, 416–18,
 423, 425–6, 429–31, 433–6, 439,
 441, 444–5, 449–54, 458–62, 465–7,
 482, 487, 492–3
 shaft graves 172, 181–4, 223, 269
 Sherden 318–20
 ship imagery 108, 141–2, 264, 267
 ships/shipping 118, 141–3, 154, 195,
 211, 243, 264, 296, 319, 321,
 324, 449, 463; *see also* boats; ship
 imagery; shipwrecks
 shipwrecks 267, 273
 Sicily 221, 281, 285–6, 414–15,
 429–41, 446, 449–51, 453, 456, 459,
 464–5, 467
 signet rings 152, 182–3
 Sikeliotai 439, 446
 Sikeloi 439
 Sikilu 219; *see also* Tjekker/Sikilu
 silver 81, 92, 105, 145, 148, 182,
 186, 273
 slaves/slavery 266, 434–5, 441,
 454, 493
 Smyrna 277, 331, 406, 465
 Sparta 185, 312, 459
 Spata 81
 stirrup jars 281
 stone vessels 145, 166, 168, 170, 174
 Strofilas 75, 81, 95
 strontium isotope analysis 16, 253–4,
 494
 Sulcis 446
 Syracuse 433, 460, 465
 Syria/Syrians 20, 112, 115, 211, 213,
 217–18, 296, 318, 320, 343–4, 350,
 353, 361, 375, 402–3, 423–4
 Syros 106, 113
 Tanaja 275, 320
 Tarsus 86, 113, 361
 Tawagalawa letter 278–9
 Teichiussa 197–8, 331
 temples 34, 223, 240, 315, 365–8, 467,
 450–1; *see also* cult/ritual
 Teos 331
 textiles/textile production 160, 163, 363
 texts 2, 11–13, 15, 18–20, 35, 46,
 48–9, 54, 191, 196, 315–22, 345,
 371, 375–6, 404–6, 412, 458–62,
 465–6, 482, 494; *see also* alphabet;
 Cypro-Minoan; Greek texts;
 language; Linear A; Linear B; Sea
 Peoples
 Thapsos 285, 433
 Tharros 445
 Thera 141, 145, 147, 152–6, 163, 213,
 222; *see also* Akrotiri; Cyclades;
 Thera (Santorini) eruption
 Thera (Santorini) eruption xix, xxii,
 141, 194–5, 223
 Thessaly 170, 331
 ‘third space’ 48, 160, 176, 438
 tholos tombs 97, 171–2, 174–6, 221,
 260, 269, 290–1, 295
 Thorikos 174, 176–7
 Thutmose III 275
 Timpone della Motta 434, 451, 465
 tin 79, 104, 118, 273, 397
 Tiryns 104, 188, 291, 293, 331
 Tjekker/Sikilu 318–20
 tombs *see* burial practices; chamber
 tombs; tholos tombs
 Torone 397
 Toumba tou Skourou 207–8
 trade 12, 19–20, 37–8, 42, 46–7, 56,
 76, 90, 92, 103, 110, 112, 115–17,
 123, 140, 142, 145–6, 150–1, 156,
 158, 160, 163, 170, 179, 181–2,
 194–6, 199, 204, 206, 209, 212–13,
 217–18, 245, 247–8, 250–2, 256–7,
 263–9, 273, 276, 280, 340–4, 346,
 353, 357, 359, 371, 376, 391, 395,
 397, 400, 402–4, 406–7, 413–16,
 423, 425–6, 430–1, 433, 436, 442,
 454–5, 458, 460–1, 483–7, 492–3
 transhumance 53

‘travelling craftsmen’ models 20;
see also crafts/craftspeople
 tripillar shrines 407
 Trojan War 247, 278, 312
 Troy 34, 79, 86, 88, 104, 149, 179,
 277–8
 Tudhaliya xxiv, 278–9
 tumuli 86, 172, 174–5, 180, 438
 Tyliossos 258
 Tyre 332, 403

 Ugaritic texts 267, 319, 376
 Ugarit/Ras ibn Hani 196, 207, 223,
 280, 293–4, 296, 321
 Ulu Burun 273
 unguent vessels 206, 400, 402,
 407, 423

 Vapheio 184
 Vapheio cups 186
 Veii 424, 428, 453

villas 146
 Villasmundo 433
 Vivara 281, 284–5
 Voidokoilia 171, 174, 176

 warfare/conflict 4, 10, 41, 43–4, 46,
 71, 82, 86, 94, 96, 102, 106, 143–5,
 245–8, 249, 254–9, 261, 264, 269,
 276–9, 292, 312–25, 337–8, 340,
 368, 373, 404, 459–62, 490; *see also*
 resistance
 war/warrior imagery 292, 315–23, 337,
 363, 373
 winds 117, 143, 152, 273
 wine 400; *see also* drinking rituals and
 equipment
 world-systems models 7, 14, 18, 21, 47,
 51, 70, 281, 289, 493

 Zakros 123, 258
 Zapher Papoura 252–3